Exploring the Techniques of Disciplinary Power: The Management of the Low-Income Migrant Worker along the Asia-Abu Dhabi Migration Corridor

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ABBREVIATIONS

ADD   – Abu Dhabi Dialogue
ALFEA – Association of Licensed Foreign Employment Agencies, Sri Lanka
BAIRA – Bangladesh Association of International Recruitment Agencies
BMET  – Bangladesh Ministry of Employment and Training
BOESL – Bangladesh Overseas Employment and Services Limited
CMS   – Critical Management Studies
DOFE  – Department of Foreign Employment, Nepal
FEPB  – Foreign Employment Promotions Board, Nepal
GCC   – Gulf Cooperation Countries
HRW   – Human Rights Watch
ILO   – International Labour Organisation
IOM   – International Organisation for Migration
ITUC  – International Trade Union Confederation
LPT   – Labour Process Theory
MMS   – Mainstream Management Studies
MOL   – Ministry of Labour, Abu Dhabi
        (During the research it changed its name to Ministry of Human Resources and Emiratisation.)
MS    – Migration Studies
NAFEA – National Association of Foreign Employment Agencies, Nepal
NGO   – Non-Governmental Organisation
OWWA  – Overseas Workers’ Welfare Administration, Philippines
POEA  – Philippines Overseas Employment Authority
POLO  – Philippines Overseas Labor Offices
PRO   – Public Relations Officer (HR role in charge of workers’ visa processing)
SLBFE – Sri Lankan Bureau of Foreign Employment
SLFEA – Sri Lanka Foreign Employment Agency
TESDA – Technical Education and Skills Development Administration, Philippines
UAE   – United Arab Emirates
UK    – United Kingdom
USA   – United States of America
ARABIC TRANSLATIONS

Habibi – My dear
Kafala – Sponsorship
Kafeel – Sponsor
Kandora – Emirati Male Local Dress
Majliss – Lounge, Social Gathering Area
Wasta – To mean power, influence, not what you know – but who you know.
ABSTRACT

The management of south-to-south workers’ migration and their lives remains an important issue in many circles as hundreds of thousands of these low-income migrant workers are often ‘positioned’ in precarious economic and social situations. This thesis develops a Critical Management Studies (CMS) focus to show that there are inherent power disparities and potential for worker exploitation in these practices. Based on an ethnographic study of the Asia to Abu Dhabi migration corridor this thesis explores the techniques of disciplinary power in the management of the low-income migrant worker. This thesis demonstrates that the low-income migrant worker is a deeply subjugated subject who is disciplined to live a responsible life of docility and work, and where his/her ‘life’ is deferred until they return home on vacation, or return at the end of their contract. There is also evidence of a 'diagram of power' that I term the Carceral Net, in which the techniques of disciplinary power are found to be juxtaposed with sovereign, social/juridical, and security technologies of power. However, despite the tight grip of the Carceral Net, there is a unique form of support that emerges through a localised set of daily practices where the worker (within interstitial spaces) strives to cope with life, and live life with his/her X-Family.
DECLARATION

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Eso es para ti.
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

I arrived in Abu Dhabi in April 2006. I had taken a job as a project manager to put in a new application into a UAE University. Soon after I had arrived, I found myself standing on a street corner looking out over a roundabout. I was in the city of Al Ain waiting for a taxi to pass by so I could get to a local mall. I had only been in the country for a month, and everything was still very strange to me from the hot weather, the desert, the strange architecture, the call for prayer that plays five times a day, the local men walking around in their long white dresses or to the local women walking around in black robes covering their hair and sometimes their faces. I heard a bus come up behind me on my right, and as I turned, it slowed before entering the roundabout. As I watched it pass, for practical purposes, it was like time slowed so I could take in what was in front of me. The bus was timeworn, the kind I had thought would not have any use outside of a junkyard. It was a dirty plain white colour, with no obvious advertising or markings. It was windowless with bars covering where the windows would have been. Inside were dark-skinned men in faded blue overalls. Some were sleeping with heads slumped while others were awake and looking out. Some stared back at me as I stared back at them. There seemed to be a strange fascination with each other, without knowing what they were thinking. As the bus passed, time returned to its normal speed and disappeared on the other side of the roundabout. I remember thinking to myself, what was that all about? It could have been the bars where the windows should have been or the uniforms, or the lack of comforts. Either way, I concluded there must be a prison nearby. Within a few minutes a taxi drew up, and I thought nothing of it again. That was until someone from work explained that this was not a prison bus, but instead it was an everyday low-income worker bus. How incorrect had been my initial perception. At the time, it was quite a ‘shock’ and from then on, my fascination grew to know more about the lives of these workers.
1.1 The study of Management and Migration: Geographic gaps and conceptual approach

The United Nations estimates that the 244 million economic migrants are sending more than USD 436 billion in remittances every year (United Nations, 2016), affecting even greater numbers of workers' families around the world. In this thesis, I focus on the management of the lives of one segment of migrants, that of the low-income economic migrant. A migrant worker is defined by the United Nations’ Convention on the protection of the rights of all migrant workers, as “a person who is to be engaged, is engaged or who has been engaged in a remunerated activity in a State of which he or she is not a national.” (United Nations, 1990: Article 2). However, this simple definition by United Nations obscures important differences as the notion migrant covers a wide range of people in a wide variety of situations. The use of the term ‘migrant worker’ is loaded with signification; still, there are many other names that are associated with this class of economic migrant, for example, guest worker, labourer, temporary worker, foreign worker, temporary contract workers, transnational workers; transmigrants, and expatriate workers. Each representation is implicated in discursive acts that attempt to produce what it names, by the people who employ the terms (de Haas, 2010b). Evidence for this performativity comes from numerous examples locally, and from around the world, e.g. the 2016 US election or the 2016 UK Brexit Referendum where political parties attempted to demonise migrants as a threat to employment and security. However, this performativity can also be used to aid the various ‘causes’ aimed at improving the lives of migrant workers by bringing visibility to victims of abuse. Acknowledging this discursive complexity, and maintaining an affinity to the performative critical researcher, I kept the term low-income migrant worker for this research (see Appendix A for a detailed breakdown of categories of migrant workers), so that the research can participate in conversations on the management of migrant workers.

1.1.1 Geographic gap in CMS’s knowledge of the management of workers

The management of migration and migrants remains an important issue in many circles (be that in government, in academia, or in business and management) where the issues vary significantly, from
interests in refugees, in human trafficking, or the largest category of economic migrants (Martin et al., 2006). This thesis, from within the subfield of Critical Management Studies (CMS) focuses on the low-income migrant worker for whom there is, it is often argued, inherent power disparities and potential for worker exploitation that necessitates conscientious attention by management researchers (United Nations, 2016; Ahmad, 2008; Anderson, 2010b; Jiang & Korchynski, 2016). Mainstream management researchers tend to focus on ‘expatriate management’ and ignore questions of power and exploitation of people and resources in migration (see Chapter 3). These studies have focused on management of high-income migrant workers who venture on overseas posts from a ‘global north’ country toward a ‘global south’ country. CMS, of course, takes little interest in expatriate management, instead it has attempted to address these questions of power and exploitation in the management of workers; however, CMS research is scarce in the area of migrant workers. By CMS, here I mean as a sub-field that offers an analytically distinct way to research (this is discussed further in Section 1.3). This body of CMS Foucauldian research is drawn upon in Chapter Two. Meanwhile in Chapter Three, I adopt a very broad notion of ‘CMS’ to mean research that comes out of business schools and that could be read as critical of migrant management and/or exploitation migrant workers. To help the readability of this distinction, when I use CMS, I mean the, the movement, the analytically distinct subfield of management studies, but when I use ‘CMS’, I mean the broad set of relevant studies from the discipline that is critical of management, and interested in the issues that surround migrant workers.

‘CMS’ research while interested in issues around migration and migrant workers often focused on those who migrate from the ‘global south’ to the ‘global north’ (See Ian Fitzgerald’s studies of Polish migrant workers in Yorkshire, UK, Fitzgerald et al. 2012), leaving south-to-south migration paths as a lacuna in our management knowledge. South-to-south migration numbers now exceed those of the south to north migration counterpart (OECD, 2013); moreover, this gap is important to tackle in CMS, as hundreds of thousands of low-income migrant workers in south-to-south migrations are often ‘positioned’ into precarious economic and social situations with little critical scrutiny. Evidence of this precarity comes
from numerous Human Rights reports and media representations of the south-to-south migration path, from Asia to Gulf Cooperation Countries (GCC)\(^1\). This migration corridor recently emerged as the third largest flow of migrants in the world, by population movement and remittances (Shah, 2006)\(^2\). Not to forget that up until the late 1980s, the GCC was ignored in academic scholarship across the disciplines (Kamrava & Babar, 2012), so it remains a site that has not been investigated to the same extent as other parts of the world.

1.1.2 Conceptual approaches in the knowledge of the management of workers

Given a lack of CMS research in this region, I drew upon Asia-GCC based ‘Migration Studies’\(^3\) as an important alternative source to develop some understanding of the management of migrant workers. The following vignette, from one the workers in this study, will help to demonstrate a typical narrative.

MW1\(^4\), a citizen of Bangladesh, in 2009, went to Abu Dhabi in search of a better life. He paid approximately GBP 2,200 in recruitment fees purchased through an ‘auction’ system\(^5\) (that would take him more than six months of 100% of his salary to pay back). This migration was funded through his father’s sister and selling some land. His goal was to bring happiness to him and his wife, young son and daughter; his unmarried sister; his brother who is 90% blind; and support for his mother, and his sick father, who passed in 2014. MW1 spent seven years working as a driver under his domestic employer (known as the Kafeel in Arabic meaning sponsor in English) returning home to Bangladesh every two years. Since his father’s passing in 2014, MW1 has repeatedly complained to his Kafeel of not having

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\(^1\) GCC member States: The United Arab Emirates, Bahrain, Saudi Arabia, Oman, Qatar and Kuwait, and Yemen

\(^2\) Besides, management should not be assumed to always mimic the global north. That is to say CMS remains sensitive to politically, socially, economically, and culturally unique sites for research to counter the Global North’s hegemony on management.

\(^3\) I have for convenience grouped a wide set of scholars interested in Asia/Gulf based migration and migrant worker studies into the label ‘migration studies’. This is an eclectic group of individuals. For example, to name a few: Gardner is a sociocultural anthropologist; Buckley an urban geographer in a human geography department; Vora, an anthropologist; Longva, a social anthropologist; Kanna, anthropologist in international studies; and McGeehan a human rights activist who published his work in legal studies journals.

\(^4\) For worker security all names have been replaced with MW and a unique number.

\(^5\) This is to say, an unofficial mechanism where the worker who pays the agent the highest fee gets the job.
enough salary, set at GBP 352 per month. Given his increased level of financial responsibility which stressed him terribly, at the beginning of 2016, MW1 asked his Kafeel “Please increase my salary or transfer ownership to your father-in-law”. When MW1 posed this question, he had been the father-in-law’s driver for the past two years. She replied, “I will neither increase your salary nor transfer my ownership and you have to continue to work under my command.”

After that, MW1 stopped coming to his workplace and switched off his mobile phone, effectively absconding. In the meantime, MW1 communicated with the father-in-law directly who assured him that he would transfer MW1’s ownership to him, advising him to “Just keep yourself hidden for a couple of days and everything will be ok.” But fate did not favour MW1; his Kafeel filed a case against him with the local police claiming that he had stolen her car license and some valuables. According to MW1, he was now in danger, so he attempted to negotiate with his Kafeel, mediated by the father-in-law, to withdraw the case. MW1 promised to continue to work for her under her full command at which point, the Kafeel assured him that she would withdraw the case the very next day. When MW1 appeared at the police station with the father-in-law to explain that he was not a criminal, he was immediately arrested. But his Kafeel did not come to substantiate her claim against him. For twenty-two days MW1 remained under arrest at the police station; he was allowed phone calls and called the father-in-law and his family in Bangladesh. Despite repeated requests from the police that his Kafeel visit the station, she did not show.

During the twenty-two-day ordeal, it was only the father-in-law who tried to help MW1. At one point, he said the father-in-law had convinced his daughter-in-law to bail MW1 out of prison with the condition that MW1 would continue to work under her ownership. However, the Kafeel’s husband stopped this from happening as he feared that MW1 might take revenge or do harm to them, and said, “We’ll just send him back to his country and bring in a new driver.” So via telephone, MW1’s Kafeel demanded that the police push MW1 back to Bangladesh without a passport, which is what they did. MW1 travelled
with temporary travel papers marked ‘No re-entry’. He then struggled for survival without this economic support. Despite this experience, MW1 began again, trying to go to another country to work, particularly in GCC where he had experience, and knew what to expect having worked in Saudi Arabia before coming to the UAE, as had his Father before him. A Bangladeshi fathers’ separation from the family in a foreign land under the direction and command of the Kafeel is a necessary sacrifice for MW1 and one that is regarded as quite normal for many men across India, Pakistan, Nepal and Bangladesh (something similar goes for mothers from Sri Lanka and the Philippines). A necessary personal sacrifice as head of the household, a strong force behind it with the duty to his family in the role of the shepherd. A burden for certain he would rather not have and not one that all Asian men tackle.

MW1’s story is a representation of managing migration and managing migrant workers in the GCC that fills the migration studies academic journals. In Andrew Ross’s opening Chapter of the 2015 book, “The Gulf: High Culture/Hard Labour” he says, “Bound to an employer by the Kafala sponsorship system, the labourers arrive, heavily indebted from recruitment and transit fees, only to find that their Gulf Dream has been a mirage. Typically, the sponsoring employer takes their passports, houses them in substandard labour camps, pays them much less than they were promised, and enforces a punishing work regimen under the hot desert sun. Most of them find ways to endure the exploitation, but many fall prey to suicide, or die from overwork or the heat. If they voice their complaints or protest publicly, they are arrested, beaten, and deported.” (Ross, 2015:11/12). Migration Studies paints a picture that targets the Kafala system as crucial to our understanding of the management of the lives of workers. “[W]hile the Kafala is a traditional and historic social arrangement, its emergence as a contemporary mechanism for orchestrating and confirming the dominance of citizens over guest workers depends upon the particular conditions of transnational conduits that bring labor to the island, and to the global political economy of which the movement of capital, labor, and culture is a part” (Gardner, 2005:296). This discourse which positions the Kafala sponsorship system as a “structure of dominance”, is frequently utilised in the migrant worker literature. Implicit in this narrative is the vulnerable migrant worker who has had his or
her rights violated by the state or by employers. It is an account dominated by sovereign states and sovereign employers that deploy the force over the sovereign worker. But, as I will argue in Chapter 3, migration studies have taken a constrained view of what management is – that is seeing management as the exercising of sovereign power i.e. state power over individuals; employer over individuals; or individuals as sovereign agents.

Scholars from the subfield of CMS, suspicious of these ‘sovereign’ narratives of power, have drawn upon Michel Foucault’s disciplinary power to provide alternative descriptions and explanations. Disciplinary power will be covered in detail in the next chapter, but according to Foucault (1977), the techniques of disciplinary power will be situated in particular historical, political, and social conditions. Therefore, each of these techniques will have their histories and perhaps present or future manifestations. This desire to move beyond sovereign conceptions of power along with the ongoing possibility of seeing disciplinary power in the management of migrant worker lives motivated me to use this conceptual basis in this study. This was despite the call by some in CMS for conceptions of post-disciplinary power (See Weiskopf & Munro, 2011). So, we have a gap within CMS sub-field of management, in our understanding of the management of low-income migrant workers who travel the south-to-south migration path; and from Migration Studies\(^6\), we have the prevalence of a sovereign power conceptualisation of the management of migrant workers. These two points culminate into the purpose of this research to examine the relevance of techniques of disciplinary power in the management of the lives of low-income migrant workers along the Asia-Abu Dhabi migration corridor.

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\(^6\) Gregory’s book on the Migration Apparatus (2012) is a clear exception in Migration Studies, but it is focused on migration rather than the management of migrant workers.
1.2 Introducing the Asia – Abu Dhabi Migration Corridor

This study investigates the lives of workers who migrated from Philippines, Nepal, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka who lived and worked (during the study) most of their time in Abu Dhabi. These lives are locally situated amongst a plethora of institutions, laws and societies that have all emerged over time. To assist this investigation, the following overview of this migration corridor is briefly covered in this section.

1.2.1 Labour Exporting Countries: Philippines, Nepal, Bangladesh, and Sri Lanka

In all the sending labour countries the global in-flow of remittances has steadily climbed since the 1960s and have become important economically, socially and politically to all labour export countries (see Appendix B). Many scholars from different fields have argued that the labour export policy emerged as an important ‘solution’ to resolve national unemployment and underemployment problems (Aguilar, 2014; Ross, 2015). In each country, new laws, institutions and figures have been established over time to cope with the emerging ‘problems’ from labour migration (See Appendix C).

Philippines

The Philippines population has grown threefold since 1970s from around 30 million to more than 102 million in 2016. Unemployment sits at 7.3% according to World Bank figures and it is well-known as a top migrant sending country. At the outset, labour migrated in the construction sector and was dominated by male migration, however gradually through the 1980s until the present day, there has been a roughly equal split between genders and a much larger increase in service workers. The Commission

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7 India and Pakistan are the largest exporters of labour to the GCC, however, I excluded them from the research partly as others have covered these countries in previous; partly because of their sheer size, partly because Pakistan would be dangerous to travel too, and finally there were financial limits to my research project an accompanying international field trips.

of Overseas Filipinos estimates that 10% of the total working population of the Philippines are living and working worldwide in both land and sea-based jobs\(^9\). For the period 2008-2012 more than 1 million workers were leaving the Philippines every year. The Philippine Overseas Employment Agency that regulates recruitment agencies estimates that there is 2.5 million undocumented overseas workers. The United Arab Emirates being the number three destination (behind Saudi Arabia and United States) by volume of new hires and renewals\(^10\). In 2012, inward remittances reached USD 25 billion, significantly more than Foreign Direct Investment of USD 2 billion\(^11\). For the Emirate of Abu Dhabi specifically, no precise figures were made available by the Ministry of Labour (MOL) or Philippine Embassy. However, from the UAE (as a whole), in 2007, 120,657 new workers migrated and by 2012 that total doubled to 259,546. Amongst the Abu Dhabi Labour attaché ‘community’ the Philippines is known for its leadership in the fight to protect their migrant labour force. They are active in protecting their workers, as seen by the 2011 ban on 41 countries audited for ill-treatment of their exported housemaids. This decision came after two very high profile migrant worker death penalty cases (Flor Contemplacion, Singapore, executed in 1995; and Sarah Balabagan, UAE whose sentence was reduced to lashings and prison, 1997).

**Nepal**

Nepal has a population of more than 28 million people.\(^12\) Unemployment sits at 3% according to world bank figures, but the United Nations suggest this figure is not dependable pointing instead to the 40% underemployed,\(^13\) that is the volume of work at very low wages beyond the ability to pay for basic subsistence. During the past 20 years, Nepal has undergone significant political change from Sovereign state, negotiating a Maoist insurgency until in 2007 when the monarchy was abolished. Until September 2015, the country has been attempting to create a new democratic constitution and this focus on constitution building has distracted many from policy implementations. For some, this led to a continued

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\(^9\) Source: http://www.cfo.gov.ph


\(^{11}\) https://psa.gov.ph/sites/default/files/6.%20Q4%202012%20FI%20report_FINAL.doc


lack of opportunities at home compelling Nepalese to migrate abroad\textsuperscript{14}. According to one senior government official, 3,000 workers are leaving Nepal every day, officially. This is made up of both contract renewals and new contracts. However, this official continued with the fact that perhaps another 3,000 are leaving every day through the permeable Nepal/India border where they pick up flights to other countries before flying to the Gulf in search for new jobs, or visas arranged by traffickers. In total, this makes a higher daily migrant than the Philippines, and from a far smaller population. Inwards remittances in 2012 amounted to more than USD 4.8B, more than four times increase from the 2005-2007 period (WorldBank, 2011). The percentages remittances to GDP increased dramatically from 14.9\% to 26\% suggesting an increased dependence on GCC labour markets\textsuperscript{15}. In terms of Nepali workers in Abu Dhabi, no precise figures were provided by MOL or the Nepal Embassy, and Nepali’s work across many job designations, although most well-known in positions as security guards, closely followed by hotel and construction workers.

\textit{Bangladesh}

Bangladesh has a 2014 population of more than 162 million\textsuperscript{16} and according to some accounts up to 40\% are under employed. Bangladesh is a country formed in 1971 when it split from Pakistan in the same year as the formation of the UAE. Migration from Bangladesh to the Gulf started in late 1970s through governmental not private sector intervention and it was the first amongst the sending labour countries included in this study, to put migration under a legal framework called the Emigration Ordinance of 1982. To get a sense of the changes in volumes of migrant workers, in 1976 a total of 6,087 men migrated for work; by 2012 the official figure of new workers who migrated to the UAE was 215,452.\textsuperscript{17} However, since then a number of GCC countries have closed off the possibility of further migration by not approving new visa requests and the UAE in particular has seen a dramatic decline of new Bangladeshi

\textsuperscript{14} Source: Interview
\textsuperscript{15} Source: Population Statistics www.worldometers.info
\textsuperscript{16} These numbers can be contested on the basis of foreign workers within in Nepal who export remittances.
\textsuperscript{17} Source: http://www.bmet.gov.bd/BMET/statisticalDataAction
migrants, dropping to 25,271 in 2015.\textsuperscript{18} While no one is prepared to go on the record to explain why this has happened, it has been suggested that the Bengali reputation for developing crime networks and violence - particularly causing Saudi Arabia problems - was the reason for the close. In total the UAE still maintains 23\% of all Bengali’s working overseas.\textsuperscript{19} Popular designations in the Abu Dhabi context are labourers, construction, and cleaners. Inwards remittances in 2012 amounted to more than USD 14 billion more than tripling in a 5 year period but has since dropped given the struggle to get Bangladeshi’s into the GCC. The percentage of inwards remittances to national GDP increased from 7\% to 14\% suggesting an increased dependence on Gulf labour markets.\textsuperscript{20}

\textit{Sri Lanka}

Sri Lanka has a population of more than 20 million\textsuperscript{21}. Like the other sending countries in this study, the estimated 4\% unemployment figure obscures an under employment problem that can play a role in migration decisions. Sri Lanka since the 1980’s has become a significant supplier of labour to the GCC. Up until the late 1990’s more than two thirds of all migrant workers were female domestic workers, however, by 2012 the numbers of males surpassed females (Male 144,135 and Female 138,312). The Sri Lankan Bureau of Foreign Employment (SLBFE) which has been operating since 2007 under the Ministry of Employment Promotion & Welfare (MFEPW), regulates and controls some 1,000 agents and all legal worker exits, supports migrant workers and their families, and is responsible for taking new foreign employment policies and programs to MFEPW. Annual remittances in 2012 amounted to USD 3.3 billion, some 7.9\% of GDP\textsuperscript{22} Near 88\% of all migrants are in the Gulf countries and Jordan.

\textsuperscript{18} Source: http://www.bmet.gov.bd/BMET/statisticalDataAction
\textsuperscript{19} Source: http://www.bmet.gov.bd/BMET/statisticalDataAction
\textsuperscript{20} Source: Worldbank Indicators
\textsuperscript{22} Source: Worldbank Indicators
The majority of these workers are categorised as drivers, unskilled workers, or housemaids and the daily migrant worker departures from Sri Lanka sits at around 700 workers per day\textsuperscript{23}.

All four labour sending countries now have very similar policies, laws, and government institutions in place to regulate the man-power agents and workers. Labour attachés are deployed to most country embassies, including Abu Dhabi to deal with and support of migrant worker issues. Migration is seen in part as a solution to development challenges such as fast growing populations and respective underemployment, and poverty\textsuperscript{24}. But not only at the level of government institutions and laws etc., but as many authors claim, the making of migrant workers for export is the new normal (Tyner, 2003) and has reached the level of ‘culture’ in the very fabric of society (Aguilar, 2014). While I acknowledge that the individuals who migrate to Abu Dhabi are coming from quite distinct cultures, are speaking different languages, and are variably connected to different religious systems, I do not regard these differences as central to this inquiry\textsuperscript{25}.

1.2.2 Labour Receiving Emirate of Abu Dhabi

The Emirate of Abu Dhabi has seen its fair share of temporary migrants although this common term has changed from travellers, businessmen, and traders in pre-1980s discourse, to its more recent signification of labourers and service workers. Abu Dhabi, existed as its own sovereign State long before the formation of the United Arab Emirates, and Abu Dhabi tribes were largely nomadic due to excessively hard living conditions and a lack of natural resources (Cooke, 2014). This lack of natural resources, as argued by Heard-Bey (1995), helps explain many of the early practices that governed life for these populations i.e. which tribe did what, and how did they came to do it. The legitimacy of the Rulers of

\textsuperscript{24} http://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/philippines-culture-migration/
\textsuperscript{25} Some of these concerns are addressed in the limitations and future research opportunities in Chapter Eight.
Abu Dhabi is one based historical claims, but Cooke argues this was further legitimised by the British instance to deal with only ‘pure tribal lineage’ (Cooke, 2014:34).

Since the discovery of oil in commercially viable qualities was found, the relation between the territory, the ruler and the tribes has changed dramatically26 particularly in terms of territory and the important question of which tribe could lay claim to which area from which oil arose. In terms of the Emirate’s developing labour relations, it was advanced in part due to oil companies that required labour from the local ‘Tribes’ people at the time, that amounted to no more than 11,000. After Sheikh Shaikbūt was disposed in 1966 by his brother and disposer, Sheikh Zayed bin Sultan Al Nahyan (Ruler, 1966-2004), modernisation objectives sped up, and this modernisation would require more labour than the local population could provide.

The United Arab Emirates (UAE) federation was formed after the withdrawal of the British after the 1971 British-Trucial Sheikhdoms Treaty expired. The UAE has a Federal Supreme Council as its main legislative body, but Abu Dhabi is the largest Emirate covering 87% of the UAE’s land mass, and is the primary Emirate in the federation being the capital of the UAE. The population (including migrants) is estimated to be more than 2.2 million in 201227 and in the past 45 years, a tremendous amount has changed for the Abu Dhabi citizen; Barasti huts were changed for villas; camels were changed for SUVs; water shortage was changed to water surplus through fuel driven desalination plants; wandering the lands was changed to living in fixed urban spaces; prudent and careful use of resources was changed to abundance of resources and consumption.

Labour statistics state the labour population is 1,486,400 persons28. From Table 1.1 we can see that migrant workers make up 91.3% of the labour force, but no statistics were made available by Ministry

26 This relation between labour and oil started even before Abu Dhabi discovered its own oil. As early as the 1930s tribesmen migrated to work in the Saudi oil fields. Saudi Arabian oil was first discovered in commercial quantities at Dammam oil well No. 7 in 1938 now modern day Dhalran. (Source: Heard-Bey, 1995)
of Labour (MOL) by nationality or by job designation. That said, much of the migrant workers come from India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal, and the Philippines (Al-Maskari et al., 2011). Male migrants are working in all industries, while females work in many areas of care, hospitals, housekeeping, hotels and restaurants, singers, and sex workers. Abu Dhabi sells itself as a tourist destination, a hub for import/export of goods, and a labour market as a place where there is the opportunity for accelerated capital accumulation and ‘tax free’ living. Abu Dhabi seldom offers consideration\(^\text{29}\) for individuals becoming nationals or citizens including the second or third generation immigrants who were born in the UAE, as Abu Dhabi nationals use the system of \textit{jus sanguinis} (blood right) rather than \textit{jus soli} (soil right) for citizenship claims.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Emirati</td>
<td>45,000</td>
<td>97,100</td>
<td>142,100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Migrant Workers</td>
<td>215,100</td>
<td>1,271,400</td>
<td>1,486,400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emirati %</td>
<td>20.9</td>
<td>7.6</td>
<td>9.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Migrant Worker %</td>
<td>82.7%</td>
<td>92.9%</td>
<td>91.3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1.1 – Abu Dhabi Labour Statistics. Source - SCAD, 2014

This concludes the introduction to the migration path to which this research focuses, but how does this research fit into CMS as a field of research interest? This answer depends on what one considers CMS to be, and this will be covered in the next section.

\(^{29}\) Although there are certainly exceptions to this rule, all through the UAE Federal Law. Examples such as giving athletes from another citizenship is the most common.
1.3 Introducing Critical Management Studies

I’ve been a line manager and a programme/project ‘manager’ since 1997, therefore, management and management theory has been of particular interest, mainly in my attempts to hone my craft. That was until 2010, where in my MRes dissertation I focused on the identity regulation of project managers, and through this research I was exposed to Critical Management Studies (CMS) and the sceptical views on management and power from its scholars. CMS emerged in the 1990s as a subfield of management studies (for this history, see Watson, 2011b). While some in the field see CMS as an intellectual subfield of management that operates on the margins of ‘mainstream’ management thinking, others see CMS as a social movement (Willmott, 2014a; Spicer et al., 2016). I have an affinity to viewing CMS as broad tent of overlapping projects that question the neutrality and increasing influence of management in our daily lives (Alvesson and Willmott, 1992a; Adler et al., 2007).

For Fournier and Grey, “to be engaged in critical management studies, means at the most basic level, to say something is wrong with management, as a practice, as a body of knowledge, and that it should be changed” (Fournier and Grey, 2000:16). For some, the project is to challenge and disrupt socially divisive, such as the effects of capitalism, patriarchy, and other forms of domination and exploitation of people and resources (Adler et al., 2007:121). Management Studies take the pursuit of management and organisational efficiency as a given, so for some, CMS needs to adopt a distinctly anti-management stance; meanwhile, for others, CMS needs to engage pragmatically with management theories, practices and managers to create a better world (Willmott, 2014a; Spicer et al., 2016). What we have is a continuum from radical anti-management stances to the ‘positive’ positions that open new possibilities and better ways of managing (Grey & Willmott, 2005:57).

CMS has and continues to challenge the management orthodoxy, theory and practice, in a diverse number of areas. These include project management (Hodgson & Cicmil, 2006), strategy (Levy et al., 2003), HR (Townley, 1994), communication (Deetz, 1992), and culture (Kunda, 1992) to name a few. CMS
maintains an interest in questioning the orthodoxy of scientism and positivist theories; the revaluation of universalised and authoritative knowledge bases (such as science); and questioning the notion that objective and neutral knowledge is ever possible even when turned on itself to question its produced knowledge. Even CMS’s approaches and perspectives come under scrutiny from within, e.g. suspicion of the grand narratives of Marxism (mimicked in Labour Process Theory) or the paternalism of Critical Theory. CMS attempts to “decenter” management, management knowledge, and management pedagogy. This critical examination of management can be at many levels and scales, be that Management Studies theory and practice; or the reflexive scrutiny of CMS itself in terms of its ontology, teleology, epistemology or methodology. Various theoretical and philosophical perspectives play a vital role in the project of destabilising mainstream management thinking (Fleming and Banerjee, 2016). But, many see strength from this theoretical diversity (Alvesson and Willmott, 1992; Murphy et al., 2014) as to impose one theoretical perspective (as does Labour Process Theory30) would enact exactly the opposite of CMS’s aims in the first place, that is to mandate some form of hegemonic domination over the researchers’ mind, labour and texts.

The question of how CMS research should be performed has been widely debated in the field (Fleming and Banerjee, 2016). To be regarded as critical management scholarship, Linstead et al. (2004) suggest that the researcher must identify and challenge assumptions; be aware of historical, social and cultural context; seek alternative ways of seeing; and be sceptical about what one hears and reads about management (Linstead et al., 2004:5). For some, the researcher should seek out alternative ways of thinking and acting (Alvesson and Deetz, 2000:28; Spicer et al., 2016). Others (on occasion) may suggest than an antagonistic position either ‘against’ management practices, managers, or ‘against’ management theory so the research can challenge the orthodoxy of management (Grey and Willmott, 2005:5). Finally,

30 I think this is quite an important point, for me at least. CMS is inclusive of many perspectives and why I included works in Chapter Three from Labour Process Theorists as ‘part of’ CMS. Not these authors would necessarily be comfortable with that inclusion.
others argue that researchers should aim to have an impact on practices, managers, and theory through a level of positive or collaborative engagement (Murphy et al., 2014; Edwards, 2017). But, rather than over-simplifying of a complex set of debates (over 20 years or more), the primary point of CMS is that it adopts a general scepticism towards taken for granted assumptions (including about CMS itself). Considering that CMS remains a contested space for those in the subfield (Parker, 2002; Grey & Willmott, 2005), my position as a CMS researcher cannot be easily mapped to any single approach of the previous mentioned CMS authors, but rather it emerged from personal, theoretical and practical considerations, as follows.

I chose not take an explicit anti-management or anti-manager position at the beginning of the research, as can often be the case in research undertaken in other theoretical frameworks e.g. Marxist informed Labour Process Theory. First, because up to that point, as a practising project manager, I had conceptualised management in quite a functional manner, as something that is quite legitimate to do in organisations. But, by the time of my MRes, this notion of the legitimacy of management had been severely eroded. My previous (to my MRes) view of management was that it was made up of the functions of strategy, operations, human resources, finance, worker supervision, performance management, etc. and that managers perform these legitimate functions/processes. But, another view of management is that it is a set of “practices that fundamentally entail the power to influence the flow of information and resources and the authority and power relationships through which work is organised and rewarded” (Linstead et al., 2004: 2). In this second view, management can be seen as practices of power (Courpasson, 2017; Clegg et al., 2006) and therefore issues of migration and the management of migrants, a dispersed and relational power becomes particularly pertinent. A power that is “embodied in different individuals at different points of time, but does not reside in a distinct body or group called ‘managers’” (Linstead et al., 2004:2). Moreover, as Alder et al. (2007) point out, power is not solely negative i.e. “power is much more pervasive; it is also a positive and not merely negative force: Power is that which enables certain possibilities to become actualities in a way that excludes other possibilities.”
(Adler et al., 2007:131). This broadened comprehension of power seemed to offer much more opportunity to reflect and unpack the management of migrant workers. Therefore, one aim of this study is to continue this line of thinking, that is, to continue to on this trajectory in CMS, which is to view management as dispersed and relational practices of power in the management of the daily lives of workers.

Early in the PhD programme (during 2012/2013) I was influenced by the first books I read - Nikolas Rose’s Governing the Soul (1999) and Julian Henriques and Wendy Hollway’s Changing the Subject (1998). These books led me towards a deeper engagement with Michel Foucault’s writings (specifically, Discipline and Punish, 1977) in order to develop my own reading of his arguments. Reading Foucault was a liberating and unnerving personal experience. That is to see myself as a subject that has been constructed and historically situated along very complex trajectories of social, economic, political and technological trajectories; but more importantly as a subject that could be different than what it was. But, while liberating, it was decidedly unnerving given in Foucault there are no obvious central values to anchor oneself, as these values are themselves historically situated. But, while I would not automatically assume anti-management or anti-manager position, the adoption of Foucault as a conceptual framework, was already implicitly critical in that it would be about the ethnographic31 unpacking of the functioning of power in management of the lives of the low-income migrant worker. And, unpacking power for some is regarded to be at the centre of the CMS project (Knights, 2009). Second, to be elaborated in Chapter Two, I consider management as something that is wider than either organisations or managers are responsible for i.e. managers are one actor or set of practices within a wider field with many actors and practices (Linstead, 2004). Therefore, it made sense that the critique of what specific organisations, managers, or other actors (including migrant workers) did, needed to be suspended at the outset. Put another way, management could not be criticised until the

31 I do not claim to be a typical Foucauldian i.e. to be interested in how the notion of ‘migrant worker’ or ‘migration’ has emerged through a historical/political genealogy.
findings of how management occurs had been established empirically. This understanding of management as practices of power and Foucault’s concepts lead to a theoretical scepticism of what I read upon my review of the Migration Studies literature, and to an extent on what I was reading in CMS on disciplinary power. By the end of Chapter Three, I will conclude how much of the Migration Studies has adopted largely a sovereign conceptual depiction of actors (migrant workers and sponsors), and this conceptualisation is something to be critiqued. This is to an extent mimicking the argument of Michael Foucault in Discipline and Punish (1977) but; as I will outline in Chapter Four, I’m careful not to have theoretical hegemony over the site of empirical investigation. Moreover, my position is a counter-point of the trajectory of Foucauldian literature in CMS, where there has been a tendency to park disciplinary power as something historical, and instead the world has passed into the liquid/networked society (see Chapter Two, Section 2.5). My experience since living in Abu Dhabi from 2006 and my observation of issues pertaining to migration around the world, said otherwise.

Finally, my position as a CMS researcher was influenced from pragmatic considerations. This notion that CMS researchers should be seeking out CMS’s radical roots and insert back agency and activism into the research agenda (Cukier et al., 2014; Weir, 2014) was (and will continue to be) very problematic for researchers executing their research in the Middle East. This will be covered in detail in Chapter Four, but there were many practical questions of access and safety that prevented such an engagement into this form of radical/critical research.

1.4 Aims and Scope of this Research

My general aim in this thesis is to address a gap in knowledge within CMS on the management of low-income migrant workers along south-to-south migration paths. One research objective is to bring to light, where, how and to what extent management (in a broad sense) is implicated in the lives of the low-income migrant worker. This view moves the focus well beyond the confines of the workplace, beyond the manager as central to management, and beyond management of the migrant worker as an exercise in
sovereign power. A second research objective is to explore how and to what extent the techniques of disciplinary power is implicated in the management of the lives of low-income migrant workers along the Asia-Abu Dhabi migration corridor. While drawing upon Migration Studies (MS) within the GCC, conceptually they have tended to centralise power into ‘sovereign’ centres. This approach ignores the dispersed and relational forms of power, resulting in the repeating explanations of powerful states and employers, or powerless workers as victims. The advantage of taking this view is that power will not be conceived as something that elements possess, but instead is conceived as the quality of the relation between elements (Fulop et al., 2004), and these relations can be spread across multiple actors. Each person/institution is at the same time empowered and constrained by the relationship. This helps extend further out from employers and the State as prima facie actors. With the intention of stepping outside a hegemonic view of power, I adopt the view that sees management that is not solely what managers do to workers, but something that many individuals can do in relation to each other. Outside of migrant worker research, CMS offers a robust set of studies in relational and dispersed forms of management through Foucault’s notion of disciplinary power. Continuing this tradition, I argue that disciplinary power is a suitable conceptual basis that can increase CMS’s understanding of the management of the lives of low-income migrant workers. This research will be of interest to CMS scholars with concerns for the management of south-to-south migrant workers, or those with concerns about the contemporary ‘usage’ of the techniques of disciplinary power in management.

1.5 Thesis Structure

The remaining parts of this thesis are organised into seven further Chapters.

The following two chapters make a review of the literature. In the Chapter Two, I will position and develop disciplinary power as the conceptual basis for the study and explore the questions: what is disciplinary power? What are the techniques of disciplinary power? And, how have these techniques been underscored in management studies? Disciplinary power has been key to our understanding of
management in numerous studies (Jacques, 1996; O’Neil, 1986; Deetz, 2003; Townley, 1993; Miller & O’Leary, 1987). These studies offer an understanding of disciplinary techniques in different management settings that cover a wide variety of historical periods and circumstances. Given that Foucault has is argued that individual techniques of power have pasts, presents and futures resulted in the need for me to remain sensitive to the possibility of different articulations in different time and contexts. These techniques offer conceptual starting points where I may depart and move off into the possibility of difference. This makes the techniques of disciplinary power relevant as a conceptual basis for this study.

My attention to the techniques of disciplinary power follows Foucault’s argument that disciplinary power should not be seen as an abstract universal theory of power, but rather as a situated historical set of techniques and practices (Foucault, 1977). In other words, these techniques of disciplinary power provide an analytical starting point of concrete management practices of migrant workers that are situated in a particular place and time.

In Chapter Three, I will draw upon the existing CMS research of migrant workers from where some loose research interests emerged: from where the employer is central to analysis; from the migrant’s experience, from Labour Process Theory, and from union and community support perspectives where migrant’s may draw on support. Despite CMS’s oversight on south-to-south migrant worker studies, other academic disciplines have made contributions to our understanding of migrant worker management and I will draw upon these migration studies to help establish what is already known about the management of migrant workers.

Besides the economic and neoliberal argument that migrants migrate for economic reasons, I will show from these studies that often the management of migrant workers is explained through to the Kafala system (Kafala to mean sponsorship). The Kafala system, according to this body of research, is an asymmetrical relationship that is designed to constrain the day to day lives of low-income migrant workers. The attribution of Kafala as the primary mechanism overlooks management from a disciplinary
power perspective and this representation largely takes management as something that is natural and taken for granted, that is to say, migrant workers' migration and lives should be managed. The usage of possessive forms of sovereign power implicit in the Kafala system underplays ‘management’s’ role in its dispersed and relational forms, captured in part through the techniques of disciplinary power. This chapter will show that despite the difference between existing south to north migrant worker research in CMS and south to south migration studies research, there are overlaps and similarities.

Chapter Four works through the methodological implications of attempting to answer the above research questions, which raised certain challenges methodologically. First, by adopting this view of management as a dispersed set of techniques of disciplinary power, I needed an approach that would enable me to flexibly follow the management of migrant workers in places and institutions that at the outset, were unknown. This excluded quantitative and survey methodologies where clarity about respondent and questions are usually clear. So, ethnography and case studies, as I understood them, appeared to be the obvious choices in my attempt to get up close to workers. Second, by locating this research along the Asia-Abu Dhabi migration corridor, I needed empirically to look beyond a single place of work where managers and workers interact, and beyond the single society/county in which they work. This need to move beyond a single place of work eliminated the bounded case study or comparative case studies approaches. This left ethnography as the preferred open-ended exploratory approach. But what kind of ethnography would enable me to: get ‘critical’; analyse the dispersed techniques of disciplinary power across multiple sites; and undertake the investigation safely on a sensitive topic in a particularly precarious and multi-cultural setting? In this chapter, I will build an argument for the use of critical ethnography, but I will also show how and why I ‘executed’ the investigation in a (un)certain way that took into account many practical concerns.

Chapter Five, Six and Seven are the empirical chapters. In Chapter Five, I will show how, before migration, family and sending government institutions attempt to place the migrant into the subject
position of the heroic individual and future investor who is aiding the building of a prosperous nation. This making of the migrant worker is achieved, in part, through multi-generation migrant families and contemporary worker orientations that are geared to produce financially savvy, responsible, and adaptable workers. But this making of migrants is also achieved, in part, post migration by the use of the uniform and the reinforcing of low-income migrant worker subject positions of docile, subservient workers who are in Abu Dhabi to work (as opposed to live). In the chapter, I will show how far and wide migrant worker subjectification extends. I will argue that migrant workers are at the very intersection where subjectification, a technique of disciplinary power, comes from numerous elements across the migration corridor. On one hand this is towards the ‘enterprising individual’ and on the other hand towards productive docility.

Chapter Six will show how techniques of disciplinary power manifest themselves in the organising of workers across space and time, in what I call the hyper-management of the migrant worker. I will show how low-income migrant workers are housed, transported, and monitored. I will show how the camp design and room design feed into ongoing management of workers in their private lives. The evidence presented here points to a different origin than the Kafala or the Kafeel – that of the numerous institutions and disciplinary techniques in operation across the ‘Carceral Net’. The Carceral Net is a term I adopt to describe a network of participants in the implementation of techniques of disciplinary power (rather than a geographic space) that shapes and influences the lives of migrant workers. The attempted control over the minds, bodies, and remittances of migrant workers extends further than the geographic space of the Abu Dhabi Emirate but throughout the migration corridor.

Chapter Seven will show how family is implicated in the ongoing management of low-income migrant workers. The evidence from this chapter points to how family may continue shape the subjectivity, decisions and actions of migrant workers long after migration. The migrant worker is often sacrificed to satisfy the needs of the family economy, and the migrant worker him/herself can be implicated in the
reinforcing of this subject position as a person that must put the needs of family over their individual needs. This chapter will also show how X-family emerges as an effect of migration. While ‘traditional’ family remains a remote and technologically mediated affair, X-family is practised locally in the practical and physical sense. In here, there are examples where workers found interstitial spaces to live their lives, yet family more than X-family was found to be entangled in the disciplinary techniques within Carceral Net.

Chapter Eight provides a discussion on the contributions and advances to our knowledge of the management of migrant workers. This thesis contributes to knowledge in the following inter-related ways.

First, it contributes to CMS literature in terms of management of low-income migrant workers. Specifically, this research departs from much work in CMS that remains bounded by organisation, or by the country within the migrant worker resides. This broadening (geographically and methodologically) demonstrates that the techniques of disciplinary power span much larger distances than the single organisation or society in the management of low-income migrant workers. Sending countries and receiving countries have different aims and purposes in this Carceral Net. Elements within the Carceral Net are often supporting but also in tension or opposition, for example, sending nation’s attempts at the construction of the ‘enterprising overseas worker’ versus receiving nation’s attempts at the construction of the ‘docile temporary worker’. Migrant workers may find interstitial spaces to live their lives (X-family and Chapter Seven) but this also plays its part in the governance regime. Second, we will see evidence that migrant workers are not treated by ‘management’ (within this governance regime) as acting subjects, instead they are regulated subjects – that is they are categorised, divided, positioned, and observed in Abu Dhabi society. What is clear is that in this context, the Carceral Net reduces the space and time for life and the employer and/or camp management company are now in the business of the management of life.
Second, the *Kafala* System and the relevance of the *Kafeel* in sovereign acts of power over the migrant worker that is a dominant narrative in Migration Studies. But this research shows that the *Kafala* system is in the process of being transformed/dismantled and the *kafeel/worker* relationship is being gradually replaced with the employer/worker relationship. This replaces a largely sovereign power conceptualisation to one that makes use of a mix of sovereign, disciplinary and other technologies of power\(^{32}\). And, third, this thesis advances our knowledge in CMS migrant worker studies through the adoption of techniques of disciplinary power as the conceptual basis for study. This theoretical perspective has proved to be a relevant analytical toolbox for examining the management in the broad sense highlighted above. There are many examples shown in Chapter Five, Six and Seven where techniques of disciplinary power are implicated in the dispersed form of hyper-management of the lives of low-income migrant workers. The implication from this research is that it highlights the importance of continuing to look at the disciplinary power in contemporary places, periods, and contexts. Disciplinary power can always be a possibility in our lives, and is not a distinct historical period as some might have us believe from within CMS and beyond.

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\(^{32}\) This is not to say that sovereign acts of power are no longer relevant. We only need to refer to MW1’s story in this chapter to remind ourselves of this fact.
CHAPTER 2: ‘MANAGING’ THROUGH TECHNIQUES OF DISCIPLINARY POWER

In the previous Chapter, I positioned that while CMS has placed research attention towards the migrant worker, the focus remains on workers who have migrated from a global south to global north direction rather than a south-to-south direction. This justifies my research focus, supplemented with my fascination with the functioning of power, CMS’s tradition in the workings of disciplinary power, and the dominance of the description of the Kafala system as central to the management of migrant workers in the GCC.

In this chapter, I will defend the viewing of management as power, and in the process, answer the following questions: what is disciplinary power; what techniques does it contain, and what have we learned from its previous usage in CMS research? For Foucault, disciplinary power was not part of some universal theory of power. Instead, it was the emergence of power in a specific period from genealogical study. I will draw upon Foucault and CMS authors to elucidate these techniques of disciplinary power. This however, is not a Foucauldian ‘approach’, instead Foucault’s work provides an analytical toolbox for the analysis of power. Each disciplinary technique identified will provide the starting point to view the management of the migrant worker in their everyday lives. The importance of this, as demonstrated in Chapter 1, is that existing research into migrant workers tends to maintain a sovereign view of power in management. Before turning to the specifics of disciplinary power, I will introduce how the problem of managing workers has been researched and theorised in the published literature. This pass through various traditional ‘lenses’ of managing workers will depict an overly simplistic view; however, my objective in this section is not to show a carefully studied history, rather it is to map out a rough trajectory of approaches to management theory that could have been drawn upon in a research project into the management of migrant workers.
2.1 Introducing some ‘trajectories’ of Management Theory

According to Weber, Marx, and Durkheim, the early periods of industrial capitalism resulted in considerable forces acting upon the managing and organising of workers e.g. technology to support mass manufacturing. For Marx, this resulted in task specialisation and the division of labour that ‘caused’ worker alienation. For Weber, there was a ‘natural’ process where organisations were hierarchically structured into functions and managed through clearly articulated rules, rationalisation, and bureaucratisation. For Durkheim, there was a movement from the mechanical to organic (meritocracy, talent based) division of labour. From the 1900s, management focused on organising workers in instrumental forms, that is to say, controlling bodies, hearts and minds for efficiency and profit. The demand for speed brought upon from the First World War resulted in the emergence of numerous innovations from Taylorism, the technical divisions of labour. Finally, through Fordism, the workforce marked another change in the embracing of mass consumption. Distinct from scientific management, Mayo (1933) spawned another movement after documenting problems with the overly scientific views at that time, which he phrased as the “…administrative élite has become addict of a few specialist studies and has unduly discounted the human and social aspects of industrial organisation” (Mayo, 1933:173/174). The Human Relations movement of Mayo and others targeted the worker, manager and groups alike in the project to understand the required “human conditions of sustained production” (1933:4), in attempts to overcome the monotony of industrialisation of work through the manipulation of physical, environmental and psychological aspects of the work.

In the last fifty years, writers such as Tom Peters have prescribed new approaches to problems of over-bureaucratised and underperforming organisations with new conceptualisations of culture management. An “…attempt to elicit and direct the required efforts of members by controlling the underlying experiences, thoughts, and feelings that guide their actions. Under this normative control, members act in the best interest of the company not because they are physically coerced, nor purely from an instrumental concern with economic rewards and sanctions” (Kunda, 1992:11). Kunda (1992) calls it,
following others, (Du Gay, 1991, Du Gay and Salaman, 1992) the latest in normative managing and the creation and control of high performing workers. He asks the question, does strong culture management work and what are the consequences for workers? In his cultural ethnography of the strong culture in a High Tech firm, he found evidence of the coding of culture, the rituals enacting, enforcing and reinforcing culture, and self-identity display through role adoption and artefactual displays in the open offices. He argues, that member management was effected through corporate culture, not traditional bureaucratic control systems. By this, he means that members of teams actively manage and direct behaviour of others in that team. Nevertheless, he points out that this engineering of culture is ‘overlaid’ or complementary to traditional utilitarian systems of control where individuals maximise their utility to receive maximum compensation and benefit.

Not all have agreed with the arguments of corporate culture literature (see Giddens 1991; Willmott, 1993). Willmott undertook a critical analysis of the culture literature, not from an effectiveness perspective but from a moral perspective. According to Willmott, the corporate culture movement has two sides - one side is the camp that sees normative control assisting workers to find meaning and satisfaction, while on the other side is the camp who see autonomy as ignorance, and slavery as freedom. In other words, despite evidence of Kunda’s research on members distancing from corporate culture, he worries that not enough workers have the faculty or resources to create this separation. Since the 1990s, identity studies have provided alternative explanations for worker behaviour, and Alvesson and Willmott have developed a new process based explanation of managing workers through identity regulation and identity work. Identity regulation is “regulating employees ‘insides’ - their self-image, their feelings and identifications….a pervasive and increasingly intentional modality of organisational control” (2002:622). Their focus was not to rehash issues around external bureaucratic organisational control, but rather to demonstrate self-administered controls such as appealing to emotion, passion, conscience. Another branch of research is that of Labour Process Theory (LPT) the wage-labour bargaining between management and workers (or between capital and labour) is at the core of management theory; Control
over workers by management and resistance from workers are consistent themes (Thompson & van den Broek 2010). LPT is the theorisation of behaviour and phenomena between the ‘poles’ of worker and management in wage-effort bargaining and a high-level interest is in how workers negotiate less effort for more pay, and management secure more effort for less pay. Intellectuals such as O’Doherty (2009) point to LPT’s narrow goal of hedging and equipping workers against management, the tendency of dualistic thinking and creating grand narratives.

What should be obvious from these approaches to management theory is that these traditional ‘lenses’ are suitable for and often applied to investigating categorisations that are focused on explaining managing and organising workers at work, or aimed at a single organisation population (du Gay, 1996 and Giddens, 1991 are obvious exceptions). Naturally, perhaps, management scholars are mostly interested in management in organisations while leaving ‘management’ as a dispersed set of practices across geographies, organisations, institutions, and actors to other disciplines.

2.2 Management as Power

“Power is at the centre of any critical management studies research or writing since organisations are seen as sites for its social reproduction” (Knights, 2009).

Power is intrinsic to practising management (Deetz, 1992; Deetz, 2003; Fulop & Linstead, 2004:183) and understanding management (Townley, 1993). How management theorists, managers and workers have conceptualised power has varied. Fulop and Linstead have attributed the early conceptualisations of power to Robert Dahl and Max Weber. Early management theory viewed power as first, unitary and in the legitimate hands of managers, and later it viewed power as pluralist and in the hands of any group. Fulop and Linstead introduce Lukes (1974) four dimensions of power, with respect to management. One-dimensional power is where management or a manager ‘forces’ workers to behave in a certain fashion, not through struggle but legitimacy, the natural state of things, a need for hierarchy. Two-dimensional
(political) power is where the workers (often in groups or departments) labour for or against other groups or departments. This approach might result in workers duping management or another department into taking one course of action or another. The theorising of power in these first two dimensions tends to lack emphasis on the asymmetries of power. Three-dimensional “invisible” power (Fulop & Linstead, 2004 citing Lukes, 1974) highlights power disparities in these two dimensions. Luke’s ‘radical’ approach was to show how legitimacy acts to reinforce the status quo and maintain systems of domination and constraints are implemented via rules, technology, procedures, structures, and ideologies. Three-dimensional power is where management attempts to educate, convince, or persuade workers to accept their role, thereby removing the problem of conflict and struggle before it should occur. In four-dimensional power, “Power in this view exists not as a property of A or B, but as a quality of the relationship between them. Each is empowered in certain ways, each limited in others, by the relationship...Thus rather than seeing power as held by the powerful and exercised to enforce conformity among the powerless, it is more instructive to attend to ‘those contextually specific practices, techniques, procedures, forms of knowledge routinely developed in attempts to shape the conduct of others’” (Linstead et al., 2004:200).

Shaping the conduct of others need not be by physical force. For Foucault, this has been achieved through the structuring of “…the field of possibilities of action of other people” (Foucault, 1982: 790). This conceptualisation of power accepts that identities and interests of managers and workers do not originate from them, rather before their construction and placement (Deetz, 2003:39). Here power does not reside in the manager or the worker; or in one group or another as is commonly pointed out in the literature (see Barker, 1993). In this way, the manager and worker, or group are empowered or constrained by the quality of that relationship. This relational view of power is where less emphasis is on the analysis of action, but on how knowledge and categorisations structure subjectivity and action (Deetz, 1992; Knights & Willmott, 1989). This latter four-dimensional power was of most interest in this study, given the possibility it offered to step outside ‘sovereign’ conceptions of power (for applications of this see
Deetz, 1992; Deetz, 2003; Jacques, 1996; du Gay, 1996). As Deetz suggests, “attention to this [sovereign form] can be misleading and often conceals more pervasive and subtle procedures of power and the sites of its deployment. Foucault’s conception of disciplinary power allows a description of the enabling as well as constraining constitutive capacity identified as power.” (Deetz, 2003:29)

By widening the notion of management and managing, we step ‘outside’ of the traditional study ‘inside’ an organisation which is required, I argue, when one accepts the possibility of migrant workers could come from ‘spaces’ not normally associated with workers’ direct management. One image that comes to mind when thinking about the ‘plight’ of the low-income migrant worker is the abused and exploited victim, be that by States, business owners, or managers. This image is one saturated with power as negative, prohibitive or repressive. But as Foucault argues, the problematisation of power needs to consider the productive role, not solely negative repressive ones (Deetz, 2003; Clegg et al., 2006).

To escape this hegemonic representation of power and to increase our understanding of the management of the lives of the migrant worker, I turned to the writings of Foucault (1977; 1978; 2003a; 2009). I was encouraged by CMS writers that have carried on this line of inquiry in studying the “development of the obedient, normalised mind and body” (Deetz, 2003:27). In this conceptualisation, power cannot be seen as something that one simply attempts to eradicate “because it is synonymous with social relations; moreover, it can be positive as well as negative, productive as well as destructive, and supportive as well as constraining” (Knights, 2009). In the following section, I will move to position and explain this conceptual basis in more detail for this ethnographic enquiry.
2.3 How to view Foucault’s concepts of Power?

“Michel Foucault has moved from being marginal to organisation studies to perhaps the most important authority in critical management studies.” (McKinlay, Carter & Pezet, 2012:3)

There have been three main ways that CMS authors have drawn upon Foucauldian work. First, on governmentality (see Dean, 2010; Miller & Rose, 2008; Fleming, 2014); second, on ethics (see Townley 1995; Chan, 2000; Starkey & Hatchuel, 2002); and finally, on disciplinary power, the subject of this chapter. During the 1990s, disciplinary power was popular and impactful with CMS scholars. For some authors, these governmental or ethics studies can be viewed as a Foucault’s own ‘corrective’ to his earlier views on disciplinary power (Weiskopf and Munro, 2011; Fleming, 2014). But, as I will argue, Foucault’s concepts and ideas on power were not meant to be specific to one period only, nor to be transcendental across time and space. There was no sovereign period; a disciplinary period; a governmentality or ethical period per se. Neither is there a universal transcendental theory of disciplinary power. That is not to say, however, that these practices cannot exist in other periods and places. To substantiate this, I will provide the following evidence from the first three Chapters of Foucault’s 1978/79 lectures, ‘Security, Territory, and Population’.

Foucault starts by giving examples of systems of thought from certain periods in relation to responding to epidemics (Foucault, 2009, 19/24). He outlays various systems of thinking to deal with the epidemic: sovereign power (the model of the leper); disciplinary power (the model of the plague); and ‘security’ (the model of smallpox). From Discipline and Punish (1977), Foucault had already shared the differences in power’s execution as seen in the models of the leper and the plague. In these depictions, the leper was subject to the practice of exclusion, marked, branded, placed into specific locations against his/her will.

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33 Sewell & Wilkinson (1992) ‘Someone to watch over me’ has been cited over 840 times in google scholar.
34 CMS scholars have largely ignored or missed these three Chapters. Out of 12,000 articles only 20 times were these lectures referenced. That said, conservative Foucauldian scholars scorn the use of lectures over books the Foucault himself published.
The plague victim was subjected to ‘strict spatial partitioning’ under the constant gaze of the intendant and strict rules governed the plague victims’ mobility and any disobedience could result in punishment. Each household was carefully registered, and had the individuals’ treatment monitored. The intendant visited individuals daily to assess results and needs, to conduct daily roll calls, and to implement the hyper-regulation of every detail of the individual’s life. But, in Security, Territory, and Population (2009), Foucault elaborated on the differences between the model of the plague and the model of smallpox. He shows with the model of smallpox, how the treatment of the sick via a system of free-flowing circulations differed from the ‘treatment’ by exile (leper victim), and from segregation and confinement (plague victim). Foucault stresses that, across these different systems of thought, the population was often the target. The point is that Foucault says, “Actually, to describe things in this way, as the ancient, modern, and contemporary, misses the most important thing” (2009:21). That is, to varying degrees’ different technologies of power are potentially in play.

What Foucault shows is how technologies of power/government and the rationalities of (governmentalities) were not distinct periods of visibility never to reappear but together were and will always be a possibility. Essentially Foucault is clarifying how we might think about technologies and techniques of power. He indicates that in no way was his work meant to be a theory of power it but was instead an analysis of how it functions, “in terms of the set of mechanisms and procedures that have the role or function and theme… and it as such, and only as such, that the analysis of mechanisms of power could be understood as the beginnings of something like a theory of power” (2009:16/17). We can see here a clear distinction, that alongside the history of techniques, there is a “much more general, but of course much more fuzzy history of the correlations and systems of the dominant feature which determine that, in a given society and for a given sector – for things do not necessarily develop in step in different sectors, at a given moment, in a given society, in a given country – a technology of security, for example, will be set up, taking up again and sometimes even multiplying juridical and disciplinary elements and redeploying them within its specific tactic” (2009:23). Foucault argues, “So, there is not a series of
successive elements, the appearance of the new causing the earlier ones to disappear. There is not the legal age, the disciplinary age, and then the age of security…We should not see things as the replacement of a society of sovereignty by a society of discipline, and then of a society of discipline by a society, say, of government” (2009, 22/143). One model is not replacing another; rather he is pointing out that the techniques of power in themselves can have very long histories. “For Foucault, there is no external position of certainty, no universal understanding that is beyond history and society…[Foucault’s] main tactic is to historicise such supposedly universal categories…each time he encounters them.” (Rabinow, 1984). Or as Deleuze (1988) describes, Foucault was a cartographer of power, a ‘drawer’ of diagrams of power, and “diagrams of power is a spatio-temporal multiplicity”, it involves relations between forces and is constantly evolving, and “[every] society has its diagram[s].” (Deleuze, 1988:34/35)

Following Foucault, power will not be read as a universal or transcendental, but as an ongoing possibility in the management of the everyday lives of low-income migrant workers. Therefore, conceptually I need to remain open to different configurations of power depending on empirical specificity, and I argue that if models and techniques of power have individual histories, then they may be present, and they may also have futures. These configurations of techniques of power will necessarily be situational i.e. they manifest themselves in a specific space and time. I assume that disciplinary techniques, if they exist, would have had a history, a present, perhaps a future; and that disciplinary power will be entangled with other technologies of power. It is the ‘present time’ of interest in this study, one that focuses on a single aspect, that of the possibility of techniques of disciplinary power manifest during the period 2013-2015 along this south-to-south migration path. In the following section, I will draw upon Foucault and CMS in order to build up an understanding of disciplinary power and its techniques.

35 For Foucault, this type of analysis was only available through genealogical method and not ethnography. This problem of methodology will directly addressed up in the next Chapter.
2.4 Introducing Disciplinary Power

In his influential book, Discipline and Punish (1977), Foucault focused on the emergence of disciplinary power, what he termed one of “bourgeois society’s great inventions” (Foucault, 2003a:36). Speaking broadly, Foucault argues that disciplinary power was more effective and cheaper than previous sovereign models, where disciplinary power is seen as exercised as a strategy of control in and through subjects (Foucault, 1977:26). He saw sovereign and disciplinary power as “…two distinct types of power corresponding to two systems, two different ways of functioning: the macrophysics of sovereignty…and then the microphysics of disciplinary power” (Foucault, 2003b:27); and he sought to release us from the analysis of power in sovereign terms, to “reveal the problem of domination and subjugation instead of sovereignty and obedience” (Foucault, 2003a, 25-27). For Foucault, the technology of disciplinary power emerged as one of the conditions of possibility for the entire “…establishment of industrial capitalism and the corresponding type of society” (Foucault, 2003a:36). This was achieved through a process of normalisation where disciplinary power functions through networks, and where it focuses on the individual body on the minute action of individuals whether it be in the factory, the school, the prison, the hospital, etc. (Foucault, 1977). It is directed at the human body, its action, as something to be organised. Foucault introduces us to two models; one direct (physical, training) and one indirect (through surveillance, the gaze), that are both underpinned by some penal punishment system that persecutes those that will fall outside the ‘norm’. Discipline is centripetal, in that it “…functions to the extent that it isolates a space, that it determines a segment. Discipline concentrates, focuses, and encloses and the first action of discipline is in fact to circumscribe a space in which its power and the mechanisms of its power will function fully and without limit” (Foucault, 2009:67). Disciplines maintain their discourse and knowledge. Disciplines are “adaptive and generative, as inventive, innovative and productive” (Hook, 2007:76) within its theoretical horizon.

36 Obviously, Foucault is not referring to individual techniques of disciplinary power. These have very long histories.
Disciplinary power has been an area of interest in CMS as the following section will show. Some of the earliest examples of disciplinary power in CMS come from Burrell who brought attention to “disciplinary modes of domination” in the modern-postmodern debate (Burrell, 1988:225), and O’Neil and Jacques who argue for the emergence of the docile disciplinary worker (O’Neill, 1986; Jacques, 1996). Jacques (1996) dedicated a significant part of his genealogy (from 19th century to 21st century) of management knowledge to disciplinary power. In his world of “the employee”, he attempts to show that the American worker was a product of a ‘second industrial revolution’ from around the 1920s. His thesis is that from scientific management, the ‘employment managers’ movement’, and the emergence of industrial psychology is from where our contemporary view of management and the worker emerged. Where the employee becomes the object of knowledge for managers, organisations, and governments, and where knowledge is capitalised. Adopting these disciplinary concepts, others have covered a broad range of issues: organisation control of the worker (Sewell and Wilkinson, 1992); constructing the vital, enterprising, responsible worker (Rose, 1999; Miller & Rose, 2008); accounting’s emergence in the construction of the governable person (Miller & O’Leary, 1987; Carmona et al., 2002); the deployment of disciplinary techniques in accounting (Hoskin & Macve, 1986); HRM’s deployment of disciplinary techniques (Townley, 1993/1994) and HRM’s deployment of circulatory human capital and normalisation techniques (Weiskopf & Munro, 2011; Munro, 2011; Fleming, 2014); and, marketing’s construction of the desiring consumer (Hodgson, 2002). What were these specific techniques and how has CMS drawn upon these techniques in critical work? The techniques of disciplinary power have been grouped into three related areas: dividing practices, classification practices, and subjectification (Rabinow, 1984). I have added surveillance as a technique as it is intricately related to the other three techniques, but even more importantly I wanted to separate the notion of the panopticon that has on my reading frequently been conflated with disciplinary power itself. There is more to disciplinary power than the self who learns to watch and self-discipline him/herself, as we will see in the coming sections. The ‘aim’ of these techniques is to subject, use, transform, and improve an individual in many different settings.
2.4.1 Techniques of Disciplinary Power: Dividing practices

Dividing practices were developed throughout Foucault's writings on The History of Madness, The Birth of the Clinic, and Discipline and Punish. Dividing practices involved several techniques. The first method of disciplinary power is the ‘art of distributions’ (Foucault, 1977:141) by the physical distribution to impose some order (enclosure, partitioning, function, and rank). Foucault has shown that this method, in different periods, has been used to organise groups in society e.g. plague victims, military personnel, or criminals, or the insane, etc. The second method is the ‘control of activity’ a temporal control of time where bodies are adjusted to the time that suits the organiser e.g. ‘establish rhythms, impose particular occupations, regulate the cycles of repetition’ (Foucault 1977:149). The third method is the temporal description of work e.g. elaboration of the act: the regulatory rhythm and timespan of each given activity in the timetable; the pace imposed upon activity. The fourth method is ‘the organisation of geneses’ as in an instrumental efficiency of organising bodies in time. The last method is the ‘composition of forces’ where resulting in the arrangement of groups of bodies into organisations.

Closely related to the process of dividing practices is the examination (Hoskin & Macve, 1986; Townley, 1993). Certain power-knowledge relations create knowledge that in turn create certain classifications, and in many areas to be competent to practice one must demonstrate sufficient ‘discipline’ by participating in and passing examinations37. “The most pervasive power is that which makes its subjects cooperate and connive in their subjection to it” (Hoskin & Macve, 1986: 106). The examination can be involved in the further hierarchisation, ranking, and placement of individuals into subject positions. For Foucault, the individual is one of power’s prime effects (Foucault, 1980:98). From within CMS, as pointed out by Deetz, Foucault shows how disciplinary power ‘positions’ workers in particular ways. These subject positions “…are not filled with false needs or hidden values. Rather it is the truth and naturalness of the domination, the free acceptance, that make it so powerful” (Deetz, 2003:30). And,

37 The PhD is no exception.
Carmona’s et al. (2002) investigation shows how these material dividing practices were combined with spatial and accounting practices where cost centres rendered workers output calculable, and interventions across these abstract enclosures would become possible. Through dividing practices, the idea is that the emerging society is one that is monitoring and policing everyone - thus all are controlled down to a minute detail to prevent resistance and revolution.

2.4.2 Techniques of Disciplinary Power: Scientific Classification

Scientific Classification takes an important role in the constituting of the individual and their later disciplining. “It arises from "the modes of inquiry which try to give themselves the status of sciences; for example, the objectivising of the speaking subject …[or] the objectivising of the productive subject, the subject who labours, in the analysis of wealth and of economics” (Rabinow, 1984:9). Through these ‘scientific’ analyses to be divided into groups through the certain categories established e.g. mad/sane; man/women; adult/child etc. According to Jacques (1996), strategies of enclosure first stimulated the development of techniques of classification\(^{38}\) in management (Jacques, 1996:101). Classification becomes crucial and enables the ordering of human resources before managers and workers adopt these roles. Classification required ‘a world ruled by number’ (Jacques, 1996:103), one informed by statistical knowledge, knowledge that began according to Jacques to be exteriorised from the worker and no longer inside the worker. ‘Enclosed, classified, and quantified’ (Jacques, 1996:106). These quantifications for Jacques is wherein the externalised knowledge caged the worker who had his/her productivity measured in ratios and benchmarked, then behaviour intervened on and through depending where s/he appears on the normalised scale. “This new world of disciplinary power relations was not simply a system of oppression, but neither was it benign. For better or worse, it became the primary form of social control shaping the industrial society. It is not a form of privilege per se because nobody controls it or stands outside of it. It is, rather, the framework within which issues of control, reward, and influence are

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\(^{38}\) This is recognition that Hobbs (and early management thought) was erroneous, the fundamental assumption of humans that they are equal physically nor mentally when they are not.
In the narrow perspective of management as something managers do, accounting (like HRM) has been an essential part of the disciplinary processes of categorisation, quantification, and evaluation; and points to the ‘counting’ fields continuing relevance in theorising management (Miller & O’Leary, 1987; Carter et al., 2002). Miller and O’Leary (1987) show how the emergence of certain knowledge and practices in cost accounting and behavioural psychology contributed to the approaches to the management and administration of workers. Accounting offered a specific government/management technique that renders visible, certain phenomena from which it is possible to determine the norm for worker performance, and that in turn leads to the problem of addressing outliers. They demonstrate how accounting and organisations should be seen as particular sites where the nation would attempt to address “the urgent felt need to identify and to eliminate shortcomings in such matters as people’s mental and physical health, and the quality of their offspring, as well as their contribution to the economy” (Miller & O’Leary, 1987:261).

2.4.3 Techniques of Disciplinary Power: Subjectification

Subjectification is defined as the "way a human being turns him-or herself into a subject." (Foucault, 1982:778). Key to the functioning of dividing practices and surveillance; and to the processes of classification and examination is the ‘self’. Rose (1999) argues that the 'self' has become an essential part of the networks of power in contemporary times, and that the contemporary subject39 is ‘obliged to be free’. Different technologies are used to shape the thinking, behaviour and subjectivities of the individual in society. He argues that, “this has not been achieved through the growth of an omnipotent and omniscient central state whose agents institute a perpetual surveillance and control over all its subjects” (1999:217) For du Gay (1996), to develop the enterprising subject in a productive society the

39 I might add Western, European, or UK/US subject. His claims could not have extended into all geographies.
worker is discursively constructed in a ‘cultural economy’ that redefines what it means to be a ‘person’ or ‘worker’; the enterprising, entrepreneurial subject emerged from a form of rationality that attempted to responsibilise the self-regulating subject, a flexible economic agent in a liberal free market. Here the worker (consumer etc.) has become to be intensely governed in liberal democratic systems - not crushed like in communism, but fabricated and manufactured (Rose, 1999). Rose builds a case of how the self-actualising, self-designed, self-managed adult worker came into existence, who is now obliged to self-select a style of living through consumerism. So, the self, subjectivity and certain subject positions are important results of power, not solely or necessarily disciplinary.

Knights & Willmott (1989), drawing on Foucault, entered into the “missing subject” debates in the labour process theory. “[S]ubjectivity understood as a product of disciplinary mechanisms, techniques of surveillance and power-knowledge strategies: human freedom is constituted through their mediation of subjectivity. Through processes of individualisation, the activation of autonomy is seen to become preoccupied with disciplining the self in ways that secure the recognition and confirmation of significant others” (Knights & Willmott, 1989:555). Their argument is that the analysis of subjectivity and its integral relationship to power is important to the agency/structure debates in sociology.

2.4.4 Techniques of Disciplinary Power: Surveillance

A consequence of dividing practices “is the distinctive arrangement of observation and close surveillance” (Sewell, 1988:226). According to Foucault's (1977) thinking, embodied in Bentham's Panopticon is the idea that once we understand that we are constantly under surveillance, it becomes irrelevant to know if actually, anyone is watching - in effect, we become self-surveilling in our contemporary psychic prison. Instead, the subject finds him/herself within a process of internalisation where “Torture is displaced from the surface of the body to the inner soul; surveillance is transformed from a matter of external overseeing to a rigorous self-policing” (Downing, 2008:84). Sewell and Wilkinson (1992) were amongst the first that brought theorising surveillance and the impact of the
disciplinary gaze as an organisational control in organisations. The gaze that they refer to comes from both vertical (management-employee) and horizontal (peer group to peer group) perspectives, and they show how management systems can bring about more efficient control of workers over “dysfunctional” sovereign/bureaucratic (Tayloristic) mechanisms (Sewell & Wilkinson, 1992:276). This is achieved through electronic visibility, up/down and spatially/collocated across the organisation. Sewell (1998) later develops the disciplinary ‘monster’ he coined as “chimaera of control” as the primary mechanism that managers and organisations deploy to a cage and enclose workers. He shows us how electronic surveillance not only contributes to normalisation of the ‘bad’ worker but how it also highlights the ‘excellent’ worker, ready for further exploitation, under the guise of organisational improvement. Sewell and Wilkinson (1992) show that worker control through visibility and worker autonomy can co-exist “through a complex interaction of rationalising surveillance and disciplinary forces internal to teams” (Sewell and Wilkinson, 1992:414). But, we need to be cautious not to treat panopticism as a synonym for discipline. Surveillance is one aspect but does not cover all disciplinary techniques such as pyramids of observation, classification systems, task allocation, schedules, and movement coordination (Dutton, 1992:286).

2.4.5 Techniques of Disciplinary Power: Summary
The below summary is not meant to represent a complete theory of disciplinary power (as there isn’t one). Instead, its purpose is to offer a heuristic device to develop the concepts to use in the analysis of empirical data. Conceptually the argument is that disciplinary power acts on the actions of individuals or groups, it acts on the “disparate field of possibilities” (Foucault, 1982:788). This power acts on ‘free’ subjects, subjects that can ‘choose’ to act one way or another. In the management context, Miller and Rose (1990) stress how the ‘free’ individual practices self-discipline and actively engages in the achievement of organisations or society’s goals. Controlling the conduct of individuals is thus from afar,

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40 There is a burgeoning body of work in surveillance studies, including a push towards a post-panopticism. See David Lyons (2006) Theorizing Surveillance: The Panopticon and Beyond. Willan Publishing.
but also up close with the help of direct bodily training from disciplinary techniques. Along with du Gay, Miller and Rose (1990) show how the discourse of ‘enterprise’ incited a certain kind of subject, a subject ready to accept the dispersal of the government of life to organisations and the individuals themselves. Their message is that these techniques increasingly operate through the subject’s ‘freedom’.

The techniques of disciplinary power can be assembled and summarised as follows:

1. Dividing practices
   a. Physical distribution (enclosure, partition, function and rank).
   b. Control of activity (division of time; elaboration of procedures; proscription of body and correct gesture; body and object definition; exhaustive productive use).
   c. Organisation of genesis (regulate activities: dividing time; putting time into series; conducting examinations of competency levels).
   d. Composition of forces (resulting arrangement of groups of individual bodies; productive; machine metaphor).

2. Classification
   a. Constituting individuals in discourse from research; and then feeding back into customising or refining techniques of disciplinary power. Categorisation into the normal/abnormal, ranked, function, etc. are intricately related in a circular fashion to the implementation of dividing practices.
   b. Numbers; statistics; ratios; performance measures; benchmarks.

3. Subjectification
   a. Turing oneself into a subject.
   b. Individualisation.
   c. Consent.
   d. Self-disciplining (circular).

4. Surveillance
a. Making visible subjects.


c. Human and technological elements.

Jacques (1996) following Foucault, highlights how historically the worker was rewarded or punished on binary rule distinctions but this gradually changed into disciplinary techniques that offered a normalised continuum of possibilities. Jacques shows how ‘improved’ were the disciplinary techniques of power were over the sovereign juridical binary systems of right and wrong, reward and fines, skill/no skills (versus capacities). Since the establishment of business schools, we can see that the techniques of disciplinary power have been institutionalised into sets of best practices and management theories (Townley, 1993/1994). We have seen this from Townley and Weiskopf & Munro in HRM; Sewell and Wilkinson in surveillance; Knights and Willmott in labour process; Miller & O’Leary and others in accounting and finance. We have also seen that disciplinary can be scaled from the level of organisation (e.g. a firm, a prison, a school, etc.) to the level of society (Jacques, 1996; Rose, 1999; du Gay, 1996; O’Neill, 1986).

O’Neill (1986) meanwhile sees disciplinary techniques as reactions to problems inherent in the early industrial capitalist society, a dysfunctional and ill-disciplined army of labour and citing the common space of the material body where discipline is inscribed. He argues that “worker discipline [was] the main ingredient aimed at improving the moral habits of the labouring poor, to make them orderly, punctual, responsible and temperate” (1986:47). He stresses the transformation of the ‘great man’ to that of the normalised/calculable man, a reversal of fortunes in a disciplinary society where organisations and organising were modelled on the prison. O’Neill claims that “The discipline of the factory…remains the ultimate source of labour’s docility” (O’Neill, 1986:55). Townley (1993) argues that while these ‘innocent’ techniques form much of the content of standard business school textbooks and contemporary organisation design, they help to obscure reality through offering a ‘natural’ way of managing and
organising that privileges managers over the non-manager. In other words, a priori workers are placed into institutionalised subject positions by graduating MBA students that become managers. How far these techniques of disciplinary power extend across the management (in the wider sense discussed in Chapter One) of the lives of the migrant worker is the key question in this thesis. Understanding dividing practices, classification, subjectification, and surveillance act as key starting points for my analysis in the empirical Chapters Five through Seven.

2.5 Criticisms of Disciplinary Power

Foucault has been fiercely criticised by many scholars and intellectuals (Chan, 2000). In terms of disciplinary power, the first criticism is the sheer pessimism and negativity of his notions of disciplinary power. For these proponents (see Fraser, 2003; Barratt, 2003), the Orwellian vision of a totalising gaze over its subjects, removes all resistance and agency from the subject. To an extent, this debate will be relevant this thesis, in particular, in the discussion on the contemporary functioning of the techniques of disciplinary power in the management of migrant workers.

A second criticism comes from Labour Process Theory where the proponents claim a Foucauldian notion of power excludes the unique employment relationship. Targeting Sewell and Wilkinson’s (1992) panopticism and surveillance, Thompson and Ackroyd argue that, “[n]ot only is the Foucauldian framework inherently flawed, it is not, as claimed, a better alternative to accounts of workplace relations” (1985:625). For these authors, accounts of management success in the control of workers make working with ‘resistance’ and ‘misbehaviour’ in the traditional sense of LPT very difficult. This is dangerous for Thompson, where discipline provides less effective explanations than straight forward control and resistance depictions. Moreover, they rebuke CMS scholars (particularly those of the Manchester School) arguing that these “new languages to describe old realities is always attractive to academics”

41 These include his counter intuitive ideas, for the ‘death of man’, for overly structuralist and deterministic thinking, for poor/inaccurate historical methods; for being a neo-conservative; for being an irrationalist; for being a relativist; and lastly for being a nihilist

42 Collinson, Contu, Grey, Kerfoot, Knights, McCabe, O’Doherty, Sturdy, Willmott, Worthington, Wray-Bliss (Source, Thompson and O’Doherty, 2009)
(1985:626). Foucauldian CMS work according to Thompson, “…tends towards self-referential textual games and (often obscure) meta-theorising, whose emphasis on deconstruction and denaturalisation problematizes everything and resolves nothing. As a result, epistemological radicalism makes it harder to conduct debates through common categories and criteria” (Thompson, 2009: 5). Foucauldian supporters, provide counter-claims that LPT exemplifies an over selective approach to discourse, knowledge and power (Hodgson, 2000). And, not to forget that LPT is underpinned by a ‘possessive’ and ‘repressive’ conception of power that the adoption of disciplinary power deliberately attempts to circumvent. That said, this debate is less important in this thesis as it is less constrained by this ‘boundary’ of what management and managers do. In regards to epistemological radicalism, this thesis adopts more of a ‘realist’ reading of Foucault. That is to say, I take migrant workers, employers, States, and families, etc. to exist (even when considered that they are emergent categories in discourse); instead, it is the management of the low-income migrant worker that I seek to problematize.

A third criticism comes from those who believe that Foucault’s claims of total surveillance of people’s behaviour, gestures and activity are overly exaggerated in disciplinary power (Latour, 2005). Fraser (2003) sees Foucault’s notions of disciplinary power firmly back in the Fordist era of the factory, the workshop, classrooms, and the military, where its relevance is rather dated or worse moribund due to being caught up in that era of the production society. She assumes, following Bauman (2000), that we all live in a highly networked and technological society where modernity is liquid and workers no longer find themselves trapped under someone's gaze (see also Munro, 2000). Weiskopf and Munro (2011) have since claimed that the ‘disciplinary world’ “which is populated by docile, normalized subjects, seems to be a project of the past...in a context of a dynamic and fluid organizations...Foucault’s [disciplinary] work may seem to lose some of its explanatory power.” (2011:686) But this last criticism ignores the observation that Foucault’s work was a cartographer of power (Deleuze, 1988:23) and these diagrams of power he excavated (including the techniques of disciplinary power) could always evolve/devolve into other forms and relations in different times and spaces. While Weiskopf and Munro
(2011) acknowledge this point, there is a general conclusion that we have evolved into and constituted through neoliberal governmentality. This thesis will be directly relevant to the discussion of the relevance of the techniques of disciplinary power. While it might be true that the view from many in CMS is that the contemporary Western or Global organisation is under a new regime of control (Deleuze, 1992), I argue that is not necessarily the case in all locations around the world.

2.6 Chapter Conclusion

From Chapter One, I articulated that CMS has (to date) ignored south-to-south migration paths. Inevitably one must view management practices in a conceptual way or another. To that end, I furthered the argument in this chapter that the restricted view of management as something performed solely by managers was deemed to be too limiting to explore the ‘management’ of migrant worker lives. Instead, I argued to see management as a set of practices of disciplinary power embodied in many individuals and institutions. The adoption of disciplinary power is a route to moving beyond the sovereign depictions of the management of migrant worker. Therefore I will neither privilege the voice of government, employer, or worker or their families. Conceptually, I see disciplinary power as mobile, dispersed, polyvalent, exercised from innumerable points, relational, and multi-directional. The techniques of disciplinary power work together in an attempt to control adjust and normalise the behaviour of individuals at the level of the individual. This conceptualisation differs from a sovereign force which directs its attention to the physical. Instead, disciplinary power is achieved through the regulating of time, space and activity. While surveillance and knowledge are central to discipline, these are not to be conflated with discipline. Instead, discipline is reinforced by the technique of surveillance (be that by the self, or the other). Knowledge is key to development of disciplinary categories (e.g. normal/abnormal, migrant/non-migrant) helping constitute people and know who they are.

It is apparent that disciplinary power has added much to our understanding of management: more generally (Jacques, 1996; O’Neil, 1986); or in specific management functions e.g. HRM (Deetz, 2003;
Townley, 1993) or accounting (Miller & O’Leary, 1987). These studies offer a point of further refinement and understanding of disciplinary techniques in different management settings. These studies cover a wide variety of historical periods and circumstances which should stress Foucault’s point that the techniques of disciplinary power should not be regarded as equal in all situations and periods. Given that it is argued that techniques of power have pasts, presents and perhaps futures, this results in the need to remain sensitive to the possibility of different articulations in different time and contexts. In other words, CMS should remain vigilant to contemporary ‘applications’ or emergences.

The point of articulating the techniques of disciplinary power is that this conceptual ‘lens’ that I constructed and analysed empirical materials, and write up my arguments. These techniques offer conceptual starting points where I may depart and move off into the possibility of difference. What Foucault noticed was that the technique might be the same, but its implementation depends very much on the strategic objectives or goals in question. This makes the techniques of disciplinary power relevant as a conceptual basis for new empirical settings, hence its ‘adoption’ in this study. These techniques of disciplinary power offer a rich conceptual departure point from sovereign power for investigating the management of life of the low-income migrant worker. Despite the criticisms directed at disciplinary power, I’ve argued that the techniques of disciplinary power remain important concepts that may enable us to understand the contemporary management practices dispersed around the migrant worker in the Asian-Abu Dhabi migration corridor. In summary, techniques of disciplinary power (dividing practices, classification, subjectification, and surveillance) can be made visible through investigating their occurrence in the management of the daily lives of low-income migrant workers. In this chapter, we have extensively built up what is known about the techniques of disciplinary power but what is known about the management of migrant workers will now be reviewed. In the next chapter, I will review various studies I’ve grouped under the umbrella term, migration studies to establish what is known in the literature about the treatment and the management of low-income workers who migrate along this south to south migration path, from Asia to Abu Dhabi.
CHAPTER 3: REVIEW OF THE MIGRATION/MIGRANT WORKERS LITERATURE

The purpose of this chapter is to build up an understanding of what is known about the management of the lives of migrant workers along the Asia-Abu Dhabi migration corridor. The Chapter will begin with an introduction into migration studies from the traditional economics and sociology domains. This is followed by a look at previous research from ‘CMS’ that I have grouped works by interests in employer, migrant worker, labour process, and union/support perspectives. We will see that there has been a lack of interest in south-to-south migration/migrant worker studies. That is not to say that there is no knowledge on migration and migrant workers in this region. Therefore, to build up what is known, I will supplement ‘CMS’ studies with GCC area specific ‘migration studies’ (MS), including a look at UAE/Abu Dhabi Human Rights record. This review will highlight the similarities and differences between the ‘CMS’ and MS bodies of research.

3.1 Introducing Migration Studies

Throughout history people have always migrated. In ancient times from Africa to Europe; through the Greek and Roman empires; later, west to the Americas; post World War I and World War II that opened the European Union, and that resulted in migration to Australia and New Zealand. Since the 1980s migrant workers have and continue to flock to the newly industrialised economies such as the Gulf, Hong Kong, Singapore, Korea, Taiwan, and Japan (de Guchteneire, Cholewinski and Pécoud, 2009). The UN’s International Labour Organisation estimated (in 2010) worldwide there are more than 214 million international migrants. Workers make up more than 105 million of this total, while the remaining migrants are made up of other categories e.g. family members, refugees, asylum seekers, etc. Therefore, with these levels of migration comes considerable interest across many disciplines in explaining the phenomena of migration and the experiences of migrants. These migration studies have been inextricably linked with (and therefore studied from) economics, geography, population studies, social development and human poverty, and anthropological perspectives (Koser, 2008). This is a vast

43 Source: www.ilo.org
literature but complementary across many disciplines (Castles et al., 2014). At the same time, they contain separate theoretical and methodological positions (Kamrava and Babar, 2012) including economics, policy studies, history, sociology, geography, political studies/human rights, development studies, and anthropological studies.

Mainstream economic theories invest in the problem of explaining migration and its effects. This interest can be at the macro level, for example how the abundance of natural resources in one nation attracts workers from others (see Razgallah, 2008) or the search for economic prosperity as an economic effect (Bauder, 2006). This can also be at the micro/individual level through the study of economic push/pull factors (Massey et al., 1993). Push factors may include fleeing from oppression or conflict, or social exclusion. Pull factors include ageing populations in capital rich countries, long-term employment, higher standards of living, and better futures for their children. In these sorts of studies, the migrant worker is a ‘homo-economicus’ making rational and conscious choices about the reason on why to migrate. This “functionalist” economic discourse posits that migrants naturally gravitate towards capital in search for wealth.

The economic argument is that these remittances improve the living conditions for those living in the labour exporting country. This improvement, it is argued, is achieved through financial gains and the benefit of tackling unemployment at home (Castles et al., 2014; Connell and Burgess, 2009). The World Bank estimates that remittances have reduced poverty by 11% in Uganda, 6% in Bangladesh, and 5% in Ghana (Green, 2008). But, the so-called economic value of migration has been contested (see Piore, 1979). Since the 1970s, “Historical-Structural” discourse based on neo-marxist analysis argues that the reality of control and exploitation of labour is obfuscated by functionalist and ‘natural’ equilibriums

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44 see Choucri, 1986; Winckler, 1997 on GCC specific conversations
45 See Berhabih, 2004
46 Figures of recorded remittances to developing countries have increased tenfold since 1990 (Green, 2008) and now exceed USD 530 billion (World Bank, 2013), often totaling more than foreign direct investments to those countries (Dudwick, 2011).
47 Based on Marxist Political Economy and Dependency Theory, later world systems theory (Wallerstein, 1974), and later Segmented Labour Theory (Piore, 1979)
theories of simple economic benefits that come from capitalism and globalisation. In this argument, people are forced to migrate because of structural forces (Castles et al., 2014). Sceptical of these positive analyses, Pierre Bourdieu (2002: 40) calls the “global reserve army of labor…composed of disposable, temporary, single workers with no social protection ideally suited to providing the overworked executives in the dominant economy with the cheap services they need” that forms part of a wider neoliberal economic regime. Others, such as Dudwick (2011), shows that exporting labour damages the country’s local markets, damages their competitiveness on the global stage, and conceals the fact that source country governments are not resolving local labour shortages, ultimately creating an entire relationship between two countries - one that will remain on perpetual ‘welfare’ (Dudwick, 2011).

Sociologists have invested in the problem of explaining and understanding labour migration at many levels and scales. Sociology has diverged from economic representations and brought into the fold different aspects of migration. These include the importance of the family in migratory decisions, or family and friend networks in chain and circular migration, or other social theories (see Park, 1928).

One important social theory is that of transnationalism – the idea that there is a need for an epistemic shift to understand migratory processes that move well beyond the jurisdiction of any single nation state (Robinson, 1998). International migrants stand at the intersections of economic and geopolitical processes (Sassen, 1998, 1999). Sassen (along with many others, see Faist, 1999) have pushed this notion of transnational theories to explain migration. The migration of labour is an embedded process that is shaped by systems, demography, and economics. Rather than simply the individual ‘will’ (in search of a better life) “…migration is produced, patterned and part of “specific historical phases” (Sassen, 1998:155). This point is important to consider when researching issues of migration in order to attempt to dispel the stereotyped image of “invasion” of poor, dangerous migrants into wealthy countries. Sassen’s interest remains both on a macro scale, that of inter-state and state mechanisms but also on the ethical register of exposing racism and inequality. Sassen’s keen insight exposes the discursive differences between heroic ‘settlers’ versus dangerous ‘migrants’ on the frontiers of Western civilisation.
If economic analysis appears to ignore human and family costs from migration, sociologists have attempted to draw out these costs but also to show how the network, the social, and the transnational mitigate such costs (Castles et al., 2014). This is important for socio-economic migration theories (with the support of contemporary technology that has the effect of reducing distance e.g. video, internet, etc.) as this reduced cost has the potential effect of increasing/causing migration (Castles et al., 2014).

A recent theory, called migration transition theory (see de Haas, 2010a) argues that migration can be explained by exploring the correlation between migration (inwards and outwards) with development of the country. The idea is that as countries develop there is an increase in the numbers of nationals emigrating but also there is an increase in the numbers of foreigners immigrating. That situation remains until such a point that the country reaches a developed ‘status’ and migration flows reverse. Recent examples of this could be claimed in Malaysia, Taiwan and South Korea (Castles, et al., 2014.) Despite the differences between the mainstream of economics and sociology, de Haas (2010a) notes that there are some parallel trends between them. For example, the epistemological challenges to research focused on global processes but constrained by methodological nationalism or by colonial perspectives (Meeus, 2012). These trends mimic paradigm changes in social theory more generally.

Sociological and economic theories of migration may explain why migration occurs, but it often leaves the actual experiences of migrants to other disciplines such as cultural or social anthropology, or to NGOs that focus on issues human rights and the social costs of migration. Anthropologists have studied two dimensions of migration: one is immigration from the receiving country perspective (either nationals or migrants’ experience48), and the other is on migratory movements and flows. These projects are often interdisciplinary with support from other fields: cultural studies; postcolonial studies; history; political science etc. (Castles, et al., 2014.).

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48 See Citizenship, Political Engagement, and Belonging: Immigrants in Europe and the United States by Reed-Danahay and Brettell (2008)
3.2 Migrant Workers and Management Studies: Previous Research

In Mainstream Management Studies (MMS) the interest in migration and migrant workers has been on the increase (see edited book collection, Bader, et al., 2017). MMS, from particularly the Human Resource perspective, tends to focus on two areas multinational corporations and professional self-initiated expatriates research. Both of these interests draw our attention towards the spectrum of privileged workers who undertake an international work experience, and often from global north to global south directions.

In multinational research, HRM studies attempt to know more about employee adaptation processes and strategies when they migrate to foreign locations. Research themes include managing expatriate managers; international female assignments; skills; and coping with diversity. In self-initiated expatriate research, HRM studies attempt to know more about career strategies; why expatriates migrate; how they integrate and adjust; additionally, in women’s careers; and worker career patterns. While multi-national research and self-initiated expatriates research are distinct, they have overlaps on company decision-making on whether to send workers to foreign territories or whether to seek expatriates locally. Self-initiated expatriates, the research argues, are cheaper for organisations than their corporate multi-national counterparts due to firms not needing to pay expensive relocation packages, and that international workers sourced locally are less complicated to manage e.g. with regard to the exporting country and payment of taxes (Al Ariss & Crowley, 2013). Multinational expatriates and self-initiated expatriates capture those who are endowed with professional experience, education, who are usually from developed countries, and often in management positions. Leonard (2010) attests that expatriates go through a turbulent process of displacement and re-ordering of nationality, race, ethnicity, class and gender into new identity constructions. But, Mike Davis, the Marxist Geographer, has noticed affluent expatriates’ situation as compared to low-income migrants proclaiming there is "a master-servant hierarchy reminiscent of the age of empire.” (2006:1). In other words, where multinational companies are
exploiting the cheap labour markets for their profitable advantage (Tock, 2010). MMS tends to ignore questions of power, power relations and power asymmetries (Alvesson & Willmott, 1992). The problem with these scholarly interest is that it draws us away from the marginal migrant workers and towards often privileged migrant workers.

‘CMS’ research into migrant workers has been on the increase during the past 15 years. ‘CMS’ has looked into a wide area including nations/migrants job distributions (Turner, 2010); policy and managing migration (Martin et al., 2006); effects of intermediaries (Shah, 2006; Fellini et al., 2007; Forde et al., 2015); effects from migrant workers on national workers; unions (Martinez-Lucio, 2003; Fitzgerald et al., 2012); employers experiences or strategies (Rodriguez, 2004; MacKenzie & Forde, 2009); effects on functions such as HRM (Connell & Burgess, 2009; Mackenzie & Forde, 2009; Forde & Mackenzie, 2009); on migrant power (Smith, 2006; Thompson et al., 2012); migrant worker attitudes towards work (Bauder, 2006); migrant experiences Holgate (2005); worker agency (Alberti et al., 2013); and vulnerability or “precariousness” workers (Holgate, 2005; Ahmad, 2008; Anderson, 2010b).

### 3.2.1 Research where the employer and recruiters are of central interest

Following on from Economist Piore’s (1979) argument that migration of workers can be explained by pull factors and employment demand, Rodriguez (2004) implicates employers as crucial to the recruitment of migrant workers over national workers. It is commonly proclaimed that employers prefer migrant workers over national workers as they are cheaper (Turner, 2010) and easier to ‘manipulate’ than

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49 As a migrant worker myself, I would fall into this secondary MMS category a self-initiated expatriate. The implicit ‘bias’ here will be discussed in Chapter four.

50 For this part of my review of the literature, I reviewed core CMS texts and critical journals for research material on low-income migrant workers. The journals included: Organization; Organization Studies; Human Relations; Gender Work and Organization; Culture and Organization; Critical Perspectives on Accounting; Consumption, Markets and Culture; Accounting Organization and Society; Work, Employment and Society; New Technology, Work and Employment; Sociology; Ephemera; Economy and Society. From articles found from this central canon, I then reviewed the author’s included references that took me elsewhere (for example, International Journal of Manpower or British Journal of International Relations). Finally, I scanned for materials from my attendance to recent streams of migrant worker research at both CMS and EGOS conferences.
national workers (MacKenzie & Forde, 2009). While research shows that there are not any ‘particular’ HRM practices identified for low-income migrant workers in most UK companies (Alberti et al., 2013), MacKenzie and Forde (2009) have shown how employers’ attitudes and strategies affect their use of migrant labour. They implicate management citing the predatory behaviour that they have when “focus[ing] their recruitment policy on groups of workers who were lacking in power within the labour market” (2009:155) whose goal is solely to increase profits and competitive advantages while keeping labour costs low (see also Rodriguez, 2004 for a similar line of thinking). But, Thompson et al. (2012) argue that some of this ‘force’ to behave in this manner for employers’ comes downstream as they form part of influential global supply chains. At the same time, this research interest in the employer has reinforced Turner’s work (2010) in that management see the good, flexible, and hardworking migrant workers as part of a strategy that maintains an advantage over local alternatives. Despite certain regulatory instruments aimed at this employer behaviour, a minimal compliance approach was seen in employers involved in Turner’s study. This highlights the ongoing paradox between HRM maximising organisational goals verse developing the migrant worker (Ford & MacKenzie, 2009).

Forde and MacKenzie (and co-authors) have emphasised that it’s not just employers, but temporary recruitment agents are also key intermediaries in the UK labour market. They emphasise how agencies attempt to shape the subjectivity of migrants into flexible and reliable workers by the deploying the strategy of building an over-supply of migrants on the books to meet client requests immediately (Forde et al., 2015). This oversupply creates a fear in workers that if they lose their ‘marketability’ as a good worker, the competition will be steep to get another placement. So in effect, workers may ‘tread’ more carefully than national workers. But, it is not solely agencies that play in the cycle of worker exploitation, Forde and MacKenzie (2009), for example, show how employers use informal recruitment strategies through workers who make the most of family, friends, and personal networks for new workers. In these situations, workers become ‘recruiters’ and perhaps play the ‘misinformation’ game (see Gardner, 2005 for this phenomena) to get their commission.
Along the same lines of shaping the subjectivity of workers, Anderson (2010) argues that employers through UK governmental policies and regulations ‘fashion’ vulnerable and precarious workers, through the subject positions of “I’m temporary” (e.g. on a work permit, undocumented, or illegal). “In practice, immigration controls might be more usefully conceived as a mould constructing certain types of workers through selection of legal entrants, the requiring and enforcing of certain types of employment relations, and the creation of institutionalised uncertainty (Anderson (2010b:312, italics in original). Anderson is highlighting a dependency relationship for workers under work permit systems. In such cases, if the employer is ‘unhappy’ with performance then they can withdraw the work permit, and unless the worker can find a new employer then they are required to leave the country. The combination of job insecurity and residency insecurity is a potent combination as an “additional means of control” through subjectification, that is “…those on work permits may be conscious enough of this possibility to police themselves.” (Anderson, 2010b:310). This docility and reliability in turn results in a positive reason for employers to employ migrants over nationals.

3.2.2 Research from the migrant worker perspective

Some research on migrant workers has focused on the adaptation of affluent skilled migrant workers (see Bach, 2007; Fang et al., 200951). Some have explored racism and discrimination among migrant care workers in the UK (Stevens, Hussein, & Manthorpe, 2011). Bauder’s work (2006) links workers’ attitudes as an outcome of negotiating these complex social, historical, and situational structures of habitus alongside the structure of economic opportunities. At the low-income end of the spectrum, some cases studies have emphasised aspects of the migrants’ life (MacKenzie et al., 2012). Holgate (2005) argued in her study of a London Sandwich Factory, that migrant workers often found themselves in downgraded jobs in the UK (what Turner, 2010 calls “brain waste”) when compared to their skills, education and experience as relevant to their origin country. Holgate’s research highlights how these

51 This Fang study highlighted that even professional skilled workers were not treated equally such as receiving training as compared to local workers]
workers were especially vulnerable if they were from an ethnic minority or were seeking asylum. Ahmad (2008) goes much further arguing that smuggled migrants “working in [UK] ethnic economies endure long hours, poor working conditions and a general context of insecurity” (2008:315). His research supports claims from international NGOs (such as Human Rights Watch), international union organisations (such as ITUC), or the press that migrant workers can be abused and put into positions of inequality and exploitation (in the GCC context see HRW 2012; 2013). Moreover, these claims match the research from the employer perspective - that to increase performativity it pays to adopt a strategy of exploitation, and they are welcome to “…go and get another job if they did not like it.” (Thompson et al., 2012:132) Therefore, “many [migrant workers are] willingly [to] accept and even choose vulnerabilities” (Thompson et al., 2012:132). However, the employee perspective research highlights that in spite of exploitation, migrants do have access to, or create migrant support communities (MacKenzie et al., 2012).

3.2.3 Research from labour process perspective

Labour process theorists have taken some interest in the migrant worker phenomena. Pun and Smith (2007) explored dormitory labour regimes for low-income migrant labour camps in Chinese clothing factories. They identify how the dormitory accommodation extended “management powers over workers’ lives” (2007:42) achieved through the additional controls over the workers time and the ability to encroach on workers in a way that is not so easy in places of conventional home–work separations. They argue that this accommodation regime lengthens the work day and provides easy access to labour power during the work day. Yet, Alberti (2014) argues workers are not powerless despite these asymmetrical power relations or the abuse and exploitation; or the downgrading of roles. For Alberti, low-income migrant workers are not passive victims shown by their capacity to deploy “mobility power”. Mobility power in this theoretical framing is a form of ‘resistance’ that is adopted by workers that develop new skills and obtain added experience while they ‘surf’ from one job to another. Moreover, European workers were able to use “…transnational exit power to quit bad jobs and defy employers’
assumptions about their availability to work under poor conditions” (Alberti, 2014:865). Workers here would ‘simply’ return to their origin country and then again return back to the UK at a later point. Workers without European passports still demonstrated flexibility by job hopping as much as possible to escape poor working conditions and or treatment.

3.2.4 Research from union/community support perspectives

Social movements/unions may take many forms. UK-based domestic migrant workers is area explored by Jiang and Korczynski (2016). They argue that obstacles exist that preclude this stratum of migrant workers from ‘organising’ resistance when compared to the workers studied by Alberti (2014). First, the UK operates visa laws that prevent domestic migrant workers from changing employers. Second, because migrant workers are considered to be at the bottom of the labour market, they tend to do “sub-contracted, temporary and casualised work” (Jiang & Korczynski, 2016:815). The bottom of the market is where migrant workers tend to concentrate and where precarious forms of employment can be most prominent (Jiang & Korczynski, 2016). Third, it is argued that neoliberal/deregulated labour markets create the conditions for disaggregation, fragmentation, and individualised identity (Castells, 1996) where this individualisation may strip workers of collective identity, and therefore collective action (Castells, 1996). For domestic migrant workers, this particular reality (identity and working conditions) can be extreme. Their placement into private homes strips them of easy/frequent access to spaces where other domestic workers congregate. Not to forget language and cultural restrictions might have them isolated, dependent and invisible. Fourth, because migrant workers’ subjectivities remain in tension, stuck in a “dual frame of reference”. On one side, their origin country and related conditions there (poverty, economics, unemployment, under-employment, culture, etc.), and on the other side, the country in which they work and related conditions there (perhaps precarious or exploited). While migrant workers will act on problems with working conditions in their origin country but conditions they tend to limit action in the country they migrate. Waldinger & Lichter conclude, that even with exploitation “their working and living conditions don’t rate too badly” to their origin country (Waldinger & Lichter, 2006:815).
Jiang and Korczynski (2016) demonstrate, in the UK setting, that community organising can create a ‘safe space’ where examples of “micro-mobilisation” and the liberation from certain discursive subjectivities such as labourers of love.

Supporting these studies arguments, “The Internet is an increasingly systematic feature of new migrant politics and representation” (Fitzgerald et al., 2012:93). These virtual spaces of support and mobilisation spread far wider than the UK border and set up new questions and complex relationships between workers and local unions. Some have explored the double-edged relationships between migrants and unions. On one side, there is the notion of supporting of all workers, but on the one hand protecting local workers from migrant workers from potential problems e.g. fewer jobs, lower wages, less training, etc. (Martínez Lucio, 2003; Erickson et al., 2002; McGovern, 2007).

3.2.5 Summarising ‘CMS’ work into Migrant Worker Studies

Two points stand out, first in the few studies I collected from ‘CMS’, capture various theoretical interests and themes on workers who have migrated to Europe, i.e. workers who have migrated from the global-south to global-north. The south-to-south migratory path is absent and remains an important subject to explore given that these countries may have very different social, cultural and political configurations that could have a significant impact on the ‘kind of’ management involved. To discount this logic suggests that management as a subject, is something that the global north claims as its own, or that it does it best. Second, ‘CMS’ (as a broad tent of critical projects) to date has restricted its study of migrant worker management in the conceptual frame of power as something that is possessed, by unions, by employers, or by workers. Power in this form, either the worker, migrates because he/she is pushed because of displacement or pulled because of employment demand from wealthier nations, or the migrant

52 For union recruitment strategies for migrants see Alberti, G., Holgate, J. & Tapia, M., 2013
53 Some of the above authors in this section would not be regarded or not regard themselves as part of CMS (Smith et al. Labour Process Theorists; and Forde et al. Work studies).
worker is exploited where he/she has skills downgraded, or they are put into vulnerable and precarious positions or migrant workers are active agents, yet suffer unequal power in the labour market and the employment relationship. With the exception of references to subjectification or “fashioning” of workers identities, the disciplinary conceptualisation of power is largely absent from these debates.

3.3 GCC based Migration/Migrant Workers Studies

The following anthropological migrant worker studies form an important input to this thesis. First reason is due to ‘CMS’ lack of worker studies in south-to-south migration paths. Second reason is due to previous economic and sociological studies along south-to-south migrant paths were often macro, quantified, or economic; therefore, anthropological studies provide alternatives to positivist representations (e.g. Marx/Gramsci see Longva, 1997; Wolfe see Gardner, 2005; Marxist see Aguilar, 2014). Third, something quite unique about GCC populations is that migrant workers make up the majority of the total population. Therefore, to an extent, an anthropological study is in part already, a study of management of workers.

The GCC is a geographic space that was largely ignored by academic scholarship, but since the 1980s, a small and robust canon has emerged (Kamrarva and Babar, 2012). Longva’s archival and ethnographic work (between 1987-1989) is regarded as seminal (Gardner, 2005; Kanna, 2011). Her interest was in ethnic-pluralism, as she asks the question of what is the cultural glue that holds Kuwaiti society together. Longva’s Marxian/Gramscian study focused on the employment relationship as fundamental to promote various social categorical dichotomies: local/non-local; Arab/Non-Arab; Muslim/Non-Muslim. The participation in these categories opens-up or excludes one from rights, benefits and resources, and certain social practices. To be a local worker almost invariably means one works in the public sector, salaries and benefits are higher in the public sector; as a non-local almost invariably means one works in the private sector. Kuwaiti labour law mimicked an agreement with the Arab League where the priority of employment must be given first locals, then Arabs, and then foreign labourers. Longva’s key thesis is
that social walls are built and navigated, people are defined, classified and immobilised into these categories to ensure that the structures of exclusion remain stable. “Each and every foreigner in Kuwait who originated from a country outside the GCC States has to be under the sponsorship either of a Kuwaiti citizen, or private or public institution” (Longva, 1997:79). Only on this work sponsorship can a residency visa be processed. Her work is most well-known for demonstrating the Kafala (sponsorship) system structures the lives of the low-income migrant worker (and Kuwaiti alike). The noun Kafala comes from the root k-f-l. Some of its derivatives mean to feed; to provide; to vouch; to be responsible for someone; or to be legal guardian of someone. The definition and scope of the Kafala system and Kafeel (sponsor) remains taken for granted and vague (Longva, 1997:79). Longva has tied the Kafala’s invention to the Bedouin custom of accepting members into one’s tribe temporarily or a pearling ship (1997:78/104), while Wright has tied it to be a British invention (2015).

The Kafala is a system designed to “press the expatriates into a pattern of submission and docility…and a way of protecting a vulnerable minority native population” (Longva, 1997: 108/109). Longva frames the Kafala system as the key “control mechanism” of society that functions through a demand-based decentralised process. By decentralised, Longva means that the State delegates of much of the responsibility and control over foreigners to the locals/nationals who brought the labour into the country. In the early years of Gulf city development, the governmental infrastructures could not have coped with the volumes. For many, it became a source of income (Lori, 2012). Longva is not solely interested in describing Kafala system but also to show how everyday practices and experiences of migrants and Kuwaiti’s reinforce this structure of dominance. One of these techniques she draws from the use of dress codes that structure daily relations of transient migrant workers, whom consent to being treated in a certain way, because it is only “temporary”.

54 Critically speaking, these will be very diverse categories as certainly is the case in Abu Dhabi. The single category of ‘Local’ or Emirati or Abu Dhabian can be of very different ‘kinds’ such as a person as sovereign, as a sheikh, as a close supporter of sovereign or from an important tribe, or from a less important tribe, perhaps tribe-less, or even stateless Bidoons.
Gardner (during 2002-2003) looked at Indian migrant workers, local Bahraini populations, and the Bahraini State through the theoretical lens of transnational theory. In the Gulf, migrant workers outnumber national workers which bring into sharp contrast the issues and challenges of migration and migrant labour. Gardner (2005) argues how it is the norm in these GCC societies to maintain segregated social worlds that function as a form of exclusion and dominance. While Longva was interested the question of society, Gardner was interested in Indian transnational identity and migration. Gardner investigates the structures of dominance over the migrant. He asks, who is served by such structures; what are the responses and coping strategies by workers against such structures; and what are the effects on the local citizenry and State? Where Longva emphasises a national based structural dominance, Gardner in many respects complements but also extends Longva’s (1997) investigation into ‘structural dominance’ finessed by contemporary thinking around migration as a transnational phenomenon. He explores migrant worker linkages back to labour sending countries, and the inclusion of families and family networks in migration decision-making. This move to transnationalism reflects an epistemic challenge to methodological nationalism. Gardner travelled to source labour countries to talk to people who had returned and talk to recruiters, etc. (2011, 2012a, 2012b). In this research, he demonstrates that, like the high-skilled worker, the low-skilled worker often 'chooses' to migrate under a plethora of different motivations. This argument is consistent with the push factors (outlined above from economic and sociological research) events like uprisings in the exporting country e.g. Sri Lanka, can see workers displaced as quasi-refugees. In some cases, the motive is borne from an obligation under either an extended family or patriarchal decision.

Control is established through a form of power relations that makes exploitation possible, where power resides on the side of the Kafeel (Longva, 1997:80). Echoing these descriptions of structural dominance

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55 Transnational theory’s aim is to diminish the importance of national borders and State actors in the analysis of migration and migrant worker experiences.
Gardner (2005) posits that the Kafala system “hems and confines lived experiences of all transmigrants” (Gardener, 2005:54). That said, his work complicates this definition with that addition of transnational representations. For example, he describes a cycle of worker representations of their lives that contain ‘disinformation’ that perpetuates chain migration. In other words, he is implying that if more families knew of migrant worker went through, migration might slow down.

3.3.1 The make-up of the Kafala System in GCC

Since the 1960s in the process of rapid “modernisation” emerged a country with many institutions modelled on the UAE’s key influences Egypt, United Kingdom and France (Wright, 2015). For Wright, the Kafala system emerged on the back of certain problems such as: labour stability after oil discovery; the need to keep locals and merchants happy; management and control of labour; and the need to distribute wealth through a dispersed network e.g. Kafeels. Wright (2015) points to the fundamental part played by British advisors and the oil company’s management of labour. These emergent elements of the Kafala system were required to avoid many of the strikes/revolts in the previous decades and for the petroleum business to flourish. Contemporaneously, businesses operating outside of free trade zones must be, by law, owned by a Local, the Kafeel. Wright (2015) points to the fundamental part played by British advisors and the oil company’s management of labour. These emergent elements of the Kafala system were required to avoid many of the strikes/revolts in the previous decades and for the petroleum business to flourish. Contemporaneously, businesses operating outside of free trade zones must be, by law, owned by a Local, the Kafeel. The Kafeel/sponsor of the business (or for domestic purposes) imports workers, and remain responsible for these workers’ wellbeing during their contract. Migrant workers are offered visas for periods of two years and renewable if employment is maintained. Longva (1997) describes the Kafala system elements of control in the following manner:

- Sponsor to act as intermediary with the State

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56 It should not go amiss that the UK has a work permit system by where domestic workers are under the sponsorship of an employer. As in the GCC, their residency is tied to having a sponsor. If they ‘lose’ a sponsor then they have 60 days to get another or be required to leave the country. Anderson, 2010b

57 In 2019, this law is set to change in order to attract more foreign investment into Abu Dhabi.
• Sponsor is to be aware of workers’ location and movement
• Upon contract completion or termination, the sponsor is to be financially responsible for worker repatriation to their origin country
• The Sponsor may confiscate and withhold worker’s passports
• The worker has no right to labour strike or form a union
• The worker has no right to move employment without permission
• The worker has no right to exit the country without permission
• The worker has is fixed in the job/employment position named in the contract
• Workers are under the threat of deportation

These features were written into law. Supported by that law this created its own economy that perpetuated the profiteering on labour movement and visas. Gardner (2005) later extends Longva’s description of the Kafala to include the addition of structural violence achieved by:
• HR managers or Public Relations Officers (PRO) are mediators that increase the distance between the migrant workers and exercising their rights
• Linguistic barriers (legal processes in Arabic)
• Debt servitude incurred during recruitment and migration and accrued at the level of family or extended family.
• Spatial and temporal limits, where the worker only is provided with 1-day rest per week. This results in minimal access to State provided facilities to exercise grievances
• Inconsistencies in employee contract information or outright disregarding of contractual agreements.

These elements have resulted in the perpetuation of a tight system of structural control where “…systemic forces keep the poorest labourers into their difficult position…that locks transmigrants into dependency upon the goodwill of their sponsors [and] serves as a mechanism for orchestrating
interactions between citizens and guest-workers, a process that includes preventing interaction, as well as shaping it.” (Gardner, 2005:298). Longva (1997) goes so far to say that it offers locals a critical source of power-over migrant workers.

Worker resistance is not absent from these debates. Gardner, (like Alberti, 2014, from ‘CMS’) argues that there were signs of resistance to this structural dominance through workers absconding and taking up “illegal status”, through strikes and slow-downs (Gardner, 2005:140/296). Moreover, echoing ‘CMS’ work on social and community movements, Gardner (2005) points to workers that drew upon social clubs and NGOs as coping mechanisms.\(^{58}\) Coping mechanisms have been the focus of related research on the UAE’s migrant workers. According to this body of work, migrant workers have developed strategies to provide the necessary support (Khalaf & Alkobaisi, 1999; Kathiravelu, 2012). First, financial support is offered through rotating credit unions where each worker contributes a small amount into an account, and when occasionally it comes around to each worker, they receive a cash injection. Second, utilising friends and family networks to search for better-paid jobs and they assist in counselling individuals encountering emotional or financial distress. Third, some maintain access to Emiratis with \textit{wasta}\(^{59}\) and by association claim on this social capital. Fourth, solidarity and tight social connections can create informal support networks. Informal NGOs and religious charities also form social networks of repair e.g. UAE Helping Hands. But, these organisations “function without any legal or formal mandate in the UAE. While reluctantly allowed to cater to low-wage migrant welfare, they are also closely monitored and can be shut down if they are seen to bring unwanted attention” (Kathiravelu (2012: 114).

3.3.2 Criticisms of the Kafala System and Other Conceptualisations

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\(^{58}\) Gardner’s work leaves out government organisations in is study, instead he focuses on NGOs and social organisations.

\(^{59}\) Wasta is an Arabic word meaning power, influence, and connection. If someone has wasta then the assumption is that when used, wasta gets things done.
It is claimed that not everything in the *Kafala* system is bad (Lori, 2012). Employers and workers may develop high trust and loyal relationships that may result in a migrant worker enjoying “permanent” job placement even after retirement or, where it can be engineered, family reunification (Lori, 2012). While certain job categories may prevent bringing a spouse to Abu Dhabi, the sponsor may offer the spouse employment. In these sorts of cases, the spirit of “temporariness” the *Kafala* system is subverted itself without breaking the letter of the law i.e. subverting that migrant workers are required on a temporary basis until national workers fulfil the role (Lori, 2012). But, aside from these counter–arguments to the *Kafala* (that take it for granted), there are different theoretical perspectives that challenge reductionist arguments, either reductions to structures and the *Kafala* system, or to binary representations of locals and the other, or of all migrants are workers.

Some authors have criticised studies that have overemphasised sponsor/worker binary in their analysis of the *Kafala* (Vora, 2013; Kanna, 2011; Osella & Osella, 2012). Vora (2013) supports this claim by pointing out that often the responsibility over workers is moved from the sponsor to the Indian business owners and managers; therefore, the local sponsor is necessarily not aware of the day to day employment practices (Vora, 2013). In many cases, she found that the low-income migrant worker finds themselves in the back offices, factories, and worksites never to have met their sponsor or met a local Emirati. She paints a picture of the middle manager who exploits his or her compatriot (i.e. a fellow national) in the name of personal and company wealth creation and profit making. In Vora’s study, the middle class/elite Indian is empowered by the Emirati to act as a quasi-citizen. In the process, these middle managers are “abdicating responsibility” the conditions of worker employment and accommodation, etc. (Vora, 2013:115).

Adopting a transnational conceptual basis, Osella and Osella (2012) have criticised the reductionism of host/outsider, citizen/non-citizen or local/migrant worker narrative in these depictions of the *Kafala* system. They have argued how important transnational networks undermine this narrative implicit to the
**Kafala**, that the *Kafeel* exerts asymmetrical power over the migrant worker. Instead, they posit that transnational manifestations and articulations at the individual scale, the familial scale, or at the scale of businesses sometimes subvert, but often reinforce the objectives behind formal systems (such as the *Kafala system*) that is the maintenance and control of a “cheap, docile, and flexible workforce” (Osella and Osella, 2012:133).

Space is another conceptual basis for thinking through the lives of migrant workers. From an interest in urban space, Kanna (2011) drawing on Henri Lefebvre, David Harvey and others, builds on Longva’s (1997) work by adding two related ideas. First, under the Ruling Bargain between State and locals, there is a “politics of protection” (Kanna, 2011:65) and second, there is a “milieu of fear” (Kanna, 2011:189) that migrant workers live under. He argues that these two ideas “causes” much of the discourses and practices on space. Life for the migrant worker is represented by and produced by “expected and accepted” spatial organisation (Nagy, 2006:136). Ahmad (2012) stresses a problem from the anthropological canon that it is fixated on conceptualising the foreign resident as a migrant worker in what she calls the “theoretical glorification of labor” (2012:23). She criticises the dominance of economic, structural and legal perspectives. She points out that there are “foreign residents” of Gulf countries that are not workers, or not solely workers. That equates to family members of migrant workers, or migrant workers that conceptualise themselves as belonging in ways other than a worker, or a migrant. Ahmad calls for something other than a focus on work so that other forms of experience can be accounted for (Ahmad, 2012:40). Along the spatial lines of inquiry, Buckley (2012) points to the spatial aspects of workers lives in Dubai, that of remote “barrack-style labour camps” and removal of workers from villas in family designated neighbourhoods and tourist spaces (see also Elsheshtawy, 2008; Kanna 2007; Bristol-Rhys, 2012).

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60 His ethnographic project was between 2002-2005 in Dubai
61 Ruling bargain as the surrendering of a major political voice in the paternalistic State decisions for salaries, benefits, access to resources, and security.
While there will be patterns between these GCC studies across a twenty year period, there may be significant discontinuities. Wright (2015) archival ethnographic work, for example, shows that in the 1930s onwards migration systems from India were managed by British Agents, and after India’s independence was wrestled to their consulate in Muscat, Oman, only to be returned to the British Agents later. These systems were to deal with the problem of smugglers not as today the problem of labour. Some of the descriptions (temporally speaking) might be quite out of date. For example, Nagy (1998) talks of poor public transport and poor access to income restricts workers’ mobility; or contract switching (Kanna, 2011:62-63) or domestic workers not coming under UAE labour laws (various authors). Both transport and legal support has changed significantly, even in the past three years. Abu Dhabi is not Qatar, is not Bahrain, and is not Dubai, etc. so there will be different economic, social, and political differences that make one’s analysis unique and part of a larger conversation. The point being of course, that given the well-documented exploitation of low-income migrant workers, and the possibility of ongoing changing global, regional, and local situations (empirically, methodologically, and theoretically speaking), as critical researchers, we must continue to problematisé ‘knowledge’s’ findings.

Management is seldom directly mentioned in migration studies, but there are a couple of examples of note. Osella & Osella (2012) briefly highlight how ‘fake’ companies are often set up to provide intermediaries for locals to profit from workers 'informal' routes to UAE. Note that these were openly “fake” companies known by migrant workers and locals as a mechanism to get them into the country to look for work. We saw how Gardner pointed to the importance of HR staff in the Kafala system, albeit his work underplays the importance of management’s role in organising the lives of workers. Instead, he focused on “self-organising” (Gardner, 2005: 128-129) tending to reduce managements’ involvement. Vora’s (2013) Dubai-based ethnography of the middle class Indian diaspora notes how in practice in many industries the Indian managers exploit the low-income migrant worker class to maximise their profits through a combination of neoliberal and patriarchal business practices that spread from India to
Dubai. But this engagement by Vora remained at a high level. Vora cites managers that talk of “labourers choice”, “free markets”, “freedom to return” if the worker does not like the conditions they find themselves in. So, in a sense, these neoliberal freedoms serve to legitimise the *Kafala* as not forcing the migrant worker to do anything. But as Gardner (2005) argues, these are not often decisions by an individual as often the incurred debt is at the level of the family, which will make exercising such freedoms difficult. The literature reviewed in this section is spread across the GCC. Vora (2013) and Kanna (2011) have work that is specific Dubai; however, to date there is little specifically undertaken in Emirate of Abu Dhabi. That said, there is a body of ‘literature’\(^{62}\) that specifically criticises the UAE more generally and its application of the *Kafala* system. In the following section, I will review these claims.

3.3.3. Attacks on UAE’s Human Rights Record and Responses

Tock (2010) estimates from the global stock of migrant workers, 27 million of these are modern-slaves and some authors have aligned the *Kafala* system directly to contemporary forms of slavery (Degorge, 2006; Halabi, 2008). Since 2006, the international press (e.g. The Guardian, UK), labour and union organisations (e.g. ITUC), and activists (e.g. GulfLabor) have been attempting to expose countries that exploit migrant workers. The UAE is one of those countries. Activists attempt to make the most of the global interest in mega international projects, such as the Abu Dhabi’s Louvre and Guggenheim, and New York University on Saadiyat Island\(^{63}\), to shame the Emirate into bringing about reforms to the *Kafala* system. Authors like Urbano (2012) and McGeehan (2012) have sought to show how the trade in migrant workers is founded on global injustice, where the global economy is not only unjust, but highly favours the rich countries, and keeps the third world in poverty. As we learned from ‘CMS’, migrant workers’ socio-economic vulnerability is a global issue; however, these McGeehan points out,

\(^{62}\) Some of this work is academic, but some of it comes from NGOs, the press etc.

\(^{63}\) Qatar has received equal if not greater attention through the FIFA World Cup event.
that while it happens around the world *despite the protections in place*, in Abu Dhabi, workers are exploited by the *Kafala system designed to deny them of their rights* (McGeehan, 2012),

Some claim that the UAE violates the human rights of low-income migrant workers, and that they do not enforce the laws that are in place. The charges include physical abuse; sexual abuse; isolation; overcrowded and unsightly housing; wages not being paid; lack of legal protection; little access to healthcare; discrimination, segregation and racism; and recruitment by deception (Ghaemi, 2006; Human Rights Watch 2012, 2013; Tock, 2010; Mahdavi, 2011; McGeehan, 2012). These authors through critical/advocacy research call for reforms that will improve the lives of migrant workers. Keane and McGeehan (2008) points out that there are many laws in the UAE to regulate working hours, conditions, leaves, health insurance, death, severance, and repatriation costs at the contract end; nevertheless, he regards the government’s narrative since 2006 on legal improvements as a total fiction.

The UAE’s government’s general ‘distrust’ or the failure of ‘the market’ has led to new strategies to address problems. The above academic literature is on a slower publication cycle than ‘empirical realities’ on the ground. Therefore, it was important to look at the measures taken by Abu Dhabi up until the beginning of my fieldwork.

- To avoid working in the extreme heat, the law was changed in 2012 so that no labourers should work in open areas during 12:30 and 15:00.

- The UAE ratified the Human Trafficking Convention in 2009.

- Wages are now protected through a labour wage protection system implemented in 2009.

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64 McGeehan in particular has developed such a strong public discourse on charges directed at the Abu Dhabi. So much so, he’s was refused entry to the UAE since April, 2014.
66 http://www.uae-embassy.org/sites/default/files/ENGLISH.pdf
• From 2009, the moving of workers to purpose built industrial size accommodations, known as company camps, and most recently called ‘villages’ to show how living standards and conditions are improving.68

• All employers are required to provide a basic health insurance for workers since 2011.69

• There are visible on changes to legal protection. The workers do have recourse to put in complaints (any violation of their contract or abuse) that can see these conditions revoked, however again this is contested in practical terms (McGeehan, 2012; Gardner, 2005).70 The same people running the government are often the same people running the companies and organisations in the region leading to a conflict of interests with government policy and law on the one hand, and profit on the other (Keane & McGeehan, 2008).

• In June 2012 the UAE proposes better protection of domestic workers by putting them under key labour protections including time off, working limited hours, and a minimum wage.71 For domestic workers, a draft amendment to labour law gives them a day off, and two weeks unpaid leave; however, it also says if they are found revealing secrets from employers are liable for six months in prison and a fine of AED 100,000 (HumanRightsWatch, 2013).

• Any worker can call the police if their passport is withheld by their employer.72

These responses are multi-faceted. While some are (at least superficially) aimed at international reputation; others are attempts at protecting the migrant worker via improving legal systems or institutions. UAE continues to share announcements of improvements, and are quick to point out what

69 http://gulfnews.com/business/money/mandatory-health-insurance-in-uae-1.1697940
70 Complaints are lodged at typing offices with people who have multiple language skills, and since 2015 online and telephone options are now available, again in multiple languages. McGeehan’s (2012) claims over-reach in terms of workers not be able to front up the AED 500 fee and AED 1,000 deposit for such claims. When in reality it is AED 20 (GBP 4) per claim.
72 http://www.khaleejtimes.com/article/20130625/ARTICLE/306259979/1011
they see as epistemological flaws in any research that attacks their reputation. While it cannot be argued that all migrants are destitute, some clearly are treated poorly (Jureidini, 2003).

3.3.4 Summarising GCC based MS work

We have learned a lot about the Asia-Gulf migration corridor from these situated and “robust set of studies” (Ahmad, 2012:21).73 The focus from MS has been on seeing the migrant worker as exploited individual from structural imbalance and violence through structural (Longva, 1997, Gardner, 2005), gender (Ahmad), diaspora (Vora, 2013) or urban/spatial dimensions (Kanna, 2011; Buckley, 2014). They variably focus on the contemporary (Longva/Gardner) or the adding in of the historical (Kanna, 2012; Wright, 2015). Theoretically, they are underpinned by a Marxist trajectory (Longva, 1997; Gardner, 2005; Kanna, 2012); transnational migration theory (Gardner, 2005; Vora, 2013) 74. Some Anthropologists and Legal Studies authors have invested in the problem of explaining and understanding migration between Asia and GCC countries (see Gardner, 2005; McGeehan, 2012).

The above accounts depict to more or lesser degree, the discourse on how low-income migrant workers suffer from the asymmetrical power implicit to the Kafala system. The situated anthropological work now spans 15 years from the Longva (1997) to Vora (2013). What is emphasised is the transnational nature of migration, of an exploited work force by power asymmetries, predominantly by the Kafala system but also wider afield where “relations between workers and their employers, “both reflect and reproduce global and local hierarchies” (Nagy, 1988:88). To varying degrees, all works reviewed have made an effort to include multiple voices; and have moved away from the solely economic or cultural descriptions. The conclusion from reading these authors, as Jureidini (2003) notes, migrant workers are not “free” in countries where they need to request permission from the state and their sponsor to change

73 I acknowledge that alongside GCC based anthropologies to be covered in this section, there are sending country specific studies (e.g. Tyner, 1993 or Asis, M. & Baggio, F. 2008 in the Philippines, or Osella & Osella, 2006 in Kerla India), alongside numerous other economic, sociological, NGO etc based studies. However, As Abu Dhabi was the ‘centre’ of my interest in disciplinary power, these studies would have been simply too broad and vast to include here.

74 This is somewhat of an oversimplification, authors such as Vora and Ahmad are inflected with Foucault and Deleuze (respectively).
jobs or access the labour market. And, those that enter the informal market are marked as working illegally.

But, there is criticism of the overemphasis in scholarly worker on the kalafa system controlling the lives of migrant workers. The first criticism was epistemological and a rejection of the sponsor-worker or State-worker binary. Adopting alternative theories (such as transnational theory and urban theory) spread the debates about the lives of migrant workers outside of sponsor/worker dimensions to include family, networks and wider geography. Second and empirically, Vora (2013) exposes this binary by showing that there are other ‘actors’, specifically managers, PROs, etc., involved in the daily management of migrant workers. Another criticism comes from the positive aspects of the Kafala system where high trust and strong relationships result in workers improving the conditions of their lives. Finally, there is the problem of time gaps between published academic work and empirical ‘realities’ on the ground when this research began. In this gap, there can be changes in the make-up and functioning of the Kafala system.

3.4 Degrees of Difference and Similarity between ‘CMS’ and ‘Migration Studies’

Despite the south-to-north migration focus in ‘CMS’, we can see from the recent surge of research into migrant workers that there is a small nexus of debate within the field. By widening the aperture to include the GCC based migrant worker studies we find that they share some degrees of similarity and difference.

Considering similarities first, there is that notion that employers (irrespective of geography) maintain a preference recruiting migrant workers over nationals. The discourse of cheaper, harder working, more flexible worker is common in ‘CMS’ and migration studies research (see Turner, 2010, MacKenzie & Forde 2009; Toledo, 2013). Employers are accused of making the most out of the structural inequalities to force workers to ‘choose’ certain work conditions that nationals may not accept (Toledo, 2013). In other words, migrant workers remain vulnerable and subject to exploitative sometimes ‘racist’ practices,
and are unlikely to receive any personal development and training (Holgate, 2005; Stevens, Hussein, & Manthorpe, 2011; Longva, 1997, McGeehan, 2012). Migrant workers’ experiences are covered in both fields, but perhaps more extensively in GCC based ethnographies. Both ‘CMS’ and MS have emphasised that migrant workers have access to, or create migrant support communities (MacKenzie et al., 2012; Jiang & Korczynski, 2016; Khalaf & Alkobaisi, 1999; Kathiravelu, 2012). And, there is a recognition of the effects of intermediaries such as agents and recruiters on migrant workers (Forde & MacKenzie, 2009; Gardner, 2012a). There is a small ‘shared’ interest in the spatial management of migrant workers (Pun & Smith, 2007; Kanna, 2011; Buckley, 2014). ‘CMS’ and MS have demonstrated examples of migrant worker power and agency (Alberti, 2014, Smith, 2006; Gardner, 2005).

There are some crucial differences. ‘CMS’ has emphasised that the migrant worker is subject to certain ‘fashioning’ or construction as cheap, reliable, flexible, vulnerable, precarious, etc. by their employers or their legal status. But, this work has been limited to employers, and recruitment agencies, therefore the question remains how much further might this subjectification extend? Moreover, this notion of subjectification is not drawn upon in MS. Another train of thought for some in ‘CMS’ is that migrant workers are active agents in the migration and the employment relationship, which they willingly sign up to poor working conditions to secure certain advantages over the national worker. This has not emerged in my review of GCC based migration studies work. While the Kafala system is not unique to the GCC, as many countries offer work permits that tie employment and residency together (Anderson, 2010b). The scale of the implementation and size of migrant worker populations is unique to the GCC. Finally, unions are a key difference as these are not permitted in GCC countries; and social/community support groups must also be registered, have an office, and pay a fee to the local government. Theoretically, Marxist (and derivatives) are common to both MS and ‘CMS’, while transnational perspectives are adopted frequently in migration studies and not in ‘CMS’. At the same time, no previous
work from MS75 or ‘CMS’ did I find a rigorous questioning the management of migrant workers through the techniques of disciplinary power.

3.5 Chapter Conclusion

From many MS scholars, there is a structural exploitation of low-income migrant workers through the adoption of the Kafala system. The debates often target, and are in response to, a long line of accusations of migrant worker mistreatment by the GCC States, and this has resulted in a struggle for reputations and for truth between NGOs and Governments. NGOs, such as HRW, ILO, IOM, and other activists continue to villainise the Kafala system used by the GCC countries. They remain focused on asymmetrical power relations demonstrated through practices such as holding a workers passport, not allowing job mobility, and indentured labour etc. This debate on human rights has been active in the Abu Dhabi context since 2006 and it is within this political milieu that my project is situated.

In this chapter, I’ve argued that while the Kafala system is represented as a critical source of power for locals over migrants, it is built on the assumptions of sovereign power. So therefore, it may obscure other ways in which migrant workers are managed. ‘CMS’ offers a space for inquiry that focuses on management and geared to problematise ‘taken for granted’ theories and practices. ‘CMS’ has researched migrant workers from various perspectives but not along the south to south migration path, nor have they researched the techniques of disciplinary power as the conceptual basis. So, inspired by ‘CMS’ (and Foucault) I turned to techniques of disciplinary power, in a south-to-south migration setting, to investigate the management of the lives of migrant workers. My purpose is not to explain labour migration, rather, it is to problematise the management of the lives of migrant workers. The adoption of disciplinary power as a conceptual framework ‘sidesteps’ the seeing of power in sovereign/possessive terms by coming at power from a different angle. While centred on empirical materials from Abu Dhabi, I remain sensitive to the migrant worker as a transnational, with family, interests, and links from the

75 There is one exception from Ahmad (2012)
sending nation and beyond. This ‘sensitivity’ to management across borders from multiple potential sources itself creates some methodological challenges. In the following chapter the ethnographic methodology that enabled me to ‘address’ these challenges will now be situated and discussed.
CHAPTER 4: WRESTLING WITH CRITICAL ETHNOGRAPHY

In this chapter I will show the theoretical and practical concerns that I had to wrestle with in this thesis, to research the techniques of disciplinary power in the management of low-income migrant workers along the Asia-Abu Dhabi migration corridor. The research question demanded certain requirements from the methodology. By adopting the view of management as techniques of disciplinary power, I needed an approach that would enable me to get reasonably close to the management of the lives of migrant workers and yet, still leave a critical space to reflect on this management. This excluded quantitative and survey methodologies that by design assume that the individual answering the survey questions is aware of the phenomena under study. Surveys, appeared to me at least, to be performed with a great distance between the researcher and those subjects that answer the survey. A general qualitative approach could have been possible, but as it tends to focus on interviews as its primary source of data, it suffers from this same shortcoming of surveys (albeit to a lesser degree given the researcher can ask unstructured/follow-up questions), that is the researcher hears something but sees little with his or her own eyes. I had to work on the basis that low-income migrant workers and other actors may or may not be aware of the techniques of disciplinary power that surrounds their lives, be that through their practices of the self, or another actor/institution.

Ethnography and Case studies were ‘natural’ choices to get physically and critically close to the everyday practices of the management of workers. But, given migration occurs through a non-contiguous time and space along the Asia-Abu Dhabi migration corridor, I needed empirically to look beyond a single place of work where managers and workers interact. Instead, I needed to look beyond the employer/society/country in which they work. This requirement excluded the possibility of a bounded case study or comparative case studies approaches. What the investigation needed was an “unbounded” approach, which left ethnography as an obvious option\(^76\). I’m not claiming this would have been the only

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\(^76\) Actor-Network Theory could have been an additional option, however, it seemed to have its interests empirically in the minutiae of how ‘actors/objects’ assemble networks. Therefore was very bottom up and “bounded” by flowing interactions
option, however, I will argue that critical ethnography, within a diverse tradition of ethnography genres, was a suitable fit between the question, the conceptual basis, and the practical concerns of executing this research project.

4.1 Situating this Ethnography within the broader Ethnographic Tradition

4.1.1 Introducing Ethnography

Ethnography is described by some of its practitioners as a way of researching and writing about peoples’ lives (Linstead, 1993; Watson, 2011a; Atkinson et al., 2001). Some ethnographic scholars posit that the approach will have the researcher experience the same pain, struggles, and emotions in the ‘natural’ setting of those under study, whether that be a drug-dealer (Adler, 1985) or an Amway seller (Pratt, 2000). Ethnography is the study of, writing up, and description of people and culture. The general approach is to make sense of ‘culture’ through direct experience. The researcher is to get up close to people in everyday situations and contexts, to take part, to listen, to watch, to record, and to share experience for extended periods of time (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). In these general descriptions of ethnographic practice, the ethnographer accounts for human behaviour from the interpretation of social situations (Rosen, 1991 and this account will only be possible once the ethnographer secures suitable access and joins the daily milieu. The commitment thus by ethnographers is to spend a lengthy stay in the field in a single place, documenting the lives of those under study, learning and working in local languages to get an insider’s viewpoint (Murchison, 2010).

Ethnography emerged out of two separate disciplines of anthropology and sociology. Anthropologists saw that many cultures were disappearing and wished to record these before that could occur (Burgess, 1994; Cunliffe, 2010). The academy gives Malinowski credit to have first adapted the ethnographic

from one object to another. For example: a migration visa stamp could be explored in great detail and the impact or effect it has on ‘reality’. Intuitively (in an ill-informed manner) I did ‘chose’ ethnography over ANT.

77 Ethnography in the literally means the ‘writing culture’. Atkinson et al. 2001
method. He was interned during the war where he documented maps, places, spaces, social systems, language, etc. from the idealised view of being from the ‘natives’ point of view. Within the anthropological scene, the researcher is often first ignorant of the field under study and only after a prolonged immersion will he/she be able to render visible what he/she sees, hears, smells, tastes, etc. Within social and cultural anthropology ethnography is the principal method. Quite distinct from anthropology, sociological ethnography developed in response to prevalent research methods that were not very successful at telling us what people were doing or why they were doing it (Burgess, 1994).

From the 1920s until the 1960s a movement known as the Chicago School studied urban settings. These sociologists wrote about those considered as delinquent or abnormal (Atkinson et al., 2001). In these works, given the researcher was working in local spaces it was assumed there was less complexity involved than in distant foreign spaces that anthropologists might visit. For example, it was assumed there was no need of exotic languages, complicated logistics due to access, travel, vaccinations, etc.; however, experience showed that the researching of alcoholics, street gangs and drug users created an equal number of issues as anthropological ethnographers that needed to be resolved.

Baba (2009) and Cunliffe (2010) have traced the ethnographic approach in management studies back to these anthropological and sociological histories. The trajectories of methodological debates from these disciplines continue through to business and management circles (Cunliffe, 2010). Ethnographic work by business school researchers has itself a history that spans 60 years. Early work cited by Cunliffe (2010) comes from areas such as organising among business executives (Dalton, 1959); industrial conflict (Gouldner, 1954); and informal communication (Roy, 1958). Ethnography had a lapse in

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78 Clifford Geertz is another name in anthropology who adopted ethnography throughout his career (see his essay on the “Deep Play: Notes on the Balinese Cockfight” in 1973).


popularity from the 1960s, with the emergence of rational systems theories from Taylor, Fayol, Weber and Herbert Simon, until the 1980s. Methods during this period were then oriented more towards quantitative data and statistical analysis. Ethnographic work remained on the fringes until the 1980s when there was a resurgence of organisational culture work and the rise of alternative paradigms (Burrell and Morgan, 1979). These investigations were on a range of extremely varied research subjects e.g. on managers (Jackall, 1988); on identity (Kondo, 1990); on culture (Kunda, 1992; Casey, 1995); on management (Watson, 1994); and on organising practices (Rosen, 1985).

4.1.2 Adopting a Critical Ethnography

Van Maanen (1988) provides a compartmentalisation of ethnography into a range of different kinds of approaches such as realist, confessional, impressionist, and critical tales. His categorisation, of course is not the only representation, for example, Humphreys and Watson (2009) use a form of categorising ethnographies by the extent to which ethnographic materials are manipulated by the researcher, namely: plain; enhanced; semi-fictionalised; and fictionalised ethnography. There are some obvious overlaps between plain ethnography and the realist ethnography; and the fictionalised ethnography and the impressionist ethnography. But, I found Van Maanen’s (1988/2010) categories much more helpful to place critical ethnographies (including my own) within a burgeoning body of work.

Realist tales are from the ‘native’ points of view, the study of behaviour at close range, and the exploration of typical forms. "[A] realist tale offers one reading and culls its facts carefully to support that reading. Little can be discovered in such texts that has not been put there by the fieldworker as a way of supporting a particular interpretation" (Van Maanen, 1988:53). The experiential author maintains interpretive omnipotence, who excludes his/her subjectivity and complicity, and who explores part of a whole in the ethnographic present (see Van Maanen, 1988; Rosen, 1985). In the attempt to avoid
researcher biases \(^{81}\) ethnography offers the social sciences what Hammersley (1990) calls the ‘reproduction model’ that describes the site ‘as it was’. However, given “ethnography is a written representation of culture (or selected aspects of a culture)… the images of others inscribed in writing are most assuredly not neutral” (Van Maanen, 1988:1, italics added). This realisation, some have called the interpretive turn, the inevitable reflexive entanglement of self in tale-telling (Cunliffe, 2010). Within CMS, we could term this the reflexive moment, the acknowledgement of the ethnographer as the problematic research instrument (Fournier and Grey, 2000). To an extent, the confessional tales are an ethnographic representation that is influenced by the questioning the ethnographer’s ability to see things. While confessional tales are similar to realist tales, there is the need to write under a personalised author, that is ‘I saw, and I was there’ but at the same time an attempt to the demystify fieldwork (making the ethnographer transparent).

The authors of impressionist tales build up characters and textual dramas to take the reader to the site under study, the kind of “kitchen sink” stories with a tendency to criticise the validity of science (of the realist type). The assumption in this genre is that through literary and poetic writing the author may represent the world more effectively than realist or confessional accounts. These first three genres make up the bulk of ethnographic work where the fieldworker goes out into the field, takes field notes of what he/she sees and hears, and “brings back the news” on human and social culture (Van Maanen, 1988). The author writes in either realist forms or through creative writing as in the case of impressionist tales.

The last genre called critical tales are that which remain sensitive to social, historical, political and other ‘structural’ factors that affect research subjects’ milieu. That is to say, “…conventional ethnography with a political purpose” (Thomas, 1993). Critical management tales provide a counterpoint to mainstream management tales, so while critical ethnography might be on the margins of ethnographic

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\(^{81}\) For a comprehensive history of ethnography see Atkinson et. Al., 2001. Burgess et al. 1994
practice, it aligns well to the concerns of ‘CMS’ (Nyberg & Delaney, 2014). Significant previous works include tales on: factory shop floor experience (Nichols & Beynon, 1977); extracting higher productivity of workers from reward games (Burawoy, 1979); organisational culture (Filby & Willmott, 1988); city planning (Forester, 2003); power and subjectivity (Collinson, 1992); and company/corporate culture (Rosen, 1985; Kunda, 1992). Ones’ being in the field of ‘CMS’ will (almost) automatically frame the kind of research questions that the field is interested. If we return to question of the relevance of techniques of disciplinary power in the management of the lives of low-income migrant workers along the Asia-Abu Dhabi migration corridor, it was already a critical question. Therefore a critical ethnography within this broader tradition of ethnographies was an obvious consideration.

Van Maanen (1988) further breaks out these critical ethnographies into advocacy, post-structural and structural tales. Advocacy tales (also known as moral, reform, normative and judgment tales) take a moral and normative stance. Here the fieldworker on a mission of reform, and the righting of ‘wrongs’ (see Smith, 2002; Howard-Grenville, 2007). Howard-Grenville’s ethnography investigates how culture and shared meanings are crucial when attempting to deal with environmental concerns in organisations. She attempts to make environmental issues the concern for all (2007). Advocacy tales would be a suitable categorisation for the human rights migrant studies literature reviewed in the previous Chapter. But, given the conceptual ideas in disciplinary power can be productive and not necessarily repressive, for whom would I be advocating for, what wrongs would I be righting? The suspending of judgment as part of the research approach, therefore, would exclude advocacy tales (see McGeehan, 2012 for examples of this work in the migrant worker context.).

Post-structural tales target the ‘shortfalls’ of realist ethnographic enquiry (albeit, “[f]ew ethnographers, it seems, own up to the label.” Van Maanen, 1988:x). This perspective contains an epistemological attack on holistic, out of date, and ‘discredited’ theories in the structural camp, and the ‘naïve’ humanist point of view (see Kondo, 1990; Latour and Wolgar, 1979; Tsing, 2005; and O’Doherty, 2017 for
examples). These tales often break-down what we know about stable identities, categories, and structures. Given a Foucauldian influence on the conceptual approach, it would appear ‘natural’ to align to this category of critical ethnography. However, throughout this thesis’s development it became clear that I had not sufficiently grasped the complexity of this epistemological project. As one particular example, the post-structural project would have been highly suspicious of the category ‘migrant worker’. While I had understood the diversity and the emergence of such a category, I had other targets in mind.\footnote{It always seemed to me that the post structural project tends towards epistemological targets (as a priority or a route to change). Where in my case, while I accepted the individual/migrant worker as instrument, relay and effect, my priority was the management of their lives.}

Structural tales focus on the wider and less visible social, political, and economic structures and processes that surround our lives. Influential work comes from the Marxist tradition (see Willis, 1977; Burawoy, 1979 Manufacturing Consent) and the Labour Process Theory tradition (see Knights and Collinson, 1987; Collinson, 1992; Knights and McCabe, 1997; Knights and McCabe, 2000). These critical tales are engaged in analysis in the space between empirics and theory (see Barley and Kunda, 2006\footnote{Other works cited by Van Maanen include: also Chetkovich, C.1997 Real Heat: Gender and Race in the Urban Fire Service. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press; Morrill, C.1995 The Executive Way: Conflict Management in Corporations. Chicago: University of Chicago Press; Glaeser, A. Divided in Unity: Identity, Germany and the Berlin Police. Press.}). This is a circular process where authors attempt not to impose theory on empirical ‘reality’ or vice versa. This was a particularly helpful approach for me, as I considered the techniques of disciplinary power to offer a starting point that could be challenged by what I experienced with my engagement in the field. This circular development required that I remain sensitive to sameness and difference in my ‘assessment’ of fit between the techniques of disciplinary power and each specific time and place in the field.

Despite these demarcations, any ethnographic project can be a blend of such genres (Van Maanen, 2010:14). The anthropological ethnographies on migrant workers reviewed in the previous Chapter provide evidence of this point in that they vary significantly on the representation of worker experiences,
structural influences, and degrees of reflexivity. That is why I make a case for critical ethnography in a more general sense - a blend of confessional, structural, and to a limited extent post-structural. As Madison who has written specifically on critical ethnography argues, “The critical ethnographer takes us beneath surface appearances, disrupts the status quo, and unsettles both neutrality and taken-for-granted assumptions by bringing to light underlying and obscure operations of power and control.” (Madison, 2005:5). 84

4.2 Assumptions in this Critical Ethnography

My initial shock of mistaking a worker bus as a prison bus (see opening of Chapter One) shifted to a fascination to how migrants’ migrate and how their lives are managed. For many, this initial shock might have shifted to rage about the unfairness and inequality in the world, yet this was not the case for me. So, even by adopting a ‘critical’ position, I have always been reflective of what kind of critical I was aligning myself with. What was the ‘target’ of my critique? It seemed to me somewhat ‘lazy’ to look at how company owners and managers may or may not ignore their role and effects in the lives of workers. I felt this would have replicated the normative critique that comes from human rights/legal literature reviewed in the last chapter, that is, to fall back onto the position of power as possessive and oppressive. Their critique is predicated on certain conceptions of the role of the state, employer, and manager, alongside many assumptions (e.g. economic rationality) about migrant workers themselves. As we saw, knowledge about the predicaments of low-income migrant workers under the control of the Kafala system is well known. This perspective results in many seeing Abu Dhabi’s government and the Emirati people as the villains in this repeated discourse. Rather, post my review of the migrant worker literature, it was the ‘critique’ itself that became the ‘surface appearance’ that I thought was in need of critical scrutiny. With the assistance of the notions of disciplinary power, I attempted to problematise the common discourse about the Kafala system. This was not to presuppose the culpability or to bias the

84 When I say ‘beneath surface appearances’ I mean the problematising of the Kafala system (as a surface appearance) by the study of disciplinary power.
study as apologetic to actors or institutions in the migration industry but to postpone my judgment for as long as possible. In other words, I had to suspend my initial shock. I had to suspend judgment until it could be analytically unpacked.

Given that migrant workers migrate from one country to another, I wanted to take into account a degree of complexity across a non-contiguous geographic space and time. While there is an implicit emancipatory assumption in this work i.e. that individuals (even as relays, instruments and effects of power) should have the possibility of changing the conditions of their lives, I wanted first to temper judgments on rights and wrongs through careful analysis, informed by reading and ethnographic fieldwork over time. That is the kind of research that is sensitive to empirics and existing representations but not “domesticated” by neither (Madison, 2005). Moreover, the conceptual approach of disciplinary power was juxtaposed with these existing representations and empirical materials, and I did not want to force one theoretical reality over an empirical reality or vice versa.

I found myself, as an ethnographer, in a position of in-betweenness and possibility. I wanted to leave a space open to challenge institutions, knowledge, and practices of migrant worker management, but also to challenge the disciplinary conceptual basis I adopted in the study. Fine (1994) positions the critical ethnographer as “ventriloquist” or “silent” or as “activist” but I argue my position was more like an ethnographer as a wrestler who was wrestling with theory, concepts, morals, empirical situations, and the PhD process itself. This is to see myself wrestling with these aspects of the research process that creates data and interpretations. The advantage of seeing the ethnographer as a wrestler makes transparent a nonlinear, emotional, and political process. It highlights the struggle and turmoil I faced on a frequent basis. This was not how I conceptualised ethnography at the outset. At the beginning of the process, I saw ethnography in instrumental ways while I ignored the political and disciplinary aspects of the research process. The outcome of this wrestling process is this thesis, and the representations the thesis contains.
My hope was that the “spirit” of CMS alongside Foucault’s disciplinary power would be a sufficient means to see and reflect on an alternative power exercised in the management of the lives of low-income migrant workers. I do not deny my assumption that as individuals (as relays, instruments and effects of our social, cultural, economic and political situations) we should have the basic right to make decisions that may change the conditions/course of our lives. The goal was to see where there were individual choices or where a restriction of choices. It is important to note that the migrant workers may or may not have agreed to this assumption. They might be quite happy to ‘consent’ to certain social conditions, it is what they know, it is what they grew up with, and it is what they live with. But it does not change the fact that those restrictions might be in place, and made observable with a suitable conceptual basis supporting that analysis.

As outlined in the introduction chapter, key for some in the CMS project is to seek emancipation at some level be that at theoretical, or empirical, organisational levels. The worker ‘needs’ to be emancipated from something or someone. This oppression could be from an infinite number of sources be that technology, the owner of capital, or the manager or management (see Alvesson & Willmott, 1992). But with my adoption of disciplinary power, it was already not moralistic or normative, but instead a historical explication of how one manifestation of power functions. And, at any rate, I felt that there is no solid ground from which to set up a conceptual “‘yardstick’ of morality” (Nyberg & Delaney, 2014:76).

4.3 Establishing a Research Strategy
This thesis required a research strategy that would enable both the analysis of the techniques of disciplinary power dispersed across multiple sites and the ability to undertake the investigation safely.
4.3.1 Multi-sited Ethnography

An important feature of ethnography is that the fieldworker was there, immersed in local space and time to be a witness of what he/she speaks. This ‘there’ is the field of ‘site’ or sites where the researcher attempts to breach the ‘lifeworlds’ of those under study. This ‘standard’ ethnographer is participating local practices, interacting in local spaces, and speaking in the local language. The hope, of course, is with the ‘unearthing’ something about subjectivities, interactions and ‘culture’ to bring back. And only with this deep immersion would the account be credible. But this strategy also depends on the project’s research question and the subject/object(s) that are under investigation. As discussed, in the above introduction on traditional ethnography, the ethnographer commits to a single site often for a year or more in a single place. This place could be a corner in an urban city area, a classroom, a department, or an organisation, and so forth. But, even this sacred pillar in a globalised world of capital and labour flows makes the idea of research from a single site no longer sustainable (Appadurai, 1996; Feldman, 2012; Marcus, 1995; Rabinow & Marcus, 2008). The critical ethnographer must be still located in local sites, but as I will now argue, there was a need in this thesis to access to multiple sites.

To help guide my approach, there were some scholars that have tackled the problem of multiple sited ethnography. Feldman (2012), a migration scholar, asks where do you look when there is no there ‘there’ in the first place? Feldman refers to the question when the power that affects our lives comes from places very far from the situated spaces of individuals. I recognised that an ethnography in this single site would miss these possibilities. Marcus has been wrestling with how we can study phenomena that cannot be accounted at any particular site for more than 20 years (Marcus, 1995; Falzon, 2009). Marcus proposes that the solution is to attempt to collapse the individual’s lifeworld. In this approach, the researcher “moves out from the single sites and local situations of conventional ethnographic research

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85 Feldman’s (2012) ethnography is the only example uncovered so far, where his approach “…require[d] a nonlocal ethnography to illuminate its organising logics and heterogeneous practices even if these do not lend themselves easily to thick description” (Feldman, 2012:180).
designs to examine the circulation of cultural meanings, objects, and identities in diffuse time-space” (Marcus 1995:96). This goal of multi-site ethnography is not to create holistic and total representations of reality, nor is it to compare one ethnographic site to another in a comparative study. Instead, it is to “make connections through translations and tracings among distinctive discourses” (Marcus, 1995:84).

To do this Marcus proposes that the ethnographer follows people, things, metaphors, stories, conflict, and lives. While Marcus is interested in cultural meanings that emerge from participants in their lifeworld, Feldman is interested in heterogeneous complexity in the lives of its participants. There is an interest in geographically non-contiguous space but attempting not to emphasise the transnational over the origin or the ‘settlement’ spaces “…as is clearly the case, one cannot be understood separately from the other.” (Hage, 2005: 467).

Given my aim to explore the relevance of disciplinary techniques, it became obvious to me that there would be no ‘perfect’ locations to study the management of migrant workers lives. From these authors, I embraced flexibility over rigidity when it came to site ‘selection’. From Marcus, I learned to follow people, I followed their lives, and in some cases, I followed them home to see their families. From Feldman, I learned to follow other objects, concepts, laws, discourses and practices. I was not in “the place” but “a place” at a particular time. Whether that be a labour camp, a border control counter, or an urban planning meeting. But that said, the uniform, the camp and apartment, and the family were eventually sites that I emphasised, but there could have been much more. Because migration spreads across a vast geographic area, the question becomes where is this ‘there’ to observe? I could not know (at the outset) where the ‘there’ was in the study of the techniques of disciplinary power exercising on/through the migrant worker.
One final point on multi-sited ethnography pertains to language. Most government officials or workers have English as a second or third language, so I was less dependent on access to their native languages. This was fortunate as it would not have been practical (even possible) to learn so many languages (Urdu, Hindi, Arabic, Tagalog, Sinhalese, etc.). Moreover, given that the project was to ‘see’ and reflect on disciplinary powers’ exercising on their daily lives there was less need on access to language required for and interpretation of their day to day experiences, as is the case in realist tales (but still acknowledged as a limitation). That is not to say what they had to say had no effect. Clearly the opinions of those interviewed were important to my deepening understanding.

4.3.2 Abu Dhabi as a Site for Research

I was situated alongside low-income migrant workers in what Longva calls participant-living (1997). In other words, I lived in Abu Dhabi over a twelve-year period alongside of the low-income migrant workers, but I was not executing full-time participant observation. Therefore, I do not claim to provide the kinds of insights possible from full-time participant-observation. Instead, my observation was as much a function of living as a participant in the same Emirate that was supplemented by specific visits to sites of interest (e.g. labour camps). From the period 2012-2015, I would record my observations for later analysis. Low-income migrant workers were nearby me every day. They cleaned the streets, they constructed and maintained the buildings, they served coffee to me at work or in restaurants, and many other service oriented tasks. But, while I was always close to low-income workers in public/working spaces, the same cannot be said for access to private spaces. Low-income migrant workers in Abu Dhabi are generally from Asia and Africa not Europe, US or Australasia, so my skin colour and nationality were obstacles preventing me from free moment amongst workers in labour camps.

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86 There was the odd exception, where for example Zuis, a migrant worker from Bangladesh I needed the help of a translator (a friend who had knew both Urdu and English).
87 This is even more complex. Sri Lanka, Philippines as just two examples have numerous languages active.
88 This is not to imply the reverse is also true, as Asian’s can be in high paid/expert jobs.
I first ‘entered’ the field on March 28, 2013, when I decided to take a visit to the Al Ain Labour camp on the outskirts of town, near the Oman border. My plan was to drive to the edge of the labour camp area, get out and walk around without cameras, or notepads to get a feel for the location. I filled the car nearby and asked the petrol attendants if they knew where the labour camps were. They said the main one was five roundabouts further down the road on the right. I drove up, pulled over and parked outside a dusty supermarket. It seemed like a good a place as any to start. I sat for a few minutes watching the men coming out of the store with plastic bags filled with supplies. I took a photo from my phone without trying to be noticed. It was a scouting mission. That very same day I told MW2, our part-time cleaner, that I’d drop him at his place, and I asked him if he’d let me in to see where he lived. He paused and said quietly with nervous smile “No problem. We only have security guards from 8 pm to 6 am”. ImPLYing his awareness of avoiding the gaze of the authorities. Like MW2, I am a migrant worker, and my residency is tied to my having a job as any other migrant worker. So with any observational work that I undertook, I was always in the potential danger of being found out89.

The increased attention to the rights of migrant workers in the GCC along with the targeted critiques against Dubai and Abu Dhabi’s abusive treatment of low-income migrant workers has resulted in the subject being a very sensitive topic. Since 2006, the Rulers and the government became hyper-aware of the damage that these abuse claims could have on their prospects for promoting a country desirable for investment and tourism (Davidson, 2008). Recent examples include Andrew Ross from New York University (author of the 2015 book mentioned in the introduction Chapter) who was prevented from visiting the NYUAD campus. In the same fashion, Nicholas McGeehan (the human rights and legal studies author, mentioned in the last Chapter) has been prevented from entering the UAE since 2014. Labour camps tightened up security and were advised to be vigilant in preventing researchers or media from entering the grounds90. This precarity of potentially being targeted as a researcher (and potentially

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89 In the past 5 years migrant worker researchers have been either deported or refused entry.
90 Conversation with Security Guard, 2014
losing my employment and residency) resulted in my adopting a semi-covert operation at the beginning of my study\textsuperscript{91}. That was at least until 2014 when I approach the Ministry of Labour for statistics data (by nationality\textsuperscript{92}). But I do not want to paint this precarity as the only reason for a semi-covert strategy, as there were personal reasons for not attempting full-time participant observation. It simply would have been difficult to consider a deep immersion as I had familial responsibilities to take care of, as a husband, and as a father.

Precarity had another very important impact on the research strategy. Given my worry of being put in a position to leave the UAE within a month (at any time) due to my research, or more likely because my position was being Emiratised, I took a very big risk – that is I collected empirical materials within 6 months of beginning the PhD process. Discussions with the supervisory team highlighted the problems of making such a decision. From the doctoral conference (May 2013) I had settled on exploring the lives of migrant workers but I had not set any specific questions. In fact, those initial proposals were very wide possibilities without the necessary disciplinary or conceptual reading to support my research. That said, naively I went about getting close to the everyday of migrant workers in parallel that I began to explore Foucault; power; governmentality; organising and management etc. This planned ordering did have its advantages. First, ‘empirical reality’ as I experienced it and as I learned about it did not get “domesticated” by theory. Instead, they became juxtaposed beside each other and began the back and forth as I wrestled with a growing understanding of the lives of migrant workers and the growing understanding of power. But, it was not until 2016, one full year after data collection ended that I settled on the refined question of the relevance of disciplinary power.

\textsuperscript{91} Semi-covert in that the migrant workers in the study were totally aware of my objectives. Government officials or employers were not.
\textsuperscript{92} I was refused access to such data but given a chance to interview a governmental official from MOL.
4.3.3 Getting too close through Participant Living

Gill and Johnson (2010) advise walking that thin line between closeness and distance to the field. Resisting becoming over-familiar, over-identifying with subjects and sites of research. To make this point I will share a story from 2013 when a colleague and I went into “Jones, The Grocer”, a restaurant near our office. Various nationalities were in their ‘function’ based uniforms walking around serving the customers. Blue Jeans, white shirts, and a blue cap for the servers’ heads. All in white for the cooks and chefs. All in black for the duty manager. And bright fluorescent blue and orange for the outsourced cleaning contractor. We sat down, reading the menu when along came a blonde lady in a server’s uniform. With a South African accent she asked us “Gentlemen, what can I get for you gentlemen today?” My colleague and I looked at each other, we were both taken aback not by her question but her skin colour and nationality. It was as if there was some cognitive error in our brains. It was confusion on why is this white ex-pat serving us? At any rate, she took our order, walked away and my colleague says, “You don’t see that very often in Abu Dhabi.” He was correct (at that time, less so now), it is far more typical that one will be served in restaurants throughout Abu Dhabi by Filipinos; Indians; Arabs or Africans. I felt a little guilty at the time and have reflected on this lady’s position over the past few years. By 2015, she had been promoted twice, once into all black uniform and then to casual dress, in some higher-level management role. A Filipina took her place as a server.

For the purposes of critical reflection, I acknowledge that after twelve years of living in Abu Dhabi, there are many things that have now become quite ‘normal’ to me. For example, this assumption of seeing certain nationalities in certain roles/classes is one such area of ‘normalcy’. From my life experience, I know that these norms are not everywhere, well at least not to the extent I’m suggesting. But it was unavoidable that my values, experiences, knowledge, culture, language, politics, and ethics were going to play a role in the construction of this thesis (Watson, 2011a). Ybema and Kamsteeg (2009) caution of getting too close to your research and my strategy of participant living made this problem a very real possibility.
The argument is that it remains important to research credibility to create some distance between the researcher and those understudy is required. I tried to get a close as possible to the low-income migrant workers lives to learn as much as could about them. Yet, at the same time I tried to stay as far as possible from their situations during analysis and writing. My strategy was to maintain my distance - spatially, conceptually, and temporally. Creating a level of distance to its norms and practices was an ongoing challenge. That said, I implemented some strategies to assist me. First, by traveling to the labour sending nations with migrant workers supported this distancing from Abu Dhabi norms. On these visits, I was confronted by a “strangeness” that did not match Abu Dhabi or my previous experience. Given my participant-living my observation was pretty much on full time basis, I only “switched off” when I travelled overseas. It was at these times of greater contrast that my view of the normal was put back into perspective on a wider scale. Second, by venturing into conceptual work I maintained a level of distance from day to day researching. Finally, by exploring as much historical materials as I could get my hands on, created some distance between the ways it is – versus the ways it was.

4.4 Research Design and Method

In this section, I will explain the research methods including: how I recruited migrant workers into the study, how I gained access to observation spaces and non-migrant worker interviews, what data I collected locally and on international trips, and how I analysed and wrote up empirical materials.

4.4.1 Recruitment of Migrant Workers to the study

The slow, careful, and semi-covert strategy that I adopted out of a sense of security, directed how I recruited low-income migrant workers into the study to be my teachers and guides. If I could, I built relationships pragmatically on top of a previous relationship. The principles of selection was the
likelihood of maintaining a high trust, low risk profile for the worker and myself. My first foray into a labour camp was with our cleaner MW2, who came to support my wife cleaning the house every Friday. My very first visit a low-income worker apartment was from a colleague, MW4, the “tea boy” at my office. He was friendly and seemed eager to help. MW3 was our regular driver around Al Ain or when I travelled to the airport that offered 1.5 hour journeys to cultivate the relationship.

This acknowledgment of power, privilege, and bias is very important in CMS (Nyberg & Delany, 2014). Looking back (now some 3 years later) on how I established these relations is a little problematic. With MW2 I came to realise that I had taken advantage of the relationship. He was a very quiet, polite, and hardworking man who never complained. At the time, I asked him if he’d help me get into the labour camps never contemplating that he might have been afraid to say no. If he had of said no, he might have thought I would have got another cleaner; or the same for MW3 – might I have moved to another driver. In the case of MW4 was he concerned of my superior status at the office? In each case, it was not my intention to exploit workers but I was not sensitive enough to these sorts of problems. I too was taking risks, but I knew of these risks. MW4 or MW5 could have disclosed to my superior (MW4) or his sponsor who worked in police (MW5) that ‘they were under study’ that could have been very problematic for me. In a gendered society, male migrant worker relationships were straightforward to cultivate and recruiting female migrant workers was slower, and opportunistic. MW6 was a security guard at our building that seemed friendly each day I came into the office. MW9 stood beside me during my observation of a basketball match. MW7 was a waitress at the local rugby club etc.

Given that migrant worker research was/is a very sensitive political issue in Abu Dhabi, the sense of care of the research participants had to be taken very seriously. I informed migrant workers through

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93 For a short bio of the core migrant workers see Appendix D.
94 On reflection these services performed by these workers, i.e. cleaning, making tea, and driving, only highlights the extreme position between myself and these individuals, what Davis calls the Master-slave relationships of an older British Empire.
participant information and consent forms (translated where necessary) before data collection began. Verbal information and consent was sought. The participants were generally nervous to be signing any documents so to ensure that duty of care of the migrant worker was the first and overriding principle, I did not require that they sign anything. I was clear with the workers that there was always a small risk to be involved in the research. It was a risk that most accepted, only one worker pulled out of the study specifically out of fear of potential reprisal, as she said to me on our last phone call, “Sir, I have three children to support, I cannot risk this anymore.” Observation work in public spaces (e.g. a labour camp or in the street) made this approach impossible to adhere to in practice. In this thesis, I protect all participants from scrutiny by anonymising and disguising names and data. No original full names are stored with my research notes. All data is held on password protected encrypted disks. An out of country backup was maintained in case my laptop was ever confiscated. In the first instance, ethnographic interviews and conversations were in general be recorded, unless the participant requested not to be recorded. Notes were taken down immediately where possible after the event or interview.

Of the dozen migrant workers that I recruited, I attempted as per my initial design to learn as much as I could about their lives from a series of five interviews per worker. At the time, I did not understand how quite contrary this was to an ethnographic design. It took a lot of effort to maintain ‘live’ connections with the dozen workers. As the first year passed, the intensity of some of the relationships dissipated through fear or lack of contact/interest, while others intensified. Given I was keen to see family life on their return vacations, from the dozen migrant workers emerged four candidates - MW3 from Sri Lanka, MW1 from Bangladesh, MW4 from Philippines, and MW10 from Nepal. In each case, we travelled together on their annual or biennial vacations home. What family, what city, what country, etc., and when was dependent on these opportunities. These core relationships developed into stronger bonds, and when in their home countries these ‘interlocutors’ became my guides, translators, and my protectors. They helped in varying ways and degrees. MW4 remained my protector from the dangers in Manila. “Put that phone in your pocket Boss” he would tell me. But when we get close to government offices he
would slip into the background, as if afraid of the consequences of being associated with a researcher of critical bent. MW3 was my driver in Abu Dhabi, and continued the same in Sri Lanka, driving me from Colombo to Kandy where he lived, and there around which ever office or recruitment agents I tried to contact. He hosted me with his family for lunch, and facilitated a meeting with one of his friends, a local businessman and worker sub-agent. So on these international visits, they were much more than interlocutors. I was in their neighbourhood so to speak. We remain connected through social media platforms. These allow a crossing boundaries in either direction, that is to say they get a window into my life, as I do theirs. Something that concerned my wife. I have lent them money, drunk and eaten meals with them. This is ongoing, even after the fieldwork ended. These four men, let me get much closer to their lives, their organisation, and their families. In terms of getting close to female workers was a little more problematic. That said, MW9 (Philippines) and MW6 (Nepal) did help me to visit their families during my stay in those countries, but they were not present. In all cases, I partook in the tradition of bringing gifts for the children.

4.4.2 Role conflicts

The closeness that I sought, as an overall research strategy, created potential for role conflicts (Nyberg & Delaney, 2014) that emerged because of the close relationships between the researcher and research subjects. This was much closer to home in the case with MW4 who worked on the same floor as I did. One day in 2014, I heard quite a commotion in the kitchen where the “tea-boys” work and I poked my head through the door. MW4 has a large scratch mark over the top of his left eye; he’s talking with a raised voice to others.

He sees me, “Boss, I think I’ve screwed up. That bloody so and so…”

Another worker had swiped him in the face. MW4 had run after him down the corridor getting him in a headlock and hitting him. This incident was MW4’s second altercation with another tea boy. When
two people get in a fight in Abu Dhabi - both people are in trouble irrespective of who started, who hit who, etc. “I had to defend myself. He was the one to provoke me.” He tells me.

The administrator, said MW4 would only receive a warning. But the director, overrode this decision. MW4 was quite popular so some of the Local ladies went to his defence. Somewhat surprisingly to me, his colleagues did not go to his rescue. MW4 tells me that they are afraid. Afraid to help. Afraid for their job. MW4’s company supervisor called to say they are processing his papers and not to go to work the next day. No police to be involved. So each day on his suspension MW4 fretted and worked himself up into a frenzy.

MW4 requests me to step in on his behalf. The question was, should I act or not? At the time it was late 2014, before our planned trip together to the Philippines. I had (I decided) to help him if I could. The problem was that I had no sway with the concerned department, but I did not want to damage the chances of going to the Philippines with him either. Losing his job would be very costly to MW4 and could be costly to me (at least in the sense of screwing up the rhythm of a home visit I’d planned). But there was a risk that senior leadership might ask “why is Michael getting involved?” But in the end, I acted on his behalf, and I called the director. After some discussion about MW4’s history at the agency, his loyalty and mishaps the director told me he'd bring him back in a couple of weeks. He said, “I want them to sit in fear for a couple of weeks, as punishment - but then we will bring them back - don’t worry.” I was in two minds to tell MW4 about the conversation, but he was in such a state I felt obliged to tell him so he’d calm down. And he did calm down, to an extent. But, he never returned to our offices. Within two weeks he had been reassigned to a semi-government “office boy” job, an interface between the mail room and the staff. He might not have lost his job, but he lost 50% of his income due to allowances that are given to staff assigned to government staff.
My privileged position compared to their lives had a material effect on our relationship. The ups and downs migrant workers experienced often led to direct requests on my behalf, for money e.g. one I lent AED 800 after he quit his job and tried to re-enter Abu Dhabi. He failed and ended up taking an illegal route to work in a Kurd Hotel, in Northern Iraq. But, MW1 is my most emotional case as I refused to pay the 1,500 pound “auction” fee for him to return to Qatar. I pleaded with him to keep audio and documentary evidence of his exploitation. So that he had the possibility to recover the money that was being extorted by predatorial agents. But he refused, “This is the way in Bangladesh” he lamented. Since that time, his mother required surgery in both eyes, and she has diabetes. He has taken further loans and he has requested my help with finding him a job in New Zealand. Sometimes workers requested advice from me on subjects as varied as getting a job to selecting a university for their children. It was assumed that as a high-income migrant worker, like myself, would have access to such resources. There is nothing particularly startling about these revelations, as anywhere in the social hierarchy people "leverage friends” every day. It is not a question of judging these workers (or myself) but rather to be as transparent as possible on the power relations between us, and the ethical difficulties it posed for me.

4.4.3 Interviews

Investigating migration management was informed by extensive interviews with workers and other actors such as recruiters, managers, government officials. There was a continuum of various connections throughout the fieldwork, from acquaintance to ‘friends’ (Beech et al., 2009). This had an effect on how I approached the individual in question. In the case of the briefest of interactions, I gave no indication of my interest to that individual. These encounters were often accidental and not planned, but expected in the semi-covert strategy I adopted. In the case of one-off interviews with a camp manager, HR manager, or a local etc. there was either an honest explicit notification of my interest (e.g. NGOs or government in sending nations) or sometimes a ‘faking and fudging’ process (Fine and Shulman, 2009).
with local government. Eliding my interest e.g. with camp management, HR managers etc. was necessary. I practiced a certain amount of what Willmott referred to as ‘craftiness’ (Willmott, 2014b).

After recruiting a dozen or so workers to which to dedicate my attention, I undertook some interviews with each which allowed for me to develop a closer relationship than typical in one-off encounters. I felt this was necessary to discuss their lives in the sort of detail required for this study. I did not stop at migrant workers (see Table 4.1 for an overview, but for a more detailed schedule see Appendix F.). These interviews and conversations were with other actors such as government officials, company HR managers, labour attachés, etc. undertaken in an unstructured fashion. I recorded most interviews and transcribed many of the early interactions. Over time, however, I converted this formal transcription method to writing notes during or even soon after interactions. This approach was more practical given the breadth of these discussions.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interview Scope</th>
<th>Abu Dhabi</th>
<th>Sri Lanka</th>
<th>Nepal</th>
<th>Philippines</th>
<th>Bangladesh</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agencies</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government Offices</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labour Attachés</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employers</td>
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<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emirati’s</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Training Centres</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Core workers</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other e.g., Priests, Arch. other workers,...</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>92</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.1 – Breakdown of Conducted Interviews

In the first instance, I offered to pay migrant workers for interviews. This was more out of necessity than out of altruism. These low-income migrant workers work 6 days a week for their employers, and
that final day is either one of rest or more work in a part-time capacity. My invading of that precious personal time meant that I needed to compensate them for their lost incomes and missed rest or I might have risked not seeing them at all. This was an uneven affair as some workers refused the payments immediately or some after a few meet ups\textsuperscript{95}.

At the outset, I engaged with migrant workers in a very structured way to build up an understanding about their individual circumstances and to develop the trust to explore other aspects of their daily lives. The first interviews began around May, 2013; In the first interview I had very specific questions to ascertain as follows: Age; Home Country; the number of countries they had worked, and where; when they first migrated; their motive for migration; when they first arrived in Abu Dhabi; their time in the UAE; their job title; whether they used a recruitment agent and the associated fees; how the migration was funded; and whether a visa exit approval was required.

Given English was their second language, there was ample opportunity for misunderstandings so the second interviews in August 2013 were largely about building on the first interview to try to secure that solid understanding about their migration story and migrant life. During this interview, I either provided the migrant worker with a compact camera or requested their help to capture ‘typical’ images from their daily lives, at work, and outside of work.

In the third and fourth interviews (December 2013, and beyond), these captured images became the objects of ongoing discussions. I noted a shift in all the discussions with the aid of this mediating object, the photograph. From attending a MBS workshop event on Photovoice and reading Pink’s book on “Doing Visual Ethnography” I recognised the importance of these interactions (to be discussed in the next section). Finally, by the “fifth interview” the event could be read as no longer an interview at all,

\textsuperscript{95} Payment was 100AED ($27USD) for the interview.
but rather conversations between myself and these participants in the construction of the thesis. On occasion, I attempted to draw the worker into a theoretical discussion on my findings, in an exercise to get their feedback on my theoretical meditations. However, seldom anything came from these exercises so I gave up trying. A typical response might be something like, “I need more salary boss.” (Boss here is another way of saying brother, but could be interpreted to demonstrate the power relationship implicit in these meetings.

Acknowledging that workers were only one category of actors I sought interviews with many other actors along the migration corridor. First, I attempted to secure interviews with employers and HR managers in an attempt to get a different ‘side’ of the story. Second, as I began to get a better picture of the complex set of nodes in the network, I attempted to secure interviews with this very wide ranging set of actors. I spoke to Locals (that is Abu Dhabi citizens); I spoke with managers or advisors from Abu Dhabi’s institutions, including Zonescorp; Ministry of Labour⁹⁶; Urban Planning; Abu Dhabi Education Council; and a couple of local academics. Third, I expanded to include other actors, for example: sending country labour attaches (based in Abu Dhabi), a Catholic Priest, an Abu Dhabi based domestic worker recruiter. Finally, as the international trips unfolded I attempted to secure interviews with sending country institutions including: government regulators; orientation training institutions; and sending recruitment agents. This cacophony of voices is what is represented in this thesis. The impact from these interviews was uneven. For example: If I could even secure an interview I found that governmental workers from sending and receiving countries were very guarded. The interview often became a performance where they were guarding some secret that I was attempting to unveil. This is where observation and documentary analysis came in very important input to my theoretical analysis.

⁹⁶ The interview with the advisor for the Ministry of Labour was a critical juncture in 2014, as it was when I made my research intentions and activities explicit to the authorities.
4.4.4 Photography

Photography and ethnography has a long history and seen by some as a principal part of the Ethnographer’s toolkit (Pink, 2007) as can be traced to the work of anthropologists of Malinowski and Mead. In this research project, I collected in excess of 2,000 images over a two year period. It can be argued that sitting behind the photo not only is a ‘realist’ notion of capturing what the ethnographer sees, but evidence that the ethnographer was ‘there’. From within Sociology, Woodward (2008) suggest that this can offer more participatory and dialogic research as opposed to collecting visual data; and the potential for research role reversal, if not a state that may challenge the roles in research. Within Organisation Studies, Cohen et al. (2006) point out how photography has the potential to reveal, as in other art forms, in a way that is a revealing of meaning as opposed to merely counting objects in a photograph.

In this study, photography, that is to say, the photograph was a central to working with migrant workers to elicit narratives about the management of their everyday lives. My own photographs or those in the press were sometimes used to help build my own understanding, but the effectiveness of these conversations were hit and miss. Instead, it was from the photographs taken by the migrant workers themselves that were much more effective in our conversations. This was partly accidental given my limit to reach into certain spaces and times of the migrant workers life (e.g. female gendered labour camps). But, it emerged quite quickly how powerful their photograph could be in the interview process (Pink, 2007; Woodward, 2008). In the typical early interviews we would sit down somewhere close to their accommodation or in a mall where I would ask questions and the migrant workers would answer them. It was at times a rather jolted conversation. Once their photographs were introduced, then our gaze moved from each other to this mediating object. The stop/start of question answer was replaced with a flowing and sometimes moving account of what sat in front of us. An example will help me explain.
In the above photograph from MW8 (see Figure 4.1), he captured an image late at night of a sole worker returning to his shared room. It is an image that shows the industrialised design of the camp building, the long corridor with rooms down either side and the many footwear that sit at the door front. While this lone character walking to his room was not MW8, MW8 still described the loneliness he felt even with living with 800 other men. To emphasize these attributes from the image, I removed what little colour existed and made it black and white (hence the validity in part here of Bathes (1981) point, but where MW8’s emotions, his image, and I collaborate to tell a particular story over another. That said, this photograph was not included in the empirical chapters themselves (but others did, Figure 7.2 and 7.3).

In another image (see Figure 4.2), MW6 is on her day off, sitting in her bunk bed. This enabled me to say the 90x200cm bunk bed is equal for male and female labour accommodations, but also the use of the curtain to create some semblance of privacy. But, as we talked about both these images, MW6’s emotions surfaced. In this second image she explained how she adored getting out of the security guard uniform and put on typical Nepali dress, she felt “normal” and feminine again. Another example is an
image was of the kitchen from MW6 living in a gendered labour camp. For some, it may just look like
and an image of a kitchen, but as she explained, there are signs of distrust (of this transient space) in
the use of padlocks on cupboards. On one occasion she had purchased some fresh chicken for cooking
one Friday. She left it in the fridge, only to return, to her great annoyance that evening and it had been
consumed.

![Figure 4.2 – MW6 Photograph](image)

In one sense, the photograph acted as a form of creating a shared experience and ‘quickened’ the
establishment of trust that may have come only with more time. This sharing of emotions was less
effective if I had only asked, “What is it like living in a labour camp?” In another sense, it was from the
migrant worker taken images along with our conversations (plus my observations) the notion of x-family
began to emerge, and a contested notion it is, with the juxtaposition of supportive, but lock up your
valuables and your feed (see Chapter Seven). That said, as Barthes (1981) points out, a photograph is
contingent, and the particularly the portrait photographer is being nothing more than the “great
mythologist” (Barthes, 1981:34). I treated the photograph as both contingent and what kind of
performance the migrant workers’ wanted to portray, that is to say master storytellers who construct the
narrative they want to tell. Therefore, these interviews would always be juxtaposted with other
interviews, observational and documentary analysis.
4.4.5 Documentary Analysis

Given the often limited information gained from interviews, my investigating migration management was duly supported by documentary analysis. I gathered a very large quantity of documentary evidence including: sending and receiving country laws (where available in English, which was quite common); migration magazines, governmental information and pamphlets on safe migration; web based press articles from newspapers and magazines. Over three years, this plethora of content (over two thousand notes were) was saved into Evernote and duly tagged with analytical keywords.

4.4.6 Observation and Access

Observation in labour camps and apartments required multi-layers of gradual negotiation. Getting into the camp and avoiding security was the first stage. I only attempted this with an accompanying migrant worker. Depending on the camp in question, I could almost walk straight through or the migrant worker would have swipe his access card for me, or sweet talk the security guard on duty. But, this was only the first gate of negotiated access. The second for the labour camp (the first for the apartment) was in the room. Often, each room had a person assigned overall responsibility (usually by the individuals living in that room or it was sometimes company assigned). This person was consulted by workers on many issues of importance such as problems with work or from home, such as thinking about taking on a new job, or allowing me access. This person was also consulted by company management an acted a communication relay. So, my presence as a researcher was ‘approved’ by this head of the room. My presence was not always free of charge. In one case in particular I was expected to provide “budget” for something e.g. the minibus for the next basketball game. Obtaining access to female only accommodation (physically) would have been extremely difficult and risky given the gender segregation of Abu Dhabi’s conservative society. In these cases, the female workers shared pictures from their mobile phones and Facebook so I could get some indications of their conditions. Spread throughout 2013
until 2015, I visited labour camps twelve times (including one overnight stay); local apartments ten times (including two overnight stays).  

4.4.7 International Research Trips

The migrant worker might not have seen their family for two years, so upon arrival to meet families in the migrant worker origin country, I was conscious of not coming across as the annoying researcher. Instead I would slip in and out of involvement along with other objectives I had for the trip, such as meeting NGOs, recruiters and government offices. But, ethnography was always unpredictable, this was particularly the case on my international travels.

Starting with Sri Lanka in April 2014 I had zero experience on how to conduct such a visit, and I played it by chance. MW3 met me at the airport, Colombo and he took me to our basic hotel for the evening. The next day we would set off to Kandy, some 5 hours drive away. It’s not a vast distance but single lane traffic through village after village (what often felt like one continuous village). When we arrived, he took me to visit his family for the first time, and later dropped me at the hotel. In the hotel, I began ‘surfing’ the web and looking for information that might be helpful in the coming days. I had asked MW3 if he knew of any local man-power agents in the city for us to visit, and by chance, he had a friend who ran one. So that would be my entry point. Throughout the subsequent days, we traversed as many locations as possible from his family home, to agents, to sub-agents, and to government offices. By the last trip in Bangladesh in November 2014 I had learned many lessons and put them into practice. First, I found that NGOs and academics who had written on migrant workers were most often helpful avenues of insight and would be happy to arrange a meeting well before I arrived. Second, given this likelihood of gaining relevant information, I planned well ahead and used cold-calling and networks to make interview dates and times well before arriving. Third, governmental office visits proved difficult to

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97 Given the level of surveillance in some of the labour camps, I’m quite surprised (looking back in hindsight) that I was not picked out as I wandered the camp facilities. I would not re-attempt this now.
arrange. If it looked easy at the outset, some public relations department mediated, so the maximum amount of already public available information was on hand. In this way, it was hard to get at unpublished insights. Sometimes it was too difficult to arrange, no one would talk to me without some official letter from their leadership.

I had to mix careful forward planning with spontaneous attempts to get to where I thought I wanted to be. Nepal was a good case in point. The Kathmandu offices appeared quite chaotic to me, and I was sent from one office to the next trying to get approval. On the third day returning to the offices for an interview I had nothing. No interview, or sources of information of note. I began to feel a bit desperate so that afternoon I bullied my way into the operations centre for reviewing paperwork and granting or not granting visas. I bowled in with my DSLR in hand, saying something like, “I’m a researcher from the University of Manchester here to interview a few people while on the job.” It felt like some sort of scene where royalty parts the crowds in their midst. The security guard did not seem to know what to do with me. I made it seem as if this was all authorised. A few of the people inside this barricaded applications office seemed only too happy to help. The chance to break up the mundane, to provide me with some information and/or photos. I cringe at times when I think about what it took to get into hard to reach locations. In sum, there was a unique combination in every international site between myself, my interlocutor, the country, and the office in question. Each evening I wrote up notes of the day’s events and reviewed the next day’s agenda.

4.4.8 Collecting and Storing Data

Ethnography permitted empirical investigations to flow in any direction. I started by looking at materials such as laws, papers, government websites, articles, etc. Later, I replaced this pulling of data (search and download), to my being pushed data through the setting up of weekly alerts from searches for a variety of referent text values such as “Labourers”, “Migrant Workers”, “Guest Workers” etc. Additionally, I joined Facebook groups such as MigrantRights.org; Filipino sites, NGOs, and Government sites. I would
read the link from these alerts, and if relevant I would store into Evernote with accompanying tags. As I became inundated with information, technology provided me with a memory aide and audit function.

After following the lives of the migrant worker, the following sites emerged as important themes of inquiry: uniform, the labour camp, and family. It ‘hit’ me early on that dress codes were implicated in the ordering of Abu Dhabi society. Investigating the uniform was through observation and talking to workers often in quite a random way. The camp had come under much international scrutiny so was an interesting site to start with. But I found that many service workers did not live in camps, so apartments emerged as another site of interest. Investigating the accommodation depended on observation and participant observational work and interviews. Family increased in importance after visiting workers at camps and apartments. In the camps and apartments I saw the familial arrangements that were in operation. I investigated family arrangements through interviews, discourse analysis, and through the home visits on the workers annual or two yearly vacations.

I maintained electronic Evernote notebooks on philosophy, literature, methodology, fieldwork, and general reflections on the research process. Like all ethnographic endeavours there was much more material stored than could be analysed (Van Maanen, 1988). I collected more than 3,000 notes of interviews, online images, news articles, webpages, and photos. Photography played an important role in the data collection and recollection during analysis. While it is perhaps common for ethnographers to take photographs I used the camera in quite a unique way. I asked migrant workers to take photos of their daily lives. Most of course had cameras on their phones and where they didn’t have a camera on the phone, I lent them a compact camera. The photos that they took became talking points in later interviews and conversations. The method proved to be very useful for me to see their lives in times and
spaces that I would not normally have access to. Throughout the three years I collected over 8,000 images that are stored and tagged in a Lightroom database.

4.4.9 Analysing Data & Writing

The stored information in these diaries was then tagged into themes using Evernote. One useful feature from Evernote is the ability to search for themes within a particular notebook or across many notebooks. There was too much material to tag so full text searches were also applied during my analysis of empirical materials. The analysis was a gradual abductive process (Ybema and Kamsteeg, 2009). I moved between the conceptual basis, the literature, the empirical materials, and my writing. The first iteration of the uniform as an important disciplinary theme emerged as early as 2013; the labour camp and X-family emerged in 2014. So, my analysis was a moving backwards and forwards over long periods of time. I re-read Foucault’s Discipline and Punish and CMS Foucauldian work in 2016 that set off another iteration of thinking and writing.

The method of my analysis is very hard for me to pinpoint. Unlike my Masters in Research, I did not put interviews and documents into nVivo for subsequent coding. I did not spend a synchronous or fixed period of analysing data. The idea that some truth emerges from a textual analysis is somewhat dependent on the strength of patterns in the text (or images), that is to say, if 10 migrant workers all said the same thing then this is somehow a finding? The dozen workers in my study were not at all representative of a larger population, so my attempting to analyse in this fashion seemed flawed to me. If one of them slipped something into a conversation that nobody else mentioned or if it was something that I saw that was unusual could be very important.

98 Photography of people in Abu Dhabi is a precarious venture. Photographs stored of people without their permission or worse published on social media can result in legal proceedings, fines, jail and deportation. I took many pictures in places where I could not have possibly asked people for their permission (e.g. in public spaces).
The form of qualitative analysis promoted by qualitative tools like nVivo has sameness and quantity at its foundation. I took the Foucauldian conceptual basis of disciplinary power for analysing the empirical materials for patterns but I equally tried to remain open for difference. Schwartz-Shea and Yanow call this negative case analysis, a “technique of reflective inquiry designed to prevent…[or] settling too quickly on a pattern, answer or interpretation.” (2009:61). I wanted to be sensitive to disciplinary techniques represented in historical terms versus in contemporary situated terms. So, I created tables, drew diagrams, and made notes.

Given the long period of reflection it would be hard to demonstrate the evolution of my thinking in a tool but this evolution is reflected in my essays and Chapter writing that spans 4 years. Writing has been integral to the analysis and interpretation process (Van Maanen, 2011; Brewer, 2000). In this writing, it is impossible for me to offer the reader some neutral or objective representation. My representation is my interpretation and not a full representation. Inevitably the themes, the ideas, the connections are selective, based on the theoretical standpoint, a personal bias (that I may not have been aware of). My point is that writing is not the writing up the results of my findings. Writing led to seeing what I had constructed and seeing what I had mapped in my mind. The construction of ethnographic data and representation was influenced by my struggle with concepts, empirical materials, practical problems, and the supervisory process.

Giving voice to research participants is of considerable interest in CMS circles (Grey et al., 2016). One final question, therefore, is who to give voice to in the text of the thesis? Is it the low-income migrant workers, the NGO employees; the sending and receiving country government’s employees; or Abu Dhabi locals? My approach to this critical tale strikes a delicate balance. As the ‘author’ of field notes and texts, I was going to be transcribing certain passages and ignoring others. But, in the end, the thesis primarily reflects my voice and reflections on the techniques of disciplinary power juxtaposed and
supported by with testimony. While, on occasion, I discussed my interpretations with various actors, for the migrant workers, there was a distinct lack of interest in my theoretical meditations.

4.5 Chapter Conclusion

By April 2015, I had left the ‘the field’. Brewer describes this as the “physical removal from the field and emotional disengagement” (2000:101). Such a clear disentanglement in theory is problematic in practice. First, I continued to work and live in Abu Dhabi, and that will remain the same until such a time that I leave the country. I am tied to the field. Second, and much harder is the emotional disconnection. In some cases, I informed the workers that my fieldwork was over, I thanked them for the contributions and wished them good luck. This is somewhat of an exaggeration, as I thought through how each worker would respond before cutting ties. The ‘core’ interlocutors and I had built up stronger connections. We remain in contact over social media and sometimes face to face encounters. To argue, I’ve ‘left’ the field or that I will ever leave the field 'completely' remains an open point.

We began this chapter by situating this ethnography within the broader tradition. I argued for critical ethnography that is focused on suspending my initial shock and judgments until the management of the lives of migrant workers through the conceptual basis of disciplinary power could be unpacked. The overall research strategy was detailed. I introduced multi-sited ethnography as an important feature to look at disciplinary techniques outside of Abu Dhabi, extending back to the migrant workers origin countries. Next, given the precarity of researching this subject, I unveiled a semi-convert approach to fieldwork. The migrant workers and my own safety was paramount to how I went about this inquiry. In the last section, I outlined the research design and method more specifically, covering: worker recruitment, interviews, documentary analysis, and observation as the three data collection methods. I explained my international research experience as a novice researcher, and how I collected, stored, analysed and wrote up the thesis. In the following empirical chapters the themes from the research: making the migrant, the hyper-management of the migrant, and family will be explored.
CHAPTER 5: MAKING THE MIGRANT WORKER

In the next three chapters, the aim is to test the relevance of the techniques of disciplinary power in the management of low-income migrant workers. In this chapter, I will examine the making of the migrant worker and the attempts at shaping subjectivities through various constructed subject positions throughout the migration process. Notwithstanding, making the ‘ideal’ migrant worker is not left to disciplinary techniques prior to migration alone, therefore, in Chapter Six, I will examine the dividing practices that are implicated in the direct management of low-income migrant workers. To round out the empirical analysis, in Chapter Seven, I will return to techniques of subjectification and surveillance through the examination of the reorganising of family as an effect of this model of migration.

To remind ourselves, in the theory of disciplinary power, it is only possible to gain productive power over the body through the subject (at the individual or at the level of the social body). These inter-related techniques, are first, where science produces subjects as objects of knowledge; second, where individuals are divided physically or discursively or otherwise e.g. along lines of the normal and abnormal or migrant non migrant; and third, where individuals produces and transforms him or herself as a particular kind of subject. Of the three techniques, subjectification will be the focus of this chapter i.e. how “one acts on the action of others to constrain or direct the present or future effect of potential of that action” (Foucault, 1982:220). In Chapter Three, I identified that the literature has paid little attention to migrant worker subjectification, and where it has, it was limited itself subjection by employers (MacKenzie & Forde, 2009), recruiters (Forde et al., 2015) and governmental policy (Anderson, 2010b). This gap in our knowledge with respect to how much further this subjectification extends is the topic of this chapter.

Focusing where and how subjectification happens: before, during, and after migration will be the aim of this chapter. Subjectification is important to consider as the bodies’ “…constitution as labour power is possible only if it is caught up in a system of subjection; the body becomes a useful force only if it is both a productive body and a subjected body.” (Foucault, 1977:25) Foucault is arguing that a productive
body can only be produced through a subjected body that is a body positioned in one particular subject position or another. Put another way, power is not possessed by the powerful and the result is that low-income migrant workers are forced into submission, but instead they are strategically positioned in discourse that results in their subjection and subjugation. Bringing this notion of the ‘subjected’ body into my analysis, the low-income migrant worker can be read as an effect of strategic positioning.

In section 5.1, I will show that well established subject positions may be ingrained prior to migration decisions. This occurs either through the efforts of labour exporting governments and NGOs who through ‘orientations’ to develop a discourse of the heroic “successful migrant worker” or through a much slower process linked to multi-generational familial migration experience. In section 5.2, I will show how the emergence of migration orientations, in the process of migration, are places where the shaping the minds and training of bodies is attempted as the method of preparing the right kind of migrant worker. This is through the pre-employment orientation, pre-deployment orientation and post-arrival orientation. Lastly, in section 5.3, I will detail the role that the ubiquitous use of the uniform plays in the establishing and reinforcing the subservient controlled worker subject position. The uniform is an organisational obligation, and it contains role and status, hierarchy and ranking, even when these are necessarily situational. It is implicated in the construction of the docile worker through creating social distances, inclusions, and exclusions for the ordering of life in Abu Dhabi.

The contribution from this chapter is to advance CMS’s understanding of the making of migration workers through subjectification and the uniform. Specifically, it shows how far and wide subjectification extends along the ‘supply chain’, in particular, to families, governmental discourse, NGOs, migration training companies. This subjectification is attempted through distinct subject positions, some well-known e.g. the responsible or duty bound individual that must economically care

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99 Examples are occasionally in the press showing how an Emirati National was refused entry to a particular establishment.
for their families; or some less well known, e.g. the individual who should be part of the process of building a nation (related to the argument of the intensely governed family, Rose, 1999).

5.1 Multi-generational migrations

In this section, evidence will show how workers’ subjectivities can be shaped for migration through well-established subject positions created from multi-generational migration patterns. Given that Chapter Three pointed to the poor treatment of low-income migrant workers in the GCC, one might come to the conclusion that parents who were once low-income migrants would not ‘send’ or ‘permit’ their sons and daughters to migrate. But often, they do just that. MW8 and MW9 are such cases in this study, each of whom has parents who were once migrant workers; but equally each story is unique having different factors that influenced the decision to migrate. Moreover, workers themselves can be implicated into this cycle of propagating misinformation about migrant worker experiences. Gardner (2012a) provided examples where migrant workers sent images home of them successfully working in offices as professionals and he found camera stores in Bahrain made up fake offices and clothing to assist the development of such images. Some migrant workers (in my study) demonstrated the sending of fake social media images of themselves working in desk jobs rather than as ‘tea-boys’ or messengers. These ‘fantasies’ feed back into the familial desire that family members want to become part of the ongoing ‘success’ of family and growth of the country. A Nepali government officer termed this phenomena “a passion for migration” while the Filipino author termed it “a migration culture” (Aguilar, 2014).

MW9’s mother worked in Hong Kong for many years and admits to me during an interview the difficulty in her experience of working as a domestic worker. “Leaving my children with my husband while I worked overseas in Hong Kong, as a domestic worker was very hard. But, it was what I had to do in order to maintain my family. Now I am back, and I’m very proud to see that MW9 is doing the same, that is doing what is necessary. We women in the Philippines are pioneers in the family” (Interview, 2015). MW9, a Catholic from the Philippines, was in her mid-twenties when I met her. She was a
supermarket cashier at the time, and epitomised the self-sacrifice even in the case where her family did not ‘push’ her to go to Abu Dhabi in 2013. MW9 explains “I’m here to sustain my daughter. That is my obligation and my top priority. Here I can earn more. I’m here for one more reason...I want to prove more to my family, to my parents that I can do it. For them and for myself... When I got pregnant, I stopped university. My parents asked me do you want to go back to school again, I told them ‘No’ because I want to work, my baby is a big obligation, I don’t want my parents to take this obligation - I have, I have to do this for my daughter....I want to be responsible.” She divulged that the influence of her mother’s example was important in her decision. At the time of this interview, it had been almost two years since she has seen her 4-year-old daughter. One day MW9 was telling me that she felt she was simply a “machine that had no choice but wake up, go to work, eat, clean, sleep and repeat it all over again the next day.” I asked her, what is buhay (life) for you? She replied emphatically and automatically, “My family, my daughter is MY LIFE”. MW9 mimics her mother depiction of the discourse of responsibility, and it is representative of a wider discourse in the Philippines of the leadership of Filipina women in the family and society\(^\text{100}\). MW9 can help us see how her mother’s example was an influence on her decision to migrate. To economically provide for her daughter’s needs, just as her mother did for her was of paramount importance to MW9. For these women, migration was necessary – it was not a choice.

Similar to the responsibility discourse of MW9, is another discourse tied to authority, obligation, and duty, i.e. the father “sends” the son to work on behalf of the family.\(^\text{101}\) Figure 5.1 contains a poster from a NGO that has a quote that says, “I went abroad once. I sent my older son, and now I’m trying to send my younger son. Working abroad you can earn so much money.” This poster is a confusing artefact considering it is with in an NGO whose goal is to “contribute to ensure the safe labour migration through

\(^{100}\) See World Economic Forums – The Global Gender Gap Report. Philippines was ranked 5\(^\text{th}\) in gender equality as compared to the UK at 18\(^\text{th}\). [http://www3.weforum.org/](http://www3.weforum.org/)

\(^{101}\) The word frequently adopted for work is ‘duty’ - mimicking this obligation.
protection of migrants’ rights”. However, another goal is to “improve the socio-economic development of Bangladesh through a better management of the migration process”. These goals come into direct opposition, but development usually wins out. This emphasis of the capacity of earning “so much money” abroad is replicated and repeated in the general discourse on migrant workers.

MW8’s (from this study) father was a migrant worker who worked in the GCC for many years until his health declined and he had to return to Bangladesh. “Even though my father is retired and not able to sustain the family; I’ve done my job as a son to him. It is common in Bangladeshi culture that when your father retires, the oldest son has to take care of the family”\textsuperscript{102} MW8’s tells me his father is very proud that he took over from his father in providing for his parents and brothers, when his father could no longer do it. MW8 is a 42-year-old Bangladeshi cleaner, a Muslim, who was sent to Abu Dhabi by his father in 2004. MW8 is paid AED 800 per month (200USD) and he lives in the kind of labour camp with crowded living conditions and inscribed as a servant with the uniform of the cleaner. He tells me, “I left my studies and now I am a drop out. The only benefit I have is that my brothers and children will study

\textsuperscript{102} In Nepali culture it is not the oldest son but the youngest son’s responsibility to look after the parents. If the youngest is unable then this responsibility passes to the next youngest.
more. If I were ever to die, they will remember that it was me that worked hard for them. My brother will remember that. There is one in every family that suffers so that others can become better. And I am that [one].” MW8 finds himself in a situation of estrangement from his family and a life full of struggle. Even so, he demonstrates in this excerpt (and how he tells me his story) a stoic sense of happiness because of the value he contributes (in the place of his father) to his family, particularly his brother’s education and fulfilment of his father’s wishes. A bitter sweetness lingers on his every word, half smiling and half crying at the same time. He tells me “I have done my job – as the eldest son!” In the many hours that MW8 and I discussed his life, he emphasised the incredible force of obligation to do as his father wished. However, he tells me that for the past 10 years, he has increasingly struggled to live up to his family’s expectations, and their increasing consumption, and medical bills. While he exemplifies a discourse of duty it is representative of discourse in Bangladesh, that’s replicated throughout many institutions: family, government and NGOs.

My conceptualisation of disciplinary power suggests that the subject is always entangled within an economy of power relations resulting in a subject that exercises power and simultaneously is an effect of power i.e. “certain bodies, certain gestures, certain discourses, certain desires come to be constituted as individuals” (Foucault, 1980:98). Put another way, the migrant worker is always the product of the interactions between him or herself and the Other. We can see this form the two above cases. MW9 migrated out of a sense responsibility and the example of her mother, and the wider discourse of women’s role in society. MW8 meanwhile migrated out of a sense of duty and obligation of his father’s instructions and wishes, and the role of the poster in the wider discourse of the eldest male’s responsibility in society. Both these subjects, the responsible subject and the duty-bound subject, have some force behind them that imply obligation, expectation, and requirement to do what is right. Both of which, demonstrate the influence of the family and wider discourse in the shaping subjectivities of

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103 MW8 shared with me that one of his friends was in a similar position, and who did not respond to this call from the family. It is not universal, but he added it brought his friend great shame.
individuals. For many, in Asian countries where unemployment and under-employment is high, this discourse of responsibility and duty has become common-sense and taken for granted. Their choice to migrate can be little choice at all (as in MW8’s case), as it becomes the family’s choice, and often the father’s (see Gardner, 2011). But, even when they are not ‘coerced’ (by the family, surrounding economic, social or political struggles) I am arguing that the individual (as might be the case for MW9) is often made, potentially from a very young age, into a migrant worker by parents (or siblings) who themselves were once migrants. These individuals, in the hope of writing a tale of rags to riches, convince themselves and turn themselves into responsible and duty-bound subjects (du Gay, 1996). Subjectification as the responsible subject or duty-bound subject can be read as a gradual process that may span many years in the potential migrant’s life.

5.2 Migration Orientations

The familial shaping of subjectivity is reinforced by governmental institutions who take a great interest in the billions of pounds in remittances from their exported labour force. In this sub-section, evidence will demonstrate further places where the sending and receiving labour governments’ and employing organisations collaborate in an attempt to shape the subjectivity of individual as they undergo the migration process.

5.2.1 Pre-employment Orientations (PEO), Missions, and Awards

Sending labour Governments and NGO organisations are regularly involved in running pre-employment orientations, either through training online or through missions into the towns and villages. According to those interviewed, the purpose behind these ‘orientations’ is to enable the potential migrant workers to make informed choices about whether to migrate or not. But, these are surface aims only. Behind this

104 That said, these claims are not universal. One family member from Nepal (one worker’s brother) refused to migrate overseas despite his family’s economic problems, and his mother’s desire for him to migrate like his sister.

105 One such on-line tool is from the Philippines called the Pre-Employment Orientation Seminar.
function sits the aim of reinforcing the call for workers that are unemployed or underemployed to migrate. In the Philippines the message to potential migrant workers, is to “recognise their role as the new ‘investors’, the ‘new aristocrats’, and the ‘ambassadors of goodwill’, who have a crucial responsibility to build the country’s economy and promote a positive image of the Philippines” (Guevarra, 2006:527). In Bangladesh, the government offers “CIP Awards” (Commercially Important Person) to migrants for that through remittance, investments, or export of Bangladeshi products to Abu Dhabi have contributed to the growth of Bangladesh economy. Sri Lanka’s Ambassador meanwhile suggests that “It is time that we expatriates get together and work together towards development in progress of the Nation...labour is an essential item for them [Abu Dhabi] and for us we need foreign remittances”. 106

Figure 5.2 – Department of Foreign Employment, Bangladesh, 2015 (Source: own photo)

This discourse is propagated throughout sending labour country migrant worker training institutions; throughout the mainstream media; social media; and online community groups. The viewing of migrant workers as ‘the unsung heroes’ is constantly recycled.107 On the foreign labour ministers wall in

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107 Not all are fooled nor proud by these national depictions. The Philippines labour attaché lamented “Filipinos are the most preferred amongst third world nationals to be working in these kinds of countries and the question is - are we happy with it? Are we proud to be the number one foreign worker in another’s country? Personally, I’m ashamed. I feel so embarrassed that we end up this way - a country that is only good for its workers. Even the curriculum of our education system...it is just short of including a course on overseas migration. [I ask, But there is one in hotel and restaurant management]...That is it. That is what I’m saying and a shameful destination for a people to end up being labelled number one migrant workers.” Interview.
Bangladesh is a trend graph and breakdown of remittances (see Figure 5.2). The importance of inwards remittances as part of the story is demonstrated by the wall chart that maps the increase in the number of citizens migrating, and the increase in inward remittances to the country. Maintaining these increases is the primary goal. I argue that, in particular, these governmental pre-employment ‘orientations’ while addressing the issue of safe migration, can be regarded as largely job fairs that aim to share a positive messaging that it is good to migrate for work, but to do so legally and in a manner that will be traceable.

The constructed subject position that we saw in the previous section on family is a message reinforced by labour sending country governments depicting the heroic migrant worker as an individual who demonstrates positive economic behaviour either as a duty or responsibility to family and country. This mimics du Gay’s (1996) of the constructed enterprising subject in society. The ‘positive’ messaging about economic migration remains, despite the well-known problems that many migrant workers have reported to NGOs and governmental labour offices. NGOs challenge this dominant narrative but, the ‘network’ does its best to hide the worst stories while propagating the positive stories.108 This positive narrative is backed up with the discourse of, ‘if something happens, the government has your back!’. This is not to imply that the propaganda machine will remain the same, as States and institutions are implicated and constituted in the same strategic interplay of power relations that Foucault argues that constitutes the subject (1980). For example: certain countries and specific job roles have become blacklisted, and formal migration in these situations is no longer possible, examples come from wars in Iraq and Syria or when Asian countries put bans on specific Arabian Gulf countries for continued abuse of human rights or some inter-country argument.

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108 Certainly the Philippine Government demonstrates in public media a ‘protective’ and vocal stance about their migrant worker issues when compared to Sri Lanka, Bangladesh and Nepal. That is not to say these countries do not do anything behind closed doors.
5.2.2 Pre-departure Orientations (PDO)

The pre-departure orientation is another place in the subjectification process that ‘prepares’ individuals for migration to Abu Dhabi. In the PDO, migrant workers are further educated about traveling to, and working in Abu Dhabi (amongst many other destination countries). The basic class covers how to navigate the airport, currencies and financial literacy, competencies of language and communication, and “cultural sensitive orientation and public relations”, and sometimes the rights of workers. PDOs vary significantly in duration across the sending labour countries. It varies from the 2 hour awareness session in the Philippines, to a 28/30 days skills building programme for domestic workers in Sri Lanka\(^{109}\) and Bangladesh with a comprehensive training framework that includes practical, theoretical, and oral examinations before the worker can proceed to obtain final approvals. The importance of the difference in time required to complete a PDO is usually accounted for by the workers initial employability. For example: a woman from a small village in Sri Lanka may not have ever used an electric or gas stove, whereas the Filipina more likely has.

Generally, these orientations do not stress what their working and living conditions might be like upon arrival, as it is assumed that ‘informed choice’ occurred well before the worker reaches this point. One government manager in Abu Dhabi commented that there are often issues in the lack of basic education, health literacy, and financial literacy of migrant workers. The failure to adequately on-board new workers into work and ‘society’ inevitably creates a turnover that will cost the employer and both the labour sending/receiving economies. Therefore all sending countries agreed to mandate a PDO before a migrant worker is approved for travel. PDO delivery organisations can be government, recruiters or specialist training companies depending on the country in question. They are regulated by governmental training materials and competency frameworks, and in some cases have migrated to e-learning platforms.

\(^{109}\) Regulators intervene to lengthen or shorten the programme depending on the politics of the day e.g. in Nepal, 2014 the standard programme was 5 days and reduced to 12 hours.
Some governmental organisations also produce guides for workers. Trainers are certified by the regulator but are variably experienced either having formal training qualifications and/or direct working experience in that country. I saw examples by NGOs that seriously attempt to enable informed decision making that would provide a counter discourse to this “responsibility”, “success”, and “legal” narrative. Often the NGO workers are ex-migrant workers themselves and can speak first hand to the ‘reality’ that they themselves experienced, and they can point to the safe-houses that they fund that support ‘failed’ returning migrant workers.

In all cases, a certain level of financial literacy is included, that is how to get out of financial poverty with good financial management. This involves how to send remittances back to family, in particular, how to use preferred facilities e.g. the use of country banks so to avoid using illegal or grey money markets. In the case of the Philippines, workers are encouraged to bring their spouses to complete a specifically designed financial planner called the dream map (see Figure 5-3). The process involves drawing a visualisation of where the worker, spouse and loved ones will be in five years, then translating this into specific financial objectives. From here the development of a budget is undertaken, one that emphasises “indiscriminate spending can lead to important dreams being deferred”. Key in these interventions is to put controls on the over-spending on unnecessary consumer spending (e.g. fashion, jewellery, cellphones etc.). The dream map uses visual representations and time frames to attempt to help workers and their families to set objectives and priorities from their future migration income. The key message is that achieving dreams “can only be done by practicing financial management.” The formula changes from income less expenses = savings, to income less savings = expenses, in otherwords, save first and spend what is left over.

110 The most comprehensive one is “Handbook for Filipinos Overseas” produced by the office of the President of the Philippines and is now in its 8th edition.
111 Migrant workers in this study were happy to use grey money markets or take in extra gold in their pockets if preferential rates were available.
112 See video @ http://www.cfo.gov.ph/gallery/videos.html
In the case of domestic workers there are specific facilities for training over a longer period. The training space included walls covered with posters, photos, and rooms fitted with actual objects that they will have to be competent to use (cookers, washing machines, beds, children’s toys, caregiver equipment, and sometimes even a made up majliss (see Figure 5-4), and bedroom, before they can pass the examination. The examination includes how to clean and carry out laundry activities; how to prepare Arabic meals and beverages; and the serving of these food and beverages. The PDO in the case of basic skills training is certified by attendance only; however, in the case of domestic workers it is only once examinations have been successfully completed that the government approved certificates\textsuperscript{113} are issued. There were cases where PDO organisations have extended the subjection beyond subject positions and bodily gestures to modify the ‘tastes’ of workers in their diets. In one such Bangladesh delivery organisation, no Bengali food is on offer during the PDO, instead only Arabic food is served to force acculturation or a taste for Arabic food. This is to lessen the distress that an Arabic diet may cause migrant workers. So, consistent with the theory of disciplinary power, within the PDO, we can see the certain kinds of bodies (adapted for diet), gestures (how to perform ones activities as a domestic worker), discourses and desires (a desire to save money and fulfill ones dreams) demonstrates the theory of disciplinary power in action.

\textsuperscript{113} In many cases, these certificates are extremely carefully managed. The training deliverer in Nepal must register students who are matched to their registration at the regulator, DOFE. Auditors showed me the lists that they maintain and check against their systems. DOFE auditors also make visits to training establishments to ensure quantity and quality is accurate.
Figure 5.4 - A made up majliss, a shisha pipe, and two mannequins in Gulf dress

The making of subject positions changes from the PEO that focused on the decision to migrate and the PDO that focuses on pragmatics of being a successful economic migrant. The individual is educated in the local values, culture and traditions, and what it takes to adapt to living conditions in an Arab country. Whether migrant workers treat this as “just a part of the process” to migrate or whether this PDO “works” is impossible to measure. As one migrant worker told me, “I did not rate the training. If anything, they were deliberately trying to fill us with fear. ‘If you get caught drinking alcohol or if you have sex with another OFW [overseas Filipino worker] you can go to prison, stuff like that.’” This highlights a scepticism towards the success of the subject positions emphasised in the PDO, but that does not negate the establishment and exercising of them. This is particularly important aspect of the ‘education’, that is, instilling into their minds the expectations of their ‘new masters’ i.e. new employers. However, there is also the need to understand how to manage ones financial life, to have a savings plan and to avoid unnecessary expenditure. Finally, there is the need to understand about living an estranged life from ones’ family.

5.2.3 Post Arrival Orientation (PAO)

The Post Arrival Orientation (PAO) is another step in the making of the migrant worker. But, what happens as part of a migrant worker’s arrival can vary greatly. For domestic workers, they are usually
met by the intermediary recruitment agency and they are transported to either agency accommodation until their employer calls to pick them up at which point they moved into the ‘private’ space of the family they will be working for, and to meet any other domestic worker colleagues. For the non-domestic worker, a HR staff member is waiting with a signboard with the company name on it. The workers are asked to hand over their passports and papers, and then they proceed to the awaiting bus. From there, they will be taken to their accommodation. In MW11’s case, he was transported to a labour camp, with 42 fellow Nepali’s and they were given room assignments. “We arrived to Labhotel, no visa in hand and no passport. We were assigned a room and sent to pick up a blanket, a bed sheet and a pillow, we were in a prison” (Interview, MW11).

Migrant workers will go through anything from 3 days to 3 weeks on-boarding and training from their employer. For cleaners this is 3 days, training on equipment and chemical use; for “tea-boys” it is how to behave, how to serve; for security guards it is a forced cutting of their hair, intense physical tests, and detailed classroom work and written examinations; for drivers, it is driving theory classes, and written, oral and practical examinations. The PAO related examinations can be a crucial moment in the migrant workers migration because if you fail at this point, you are sent home, with no refunds. This can be devastating for those who took out loans or sold land to migrate. All workers are required to convert their initial entry permit into a labour card, undergo a second medical, and apply for their residency visa and Emirates identity card. The second medical test in Abu Dhabi covers a physical examination checking for skin conditions, visible rashes, TB via a chest x-ray, and blood test for HIV. For worker categories such as drivers, housemaids, food handlers, barbers etc., additional blood tests for hepatitis B and syphilis are carried out. Labour card, residence visa and Emirates Identity are only issued upon being successfully declared fit on the medical and the employer confirms accommodation arrangements.

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114 According to MW11, each man that day had carried USD 500 cash to pay the HR Manager the untraceable “kickback” which was duly collected the very next morning.
115 In the Philippines case they also offer PAO from time to time through embassy events or meetings.
116 Note that the security guard repeats this process every three years.
117 In most cases, Labour cards have been replaced by the unified Emirates ID since 2016.
Migrant workers explained that PAO is a crucial moment where they begin to compare the conditions of work and life with what they were “sold” when they started the recruitment and migration process. It highlights a risk for the workers (and sending country recruiters), that is to say, they cannot be sure of the actual conditions of employment and treatment by employers until they arrive. In many cases in this study, the food allowances, work hours, work place, even work role, accommodation standards etc. did not match workers expectations. Disparities between the real and the imagined were frequent, and generally in favour of the employer.\textsuperscript{118}

The POA is mostly focused on a new subject position of docility, job roles, and performance.\textsuperscript{119} It is during the PAO when the migrant worker begins to see these subject positions (e.g. the responsible subject, the duty-bound subject, or the enterprising investor subject) juxtaposed against their place in Abu Dhabi (e.g. the ‘worker is here to work’, the servant, the bachelor etc.). Notwithstanding, it’s not solely about subjectification but also related disciplinary procedures of observation and examination. The PDO and POA, in various situations, leverages this procedure of observation, measurement, and judgment (As seen in HR context, Townley, 1993)\textsuperscript{120}. From the sending country perspective, the objective is that workers be ‘transformed’ from citizen into productive overseas foreign workers.\textsuperscript{121} From the Abu Dhabi’s perspective, the objective is to receive ‘civilised’ and ‘docile’ workers. These objectives are not solely about shaping minds and adapting bodies, but one about building productive capacities\textsuperscript{122}.

\textsuperscript{118} In MW4 case, he was recruited as a ‘Fine Dining Waiter’ to work at the 5 Star Emirates Palace Hotel, yet when he arrived he was posted into a barren desert location in the Western Region. MW8’s and MW5’s divergence was on salary, where MW5 was told AED 2,000 per month instead of AED 600 that he received. MW8 was told AED 700 and he received AED 300 (base salary). MW16, a teacher’s assistant was offered AED 3,000 and only got AED 1,500. The MOL, however, now makes available the systems and process to make complaints against these companies easier but workers can be scared to lodge complaints, and will often not complain.

\textsuperscript{119} Some sending labour governments also offer PAOs from time to time through embassy events or meetings – the typically reinforce PDO related interests on financial literacy and worker rights.

\textsuperscript{120} Orientation programmes continue to expand with the latest instance called “reintegration counselling” in the Philippines that targets and individual to orient them along a certain path upon return to their origin country.

\textsuperscript{121} Migrant workers register and pay any governmental fees and there is a growing industry in sending country social insurance systems. Workers are required to pay for these services. But looking deeper, the creation of such privatised social insurance schemes has moved responsibility from the State to the foreign worker in what Rose (1999) depicted happening in the UK setting from the 1950s onwards.

\textsuperscript{122} There are multiple organisations and governments involved along this trajectory to becoming a migrant worker, therefore, the emphasis and parts they play can change throughout.


5.3 Maintaining migrant worker subject positions through Uniforming Bodies

Finally, at some point during the PAO, the workers will be given their uniforms, assigned to their work locations, and begin the routine of work. I will now turn to the question of uniforms that emerged in my analysis as another element reinforcing certain worker subject positions, but not others.

Wearing uniforms or adhering to organisation dress codes has become quite ‘natural’ in management and organisation (Rafaeli & Pratt, 1993). We often take it for granted that the uniform assists easy identification, it can establish legitimacy (e.g. police uniform), and be used for health and safety (e.g. the construction hard hat), not to forget that organisations like to brand their company and product. Dress is well known in the literature to be implicated in the construction of identity (Tsaousi & Brewis, 2013) and managing emotions (Hayward & Tuckey, 2011). Joseph’s (1986) seminal sociological text on uniforms posits that uniforms are signs, made up of signals and symbols that are used to communicate internally and externally to the group/organisation, but they also have the effect of being used to create social distance. But at the same time, Joseph shows that uniforms are not natural, that is, they have changed over time, and that helps us to see that the uniform remains socially, culturally, historically, and politically situated. There is no ‘natural’ body that is “amputated, repressed, altered by our social order, it is rather that the individual is carefully fabricated in it, according to a whole technique of forces and bodies” (Foucault, 1977:217). While, from this perspective of disciplinary power, the individuals’ body is a politically inscribable entity and the uniform (or dress code) can be read as an effect of powers exercising. To draw out the importance of the uniform in my analysis, I will show how the uniform plays a role establishing a docile subservient subject position for migrant workers in society, the assumption therein that the individuals’ body “may be subjected, used, transformed and improved” (Foucault, 1977:136).
5.3.1 The ubiquitous Uniform in Abu Dhabi

There are a number of general classifications of workers in uniform in Abu Dhabi, namely: service workers, labourers; security guards; taxi drivers, and domestic workers.

Service Workers

The service sector low-income migrant worker are in Abu Dhabi in their hundreds of thousands and uniforms are regularly adopted. From coffee shops, restaurants, tea-boys or messengers in offices, shopping staff, hotel staff, and beauty staff. It was visiting shopping malls where the sight of the cleaner service worker that first hit me. Take one service worker who spends most of his day within the confined space of the male toilet facilities. His uniform is two years old and is well worn from constant washing. He cleans, he wipes, he disinfects, he dries, uses his tools namely a mop, a spray bottle, a rag, a glass hand wiper. Occasionally he hands out paper towels. There is often the unpleasant stench in public toilets that these workers become accustomed to, the working with people’s excrement every day. His uniform is a common two-tone uniform with black shoes. The trousers are grey, with a large pocket on the side to hold some tools, and a light blue shirt with the collar and arm lined with the same grey as the pants, and branding on the pocket and on the back of his shirt. Invariably the shirt or trousers lined at the sleeves or along the seam of the pants. According to a uniform designer, the logic of the green line is quite simple, black trousers and plain shirts can be used after work, as well as work. For some uniforms, the adding of a line on the trousers and shirts prevents workers from abusing company property. Its primary function for employers is that the uniform will last longer.\(^{123}\) There are many colour variations, some bright such as bright blue pants and orange shirts, and some dark. The colour and the writing on the uniform invariably mark the brand of the employer or the desirable behaviour on the bodies of the migrant worker. These migrant workers are walking billboards highlighting the advertising slogan that is common on one such slogan is “Serve U” on the back of the cleaners at the local gym.

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\(^{123}\) Source: Interview Jayesh, Uniform Company
Labourers

Labourers are easily sighted in their blue overalls/coveralls, working boots, and hard hats. For the past 50 years this image has become quite ‘normal’ given the extreme levels of construction in this region. The blue coloured overalls, according to the uniform maker, are the most practical for maintaining a tidy, clean image - even when they are dirty. But there are variations on the theme. An Abu Dhabian, COO who employs more than 2,000 ship builders comments on this aspect. “The yellows are the cleaners, the blues are the fabricators, the orange are the fitters, the kaki are the supervisors, there are the suit and ties, and then the National dress…” In Carrefour, a hypermarket, the ‘helpers’ that pack the groceries, collect the trolleys, stack boxes etc. are in bright yellow overalls. Alternatively, the street sweepers are in bright fluorescent colours - with added safety markers being the reflective strips on their bodies, arms and legs.

MW10, wears a blue labourer uniform. He thought he was going to be an oil trader, not a petrol tank filler. So for him, the assigned uniform came with considerable discomfort. He explains, “The first time I did not feel good because I didn’t want this job. I don’t feel good, I still do not feel good, but I must use the uniform, but I am never happy….I didn’t tell anyone that I dress like this, I never tell, I don’t want my friends and family to see me dressed like this” (MW10, Interview). MW10 comes from a family who operate a family business, and after 14 years, his family and friends have still not seen him dressed in this manner. This ‘less than’ labourers uniform has placed him in uncomfortable situations with more affluent residents. MW10 tells me, “I do not feel good when a customer sends me off to buy a phone card, or hands me his garbage like this….But you don’t fight, not discuss it, just do it. I don’t want problems.” (MW10, Interview). The assumption made by the resident is that migrant workers must do as he/she asks regardless of whether it is part of their job description. The uniform can be seen here to play a part in potentially placing the migrant worker into the subservient and docile subject position.

124 Another example of this potential of misinformation.
Security Guards

Security guards are in Abu Dhabi in their thousands in malls, in office buildings, in labour camps etc. Security guards are either in black and white or dark and light shades of blue. They have security on the back of their shirts, shoulder straps (epaulets), multiple badges on shoulders and chest, and sometimes official badges. The most expensive uniforms are those that include metal badges and logos, and occasionally in hotels perhaps an aiguillette meant to indicate some sort of honour. Much has been written about the use of military/police style uniforms and like these uniforms, security guards are ‘naturally’ in uniforms that carry with them this ‘certificate of legitimacy’ (Joseph, 1986). For the Security Guard, perhaps the certificate of legitimacy will hold. MW6, told me “if [you are] not uniform you cannot do security.” While MW6 will prevent people from entering the office, this can be limited to non-local’s. MW6 describes these limits. Identified by their national dress she tells me, “I should stop them if local people coming, they will fight me. I will try to prevent them to go inside… They don’t want anything but to show their power but non-local’s will stop” (MW6, Interview 3). What she is referring to is an implicit hierarchy between locals and non-locals more generally, and more specifically in the case of security. The workers in uniform by default are less than locals. But not all I spoke to claim to accept this position. As one Indian security guard told me, “The uniform is important otherwise no one would respect me. Sometimes the locals ask me to carry or do things for them, but I tell them I’m here on security duties only. The problem is many others will do these extra tasks which can make it difficult. They will accept it though, and not ask me again.” (Conversation, 2013, Al Quatari Oasis).

Here, the legitimate security guards’ uniform might position the individual at risk of exploitation by a Local (i.e. carry my bag) but it may not translate into that reality in each case.

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125 In the GCC as a whole the security guard seems unnecessary, especially in the quantities that they are employed, but locals (men and women) have told me they offer a ‘feeling’ of safety in a region that is plagued with security problems. Security guards are an extension to the reach of police and are directly involved in social control. Whatever is permitted or not permitted in a public or private space, the security guard implements the rules or policies. The security guard has frequently created trouble for photographers.
Taxi Drivers

Taxi driver uniforms can be seen all across Abu Dhabi. All taxi companies are under the governance of a single authority and therefore all share identical uniforms except for their left hand pocket that contains the name of the specific taxi company. This uniform attempts to mimic the security guard, to present a trusted worker and trusting service\textsuperscript{126}. Noticeably the shoulder straps have no markers on them given there are no hierarchical ranks. Often neck ties are worn very loosely given that driving around in a suit and a tightly fitted tie for 14 hours a day is not going to be the most comfortable. Taxi drivers effectively live in this uniform. MW3, sometimes at night, popped down the backseat, put his legs into the trunk of the vehicle, and then slept in his uniform. He tells me that other than his annual trip home to Sri Lanka, he has only taken 1 day off in the previous two years – and, that was because he was sick. “I’m in this uniform 14 sometimes up to 18 hours per day.” He tells me he owns only one shirt that he carries around in the car with him if he goes out. There is no need to have more clothing, and for MW3, the uniform is like a second skin.

Domestic Workers

Domestic workers are not always in uniforms (pejoratively known as “pyjamas”) but they often are (see Figure 5-5)\textsuperscript{127}. Domestic help is of critical importance to locals and many high-income migrant families. It is not uncommon to have as many staff as family members. In the family where MW5 worked, there were two drivers, three women helpers and himself. That is 6 staff for a family of 7 people. From the domestic employers’ perspective, the uniform can be an important tactic used in creating domestic, docile bodies. As one local woman told me, they put them in bland comfortable but obvious uniforms so they understand they are not ‘part of’ the family and are still workers, and are here to work. Another tells me that “scrubs” (as she calls them) provide a level of comfort to ‘employers’ by ensuring that

\textsuperscript{126} All taxis since 2018 have surveillance cameras installs to view the driver and the passengers.
\textsuperscript{127} Alba an American, and an employer of a domestic worker tells me “All my friends with maids told me to put her into a uniform. But I couldn’t do it. What is the point?” Male domestic workers are seldom put in uniforms, it is mainly targeted at females.
migrant workers are clean and can be identified easily by children in city malls. Female domestic uniforms are often in single tone and pastel colours, and according the uniform maker, most are of readymade cheap uniforms. However, he points that the some wealthy locals will spare no expense for hand-made uniforms for their workers in order to reflect their standing amongst other local families. But, at any rate, the domestic worker are emblematic of the subservient and docile subject position learned in the pre-departure orientations, both reflected in their stories of abuse and how they walk in malls and public spaces behind their employers with bags and children in hand.

Figure 5.5 – Domestic Workers in “Pajamas” Bawadi Mall, 2013

5.3.2 Reinforcing Subjectification through the Uniform

The uniform brands the individual as here to work, here to serve, or here (in some cases) to be taken advantage\textsuperscript{128}. MW4, a “Tea Boy” tells me he was constantly being asked by the office staff he serves to do extra jobs that are not in his job description such as to carry something to their car, go outside and buy some lunch or bring back a coffee. MW8, he tells me that there is an implicit knowing from

\textsuperscript{128} This is not to be confused with people who demonstrate a social conscience by trying to help workers by giving them often large tips for doing these extra tasks. On many occasion, I’ve seen this social conscience in action e.g. a car pulls over, toots his horn, a unformed worker rushes over and food, drink, or money comes out of the window and is given to the worker.
customers that one can ask them to do tasks that have nothing to do with their job, for example ‘go buy me a coke’.

Where the pre-departure and post-arrival orientations of workers in Section 5.2 focused on shaping the minds of workers to see themselves as here to work, to serve, and to be subservient, I argue that the uniform is implicated in the cementing and reinforcing this subject position, of being less than locals and affluent expatriates, of being here to serve and here to work (not to live). If this PDO and PAO attempts to shape the mind, the second brands the body and continues to shape the minds of low-income migrant workers in the sense that minds and bodies become the object manipulation and conditioning (Foucault, 1977). In other words, the uniform enters into, and contributes to an attempt to shape their subjectivities, as they complete these routine roles and respond the demands placed upon them by colleagues, customers, and residents.

“Individuals at work must be rendered visible.” (Townley, 1993:533) and as such, uniforms and dress codes have long been attributed to define acceptable behaviour by employees in the workplace (McKinlay & Starkey, 1998:11). For Butler (1993) uniform always has “the power to produce—demarcate, circulate, differentiate—the bodies [they] control” (1993:1). Following Butler (1993), one effect of the uniform is that it offers the possibility to determine which bodies do and do not matter. While this may be limited to the workplace, it may extend into Abu Dhabi society as a whole. My analysis brings me to the conclusion that the low-income migrant worker uniform holds an unprivileged status.

129 The point can perhaps be supported in the cases like MW11 who was a teacher and became a security guard, or MW10 a business man and later a lube agent, but equally in cases like MW9, working in retail she wore a uniform in both countries. But sometimes the signals one reads into the uniform can be incorrect e.g. a therapist in the mall mistaken as a cleaner, an Asian in a kandora, or the local in jeans.
The Locals’ ‘uniform’ provides further evidence (through its opposite i.e. privileged status) and best demonstrated with the elegant flowing dress of the Emirati male. Locals are frequently in ‘uniform’ - in public, at work, weddings, and formal occasions - a national and cultural dress. One can hear them walking toward you as the high-quality material makes a sort of swooping sound as they walk. The low-income migrant worker you will not hear them walk (unless it is footsteps). For local men, to wear long sleeved white dress\textsuperscript{130} wearing the local head dress and sandals. For women, it is the light silk black \textit{abaya} and \textit{hijab} garments that cover the whole body from head to feet, worn over their normal dress of jeans etc. is still a clear contrast to the low-income migrant workers’ uniform. There is an overwhelming number of variations in how locals wear them, how they sit, how their hair sits etc. One cannot not easily discern if a women in an \textit{abaya} is a local, as it is quite acceptable for any Muslim woman to wear it. But, as migrant workers tell me, it is best to err on the side of caution and assume they are locals. Working in government, there are explicit rules that prohibit migrant workers of any class from wearing local dress (except during UAE National Day when migrants are given the chance to wear local dress). In government, Locals are mandated to wear local dress during office hours, except in the case where organisational uniforms of personal protection equipment is required. There is ‘pressure’ applied on the local to use their national dress in order to ‘save’ the Abu Dhabi National Identity. The image of the contrast is reinforced through the press (see Figure 5-6 where a local official from the Municipality is checking migrant worker documents). This narrative and performance (Goffman, 1959) reinforces and perpetuates the power ‘contained’ within uniforms of privilege and authority and its opposite. Both the Emirati and the Migrant worker are under a rule bound system of what is and what is not suitable to wear.

\textsuperscript{130} Although other colours are worn and is becoming increasingly common in Abu Dhabi. Some down to practical reasons as white reflects the sun in the summer, and colours are more practical not showing the sand and dirty from winter.
Rafaeli & Pratt (1993) posit that one of the attributes of the workers uniform is “dress conspicuousness”, that is the uniqueness when compared to dress outside of the organisation. But, they argue, similarities across an industry may indicate the extent of influence the traditions, values and culture within an industry have upon individual organisations. So, while the individual cleaning company may seek to standout from other companies with a bright green and black uniform, the ubiquity of the cleaning/maintenance uniform makes it easily identifiable across all of Abu Dhabi. In fact, taxi drivers, security guards, maintenance workers, labourers, and service workers morph into one very large category of low-income migrant worker that through subjugation creates a clear social distance between the affluent resident and low-income worker. To look at it another way, there would be a ubiquitous ‘misreading’ of signals without the rules of dress codes, given that the skin colour of Locals can match any foreigner from Africa or from India. Low-income uniforms in stark contrast to local dress codes is implicated into the structuring of subject positions and daily action e.g. gestures, responds to customer demands, or being taken advantage of (Longva, 1997; Goffman, 1959).

Interviews, observations, and images provided this study with ample evidence that particularly male national dress is being used as a general tactic of social inclusion (for Locals) and social exclusion (for expatriates). But this is not a simple binary, it is more of a continuum of more privileged to less
privileged. For women, this is even more ambiguous, nevertheless, these contrasts make clear how the uniforms and dress codes are implicated in the ordering of daily live and experience (Longva, 1997). Longva’s Marxist/Gramscian informed argument was that “dress code is a crucial key to our understanding of the kinds of meaning that inform daily action” (Longva, 1997:116). From a disciplinary perspective, if subjectification in the process of migration is about preparing for civility and docility then the subjectification occurs during their day to day interactions and experiences. There are very few mechanisms for challenging such subject positions, as many migrant workers indicated – “…you don’t fight, not discuss it, just do it” – it being whatever they request. When discussing this behaviour with those who employ these workers, the response was, “Well, they are here to work!”

Workers in this study reiterated this differential in status and (often) the lack of respect of seeing them as human beings, fathers and mothers, and people who have a desire to live – not solely work. Moreover, it creates a sort of socially, culturally, and politically invisibility (i.e. unable to participate freely in local culture and politics) and functional visibility (i.e. when one needs a cleaner). I make the claim that the uniform implicated in the disciplining and ordering of society is made more efficient by use of low-income worker uniforms. At the same time, while I stress this increased efficiency, this is not meant to represent a straightforward binary reality. There are many misrepresentations of these stereotypes. Not all locals are wealthy nor idle (as indicated in Longva, 1997), and not all low-income workers are low skilled or have low education. The uniform explicitly indicates their current status and deliberately suppresses other statuses such as marital status, religion, profession or qualifications (Joseph, 1986:67; Rafaeli & Pratt, 1993).

As demonstrated in this chapter, with MW10, MW4, MW8 and MW6, the uniform brings with it a template of how to act, how to behave, where to go and not go, with whom to and not to speak etc. This template was set during the PDO (for domestic workers) and the POA, workers may learn poses such as to slightly bow their heads when in the vicinity of a local, and calling other expatriates ‘sir’ or ‘madam’.
The lack of uniform adornments, the irking use of colours are quite common in many low-income workers in Abu Dhabi; but it is worth noting that uniforms can also reflect the identity of the employer e.g. putting a tea-boy in a classy all white suit. The uniform is only one element reinforcing their subservient worker subject position as this can be learned during the PDO and PAO\(^{131}\), then reinforced by customer behaviour, managers’ instructions, HR policies, and organisational punishments for subversions. It is through the uniform, I am arguing, that social distance is clearly inscribed onto the body and this difference status can be exploited. This is not to say workers do not break uniform rules, but they may do so under the risk of punishment. While the uniform is partly functional, at the same time it ensures that their role as servant is clear and therefore their ‘separation’ from other parts of society’s ‘social fabric’ is maintained. The uniform is a clear sign of their membership, their place in society, and clearly where and where not they are allowed to go and not go.

### 5.4 Chapter Conclusion

The Asia – Abu Dhabi migration corridor is rampant with attempts to position migrant workers into certain subject positions. From the technique of subjectification, the migrant worker is seen as the product of the interactions between him or herself and the family, States, employers, NGOs, Local, and managers etc. In this chapter, I have included evidence of some of these ‘interactions’. In section 5.1, the evidence of multi-generational migration experiences in families pointed to the notion that duty-bound subject and responsible subject positions were developed long before particular individuals make the decision to migrate. In section 5.2, the evidence pointed to how the various orientation programmes throughout the migration process is geared to position individuals into financially savvy, readied, and adaptable workers subject positions covering both mind and body (e.g. diet). Prior to any migration decision, the pre-employment orientation focuses on the shaping of minds towards making the decision to move from citizen to migrant worker. Prior to migration the pre-departure orientation focuses on the

\(^{131}\) This can also be learned behaviour in Asian countries where caste is still prevalent.
shaping of minds towards building productive capacity and constructing the mental attitudes of the successful migrant. To an extent, this includes how to act and live (and how not to act and live) while working overseas. Post arrival, the post-arrival orientation sees new subject positions (e.g. as worker, servant, bachelor\(^{132}\)). In section 5.3, the evidence pointed to that when in uniform, the individual can be subjected into an under-privileged position in society\(^{133}\). The uniform is geared to reinforce the subject position of docile, subservient workers who in solely in Abu Dhabi to work.

The challenge posed at the outset of this chapter was to show how far and wide the subjectification extends, and with what methods are implicated into the making of the migrant worker. Subjectification extended further than employers, recruiters and their legal status as identified in previous research (Forde et al., 2015). Evidence showed that it occurs in the family, in sending governmental discourse and programmes, it occurs in numerous orientations across the migration corridor, and in Abu Dhabi society through media, governmental discourse. Subjectification methods were primarily through orientations, specifically education, testing, and certification, but, it also related to training gestures, body movements and diet. These are the mainstay of the techniques of disciplinary power. However, these subject positions were not necessarily consistent, as they emerge out of a complex array of power relations e.g. subjectification from a sending labour country and family perspective was primarily aimed at producing the responsible and economically savvy migrant worker; where subjectification from Abu Dhabi the emphasis was primarily aimed at producing the predicable and controlled migrant worker, a docile and subservient individual who knows his or her place in society. Subjectification can be read as strategic and tied to sending and receiving labour countries’ formulations and policies in relation to how migrant workers should manage their lives. In sum, migrant workers are a product of the numerous attempts of their subjectification that spans numerous elements across the migration corridor. The subject positions

\(^{132}\) The dangerous bachelor is to be explored further in the next chapter.

\(^{133}\) I want to be clear that while there is a possibility of exploitation there are equally evidence of charity. For example: a driver at the lights winding down the window to pass a maintenance migrant worker food, drink or money. But, this is also evidence of subjection.
that the individual traverses are not always consistent but their overall aims often are – that is a productive disciplined individual who is prepared to live for work. Theoretically speaking, while the methods mimic the disciplinary template, the scope and coordination of this disciplinary apparatus is far wider (geographically and actors) than has been previously documented. Notwithstanding, control is not left solely to subjectification, and in the next chapter I will investigate how the dividing practices attempt to further control the migrant worker, and to an extent, are designed prevent them from changing the conditions of their daily lives.
CHAPTER 6: HYPER-MANAGEMENT OF THE MIGRANT WORKER IN THE CARCERAL NET

In the previous chapter, I examined how subjectification is exercised and reinforced throughout the labour migration corridor. In this chapter, I will to continue test the extent of disciplinary power in the management of the lives of migrant workers, specifically by examining dividing practices and surveillance techniques.

The evidence from this chapter will show how low-income migrant workers are not treated as acting subjects, instead they are disciplined and regulated subjects – that is they are categorised, divided, positioned, and observed. In section 6.1, the evidence will demonstrate how low-income migrant workers are managed through dividing practices, more specifically, housed in industrial accommodation, how they are transported, and monitored. This chapter will show how the camp design and room design feed into ongoing management of workers in their private lives. In section 6.2, the evidence will point to how migrant workers are made into objects of knowledge and variously categorised as uneducated migrant workers, and, for males as potentially dangerous bachelors. In section 6.3, I will develop the argument that the combination of techniques of disciplinary power alongside other technologies of power forms a tight Carceral Net for the low-income migrant worker that extends throughout the Asia-Abu Dhabi migration corridor.

The first contribution from this chapter is to demonstrate that employers and camp management companies are extending beyond the management of work into the management of life. The second

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134 The focus will be on the labour camp, this space accounts for the housing for the majority of low-income migrant workers. Due to space restrictions, domestic workers, and service workers (who live in apartments) have been excluded here.

135 The use of the word ‘net’ is multiple. 1) like a web or a trap. 2) net in the sense of profit, income and salary.
contribution is to show that when the disciplinary regime is combined with other technologies of power the migrant worker is under very tight management control.

6.1 Dividing Practices in the management of low-income migrant workers

Before I share the empirical findings, let’s remind ourselves, that in the theory of disciplinary power, dividing practices is a central technique in the production of docile and utile individuals. Dividing practices can be seen in the spatial control of individuals through enclosure, partitioning, and the creation of functional spaces, cells, hierarchies and ranks. A key principle in Foucault’s thinking about dividing practices was to show that “[d]iscipline increases the forces of the body (in economic terms of utility) and diminishes these same forces (in political terms of obedience). In short, it dissociates power from the body; on the one hand, it turns it into an 'aptitude', a 'capacity', which it seeks to increase on the other hand, it reverses the course of the energy, the power that might result from it, and turns it into a relation of strict subjection” (Foucault, 1977:138). According to Foucault, positioning the body is a concrete space where emergent sets of material and historical practices organise and direct human experience. The body, for Foucault, “…is caught up in a system of constraints and privations, obligations and prohibitions.” (1977:11). The placement and separation of the body in a certain location but not others is a concrete technique of objectification by which the subject is defined. In these dividing practices, “[t]he subject is either divided inside himself or divided from others. This process objectivizes him.” Foucault (1982:208). But, this is not solely about division, but also obtaining a grip over the body through a great attention to detail such as body movement, body gesture, and body action arranged spatially and temporally. Dividing practices are intricately related to processes of constant classification, observation, administration, reporting, and surveillance that “control” activities of a body within disciplinary spaces, and these processes depends directly on procedures of enclosure, separation and alignment of bodies in space and time.

136 Some of this was already referred to in Chapter Five on domestic worker and security guard training.
One Friday morning in 2015, I took a drive out to a remote site I located using Google maps. It took over 45 minutes to drive there as this labour camp facility is the desert between Abu Dhabi City and Liwa. On either side of the road there was nothing aside from long flat areas of packed sand, large power lines, and wire fences. As I got closer, a camp with tall rectangular buildings came into view. I’m always a little nervous coming out to these sites as I’m not sure what I will find or how far I will get. The camp is sign-posted “Salam City” (“Peace City”) and is surrounded by a wall of white buses but I find a place to park. I get out, I wander around and try to see someone that looks approachable. It is market day, and I strike up a conversation with a Filipino labourer called Denis. He’s just purchased a can of beer from a white van that had pulled up. A worker opened the boot of the vehicle and people rushed over then dispersed with black plastic bags in hand. I tell Denis, what I’m doing and he agrees to sneak me pass the security guards and into his room for a look. But at the gate, a security guard stops us. He asks, “What are you doing here?” MW12 responds for me, “This is the husband of my sister, he is family.” I am permitted into the camp. We walk across an empty courtyard and I see some men sitting on the steps of the entrance. I seem to be being eyed up from head to toe and I can see surveillance cameras pegged to each corner of the buildings. We then walk down a long vinyl floored corridor, lined with doors every 10 meters with shoe racks sitting immediately outside of each door. MW12 opens the door, and lets me in where there are roommates doing various activities: from listening to music, or handwashing some cloths, or lying on the bed.

Clearly, this entrance to the labour camp with its location, its security and its surveillance may bring out images of the prototypical prison, particularly as the ‘choice’ to live or not in labour camps can be no choice at all for many workers.
6.1.1 Spatial and Temporal Separation of Low-income Migrant Workers

The Abu Dhabi labour camp\textsuperscript{137} is variably known as labour accommodation, company camps, worker villages or residential cities or something similar. There are reportedly 30 camps in the Emirate (excluding small company camps), that are heterogeneous with no single typology.\textsuperscript{138} There are permanent residential cities, temporary accommodations and company specific camps dispersed over a variety of locations, all of which are located many kilometres from the local, expatriate and tourist residences. There are no official figures available from the Statistic Centre, Abu Dhabi (SCAD); however, it is estimated that the labour camp population make up in the vicinity of 50-60\% of the 1.4M Abu Dhabi migrant population\textsuperscript{139}, some 800,000 men and women, but principally men.

Camps vary in size from as small as 200 workers up to city sizes of 250,000 workers. Smaller camps are managed and sometimes owned by the organisation employing the worker, and regulated by the local municipality. The larger camps/cities are owned and managed by either government institutions such as Zonescorp or private companies and camp ‘life’ is managed by camp management companies or the employer. Camps vary significantly in quality and the extent of facilities provided, often depending on their size and the length of time they are ‘estimated’ to be required and they also vary in their placement, either close to construction sites or oil production sites, or permanently placed in locations such as Mussafah, Industrial City Abu Dhabi (ICAD). These labour camps maintain an implicit instrumental function to keep costs down and to keep workers close to production, again, linked to time and cost\textsuperscript{140}.

\textsuperscript{137} Labour camps in Abu Dhabi while certainly polymorphous maintain certain family resemblances.
\textsuperscript{138} Source: http://www.thenational.ae/uae/government/international-city-abu-dhabi-labour-camp-houses-26-000-workers
\textsuperscript{139} Today, most non camp living low-income workers reside in these oldest built apartment buildings on Abu Dhabi Island. The low-income migrant workers in these apartment buildings are neither domestic workers or required by policy to live in a camp, simply they have the option to live outside the camp or they maintain a camp bed as well as ‘escape’ in order to live on the island close to life and/or place of work. The buildings that low-income migrant workers are housed are often the most rundown. The local’s and later the professional expatriates have left the building already, therefore there is a sort of wealth based displacement in progress. This is never complete as workers are evicted from old buildings, they are torn down to put up new ones, then the cycle continues, (Bristol-Rhys, 2012)
\textsuperscript{140} Sea-based labour camps that were placed close to oil rigs is a relevant example to demonstrate this cost and time saving.
Prior to the 1980s many migrant workers lived in and amongst locals. As one Local told me,

“I remember as a child [in the 1970s] living amongst the migrant workers. They worked with my family, they ate with our family, and we used to watch together the only black and white TV that was around at the time. In the first wave of migrants this is how life was, and they integrated. However, with the second and subsequent waves of migrants the crimes and problems increased. I remember seeing prostitutes, seeing liquor and gambling in the barasti houses where I lived. Once two workers fought and one of them killed the other, right before my eyes.”

It was in the 1970’s that labour camps’ spatial placement and removal off Abu Dhabi island became the general policy coinciding with the development of Mussafah Industrial City\textsuperscript{141} to address the fears of locals. Migrants since the 1970s amounted to dramatically higher numbers than previously, and a discourse of the ongoing concern for local identity and safety emerged\textsuperscript{142}. Camps can be categorised into permanent and temporary camps. Permanent residential ‘cities’ are placed by law\textsuperscript{143} at least 5km from residential locations of families. They sit for example in Mussafah, Industrial City, another in Baniyas, and further out in Al Ain and Al Gharbia. Temporary residential camps are located throughout the Emirate such as those on Al Yas, Saadiyat or Al Reem Islands, close to development on these islands. These ‘temporary’ camps, as a rule, maintain less facilities as compared to the permanent camps, although there are exceptions to this such as the ‘5-star’ Saadiyat Village. In Mussafah, surrounding the large permanent labour camps reside the majority of the remaining smaller company camps that contain between 200-500 men. It is these smaller camps that are often those drawn upon by international NGOs in their claims of migrant worker mistreatment and squalid conditions.

\textsuperscript{141} One interviewee with a UAE historian suggested that there was a government mission to South Africa in 1971 to see “best practices” of setting up the Soweto district. I was unable to confirm this.

\textsuperscript{142} One can only speculate to what led to the policy change: multiple factors including the numbers of workers, education levels increasing of locals, wealth levels, identity, fear or security.

\textsuperscript{143} Source: Law No.13
The camp is a tactic of division where the labour camp is carefully and deliberately and spatially separated from the rest of the population, separating low-income workers from the higher income migrants, and locals. That said, the camp is an integral part of Abu Dhabi, as without it the city could not function. As the camps spread out further into the desert, they become an ‘out of sight’ aspect to this separation, and the hot inhospitable desert adds to the feeling for those that live there of isolation and remoteness. As one migrant worker from Salam City comments, “Out here, we are surrounded by a sea of desert sand. There are no [public] buses that come out this far. We can hire and share private taxis but the distance and cost bleeds dry my resources.” But, segregation is also a response to attempt to guarantee the splitting of males and females. The social/juridical Jina\textsuperscript{144} law forbids cohabitation of males and females who are not married, irrespective of income levels. So this translates to males and females who are separated into different camps. The distance between male and female labour camps creates a largely male industrial city space, albeit it has begun to change with women now visible in places such as the local supermarket or the occasional massage parlour.

The camps’ size and spatial segregation supports the controlled circulation of workers around the Abu Dhabi emirate. The workers are not expected to find their own transport to/from work and the majority of labour camps are not serviced directly by municipality bus routes or they are not extensive enough to get to work sites. Many low-income workers, in particular, labourers, are not permitted to have a local driving licence to drive themselves to work and hundreds of thousands of them are be transported to and from work sites every day in large, non air-conditioned buses, or sometimes (as has become more common) in smaller vans\textsuperscript{145}. The use of little fans is meant to keep the workers cool instead of air-conditioning units, in summer desert conditions. It is often argued that the lack of air-conditioned units is evidence of the cruel treatment of these workers. But some doctors have claimed that working in the

\textsuperscript{144} Social/juridical seems more apt than using just law. If a worker breaks the law, then the most efficient response (particularly if the law broken is not one recognised in their origin country) might arguable be to simply deport and block re-entry. But no, punishment must be seen to be served prior to deporting workers. This is a social ‘pressure’ to do so.

\textsuperscript{145} The use of smaller van’s makes them less of an “eye-sore” as an HR manager interviewed told me, not to forget they make them less visible.
heat then entering a cold air-conditioned bus (combined with drinking liquor and dehydration) can cause heart-attacks, therefore, by inference, fans are a better option. During my visits to camps or passing worksites it was not uncommon to see men lined up to get on the allocated bus. When they arrive back at the camp, one can see the workers hurriedly exit the bus, enter the turnstiles, and head for the showers. In the evenings, the buses park surrounding the labour camps like rings of steel. The sheer scale of this infrastructure and spatial segregation can be seen from satellite images, such as Google Earth. Security guards, Labourers, and service workers arrive and leave their place of work outside of the normal working times of most high-income migrants and locals, therefore decreasing their wider visibility.

There is a temporal deprivation of time to live to live their lives. Upon arrival to the labour camp, many workers have little time to do anything but eat and sleep, and on their one day off, there is more of the same – they wash clothes, eat, perhaps take some recreation (e.g. game of cricket, football or basketball), and rest. Some forty-five kilometres from her work, lives MW6, a Nepali security guard.

“We will get up from 4:30am if we want to shower and eat a decent breakfast. Uniforms must be pressed either the night before or when we wake. The bus usually arrives at 5:30am to get us to our duty by 6:30am. We spend the next twelve hours giving directions, checking IDs, taking people to meeting rooms, and sometimes sneaking a look on Facebook. At 6:30pm, the bus again will come to pick us up. But the pick-up is longer given traffic and the many locations the bus route takes. So, sometimes we must wait until 7pm. We will be back to our accommodation by 8:30pm, when we will shower, eat and rest. I spend many long hours on my feet and I get bored, but mostly the people are nice. Then, the routine repeats. On my weekend, well, once per month, I try to get out to see my husband, who lives in another camp in Mussafah [some 30kms away]”.

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146 They might not carry a personalised number on their uniform like the prisoners, however, they do carry their labour card equivalent.
147 Migrant worker transportation is not allowed to use major highways and routes during times when others use them. It may be about controlling flow, but it is the low-income migrant worker that must start earlier and leave later.
148 The lack of their disposable incomes is an additional factor.
Camps seldom provide facilities for married couples and company policy may require workers to live in company accommodation, therefore it may split couples who both work in Abu Dhabi. If not a company policy, often economics may still ‘dictate’ that it is best to live apart to save additional money. As we can see from MW6, this is 6 days of 15 hours per day - a very long work week for workers. One day, MW9, another worker was telling me that she felt she was simply a “machine that had no choice but wake up, go to work, eat, clean, sleep and repeat it all over again the next day.” In the last chapter I highlighted her response to my question of what is life for you when she replied emphatically and automatically, “My family, my daughter is MY LIFE”. But, there is a sense that for MW9, life is not her life i.e. she exists to give another life. In other words, to give life is to take life (their own).

So, we have both a macro-scale spatial and gendered segregation, and the temporal wastage of workers time and energy (similar to Pun and Smith, 2007). The importance of this point relates to what we mean by ‘living’ in a space that is designed for segregation from ‘life’ in a more general societal sense. The very large ‘bachelor’ workforce has elicited governmental agencies to adopt ‘protectionist’ policies aimed heavily to keep this share of the population away from affluent residents and visitors. There is complete absence of family from the usage of ‘bachelor’ in the discourse and policies. Instead, the workers’ existence for producing products and services, and for sending remittances to their family is brought to the foreground while life – producing in other areas of their lives - recedes into the background. These industrial camp spaces are distinctly single sex, adult only spaces, that is, without any of the opposite gender, without young children or the elderly. But, workers have described how this segregation keeps their minds on the job and not on family, in other words it helps them maintain a discipline for work. MW3, a taxi driver, explained to me that on one occasion he passed a school when he saw a father holding his daughter’s hand as they walked into the school grounds. Swallowing hard, he lamented, “I immediately broke down and cried.”

149 The legal position is that workers should not be working more than 10 hours per day, but by paying overtime seems to keep things calm.
The subjection of migrant workers to dividing practices is part of an overall spatial architecture that engineers visibility and invisibility i.e. controlling who sees whom. I have interpreted this spatial placement as a backup in case there is large failure in the disciplinary system, i.e. it cannot “eliminate the effects of imprecise distributions, the uncontrolled disappearance of individuals, their diffuse circulation, their unusable and dangerous coagulation.” (Foucault, 1977:143) but also migrant worker invisibility attempts to maintain a certain ‘normal’ appearance in the city. Many scholars have highlighted this spatial segregation and familial separation (see Elsheshtawy, 2008; Kanna 2007; Buckley, 2012) but to my knowledge these authors have not highlighted the temporal robbing people of the time and energy to live a life in often what are the ‘best’ years of a healthy adult’s life (i.e. between 20-50yrs of age). Evidence from my interviews with workers suggest that aside from personal achievement, a personal ethic, or a stoic struggle (mentioned in the previous chapter), low-income migrant workers seldom get to enjoy the fruits of their labour or to produce (e.g. in further education, personal interests etc.) in other areas of their life. MW5, worked in the GCC for 20 years, and when he returned to Bangladesh for good he was a frail middle-aged man. Workers’ enjoyment is deferred to vacations and when their contracts finish. Sometimes this extends for many years as in MW5’s case. This macro-spatial placement of workers, this separating from many aspects of ‘life’, and this temporal stealing of time and energy deprives these workers of a certain kind of life. At the same time, the camp design and increased surveillance further estranges migrant workers and may have a negative effect on the quality of their life.

6.1.2 Camp Design and Surveillance

Disciplinary techniques were visible at the level of camp design and management of those camps with the use of further dividing practices and surveillance. As Foucault already noted, “The camp is the diagram of a power that acts by means of general visibility.” But, it is a diagram of power that transitioned from functioning merely for visibility but also toward utility “…to permit an internal, articulated and detailed control - to render visible those who are inside it; in more general terms, an
architecture that would operate to transform individuals: to act on those it shelters, to provide a hold on their conduct, to carry the effects of power right to them, to make it possible to know them, to alter them.” (Foucault, 1977:171).

Figure 6.1 – Workers Village, Source: Google Earth, 2014.

Workers will live in different parts of the camp facility depending on their seniority depending on their title (see Figure 6.1) e.g. supervisors, technicians and labourers and with other people from the same company. Square meter space allocated, quality of room furniture, and freedom from surveillance increase along with that seniority. Workers are allocated into rooms by nationality, then castes, or regional designations, and by religious grounds. As the following camp manager tells me,

“The reality is that we distribute the rooms through nationality with the same company first. But if one company does not fill a block we will add another nationality from the same area before mixing nationalities. The majority of companies do not have more than 100-150 labourers but there are some companies with up to 12,000 people. Before it was easy for me, we had units available but now I’m fully booked.”

In this formula we have a matrix of complexity, worker seniority along one axis and nationality/caste along the other axis, meanwhile the camp manager is focused on achieving maximum utilisation with
the least amount of operational problems as possible. First, the hierarchizing by rank i.e. that the higher job designations deserve more space and better living conditions. This norm of hierarchy seems to go unquestioned by the workers that I spoke too. Second, is the instrumental smooth running of camps so dependent on preventing the mixing of nationalities, as this has in the past had disastrous consequences, disruptions, violence, and occasionally death. But, in the end, as the camp manager makes himself clear that maximising utilisation must take priority.

While it could be convenient to consider the non-mixing of nationalities racist, many workers I came across simply prefer to be close to their own ‘kind’. As MW4 tells me, “In my first room, I was located with Indians. I could not understand them, they always smelt bad, and their food was awful. I’m so much happier now living with fellow Kabayans [Filipino countrymen]”. While we might accept that workers might be more comfortable sharing their space with fellow Filipinos etc. they can also feel imprisoned.

“When I first arrived, I was put into a camp in Mussafah, ICAD. I found that I would be sharing a room with many other men. Space was not as cramped as now [he was living in an apartment], but there were no cooking facilities, no girls and no liquor. It was like a prison.” MW4.

“The perfect disciplinary apparatus would make it possible for a single gaze to see everything constantly. A central point would be both the source of light illuminating everything, and a locus of convergence for everything that must be known: a perfect eye that nothing would escape and a centre towards which all gazes would be turned” (Foucault,1977:173). A ‘benefit’ behind the design of the panoptic prison was its effectiveness and efficiency due to the increase in the amount of people it can control. In fact, “[t]he [very] exercise of discipline presupposes a mechanism that coerces by means of observation”
(Foucault, 1977:171). But this is a tower where the observed cannot tell if he or she is being watched which may result in the individual (out of fear of punishment and correction) self-disciplining.

As Foucault (1977) argues, schools, clinics, asylums, the military and the prison resemble the panoptic diagram. Labour camps too mimic this panoptic design, designed for control – both the mundane daily activity and the case of sudden exception (e.g. a labour strike). The architectural design of the camp is geared to ensure visibility and enclose conflict when it occurs. The rectangular building design in a grid form are generally made up of 3 or 4 floors. These formations the “quickest and the cheapest” to construct, lacking design innovative or any sensitivity to cultural or social dimensions. Moreover, as a government manager tells me, “We adopt the highest standards in Camp design. First, the design included a turnstiled city within a city that is surrounded by high walls. Even between buildings, we may have further fences and electronic gates. These are excellent if there is some sort of labourer conflict. We advise them [workers] to stay in the camp. When this occurs we can lock it down and the problem does not spread. Second, the way we place residential buildings means the space they can congregate is limited in size which keeps conflicts fragmented and smaller in size.” Therefore, we can conclude that control (rather than aesthetics) is paramount when it comes to building placement and design.

While camps might be designed with maintaining visibility inside the camp, it is also placed so that the migrant workers remain largely invisible to the public. Camps are enclosed by high walls and/or topped with barbed wire. The Figure 6.2 demonstrates this with the sign that says “Outside food not allowed” in multiple languages, that makes clear one is entering a managed space. These walls divide, they lower visibility to outsiders, and they are designed to keep the public out. These walls, when required, keep workers inside during unrest or protest, and they attempt to keep contra-band out e.g. opposite gender.

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150 Also visible in the making of migrant workers (from Chapter Five)
151 Interview, Architecture Academic, UAE university
food, cookers, and alcohol etc. In the larger and newer camps, this physical and spatial security is supported by cameras.

![Figure 6.2 – Fenced Camps. (Source: Own photo)](image)

While the panoptic diagram is circular with a central tower of visibility, clearly Foucault explained that it discipline is dependent on “relays”, “…consequently [offering] the possibility of multiplying its levels, and of distributing them over the entire surface to be supervised” (Foucault, 1977:174). As a camp manager explained,

“[w]e have now signed an agreement with the government, that [camp management] are taking care of all the residential city from A to Z within the boundary of our lease. The government…they know where every single person is sleeping, down to their bed number. Once they get reported for anything, the police will contact our control room, ‘I need this man’. We will go and talk to him, bring him to our offices, and the police to take him away if they need him.”

Labour camps are prison-like for many workers, take the example of mess halls. The largest camps invariably provide only mess halls serving food for the largest populations. For workers from the smaller nations (like Nepal) the eating of Indian or Pakistani food can be a struggle as neither of which is to their taste. Mess halls assignments are carefully managed, often through electronic cards in order to avoid the
inter-nationality exchanges. If you signed on as ‘South Indian’ then that is the restaurant where you will eat - irrespective of any desire for variety. When putting this to a Nepali worker “It’s not good, it’s like a prison...we should at least be able to eat where we like – I’d quite like to try Filipino food.” Despite being against camp rules, when workers that find the dietary offerings too problematic they either eat at nearby restaurants (if they exist) or may prepare food in their own rooms (see Figure 6.3) but they may risk getting caught and having their cookers confiscated and being disciplined by their employer or camp management\textsuperscript{152}.

Figure 6.3 - Chinacamp, preparing a meal in room 2014. (Source: Own photo)

To enforce camp rules many camps utilise the pragmatic and technological version of the panoptic observation tower, that is: security cameras (see 6.4); security guards; and workers recruited as room ‘spies’.\textsuperscript{153}

\textsuperscript{152} In a case reported in the press, police found workers hiding cookers and food under street man-hole covers.
\textsuperscript{153} Source: HR Manager Interview. One worker MW8 told me in his camp they all know who these people are.
In camps where cameras are not used, the long narrow building with parallel or H shaped designs maximise human visibility. In some camps, electronic access cards have been introduced that maintain records of workers entry and exit to pre-approved designated clusters. The camp placement, its architecture, and surveillance systems demonstrates the interest in the ongoing visibility and invisibility of the worker. But, this interest in the management of the worker does not stop here. The HR department or camp management staff can come to inspect workers rooms at any time. Some camps, particularly women camps, enforce curfews to ensure individuals are in their rooms by a certain time. If one misses the curfew, they must remain outside until morning, and their absence is noted in their personal camp file\textsuperscript{154}.

6.1.3 Room Design and Rules

Low-income worker accommodation at workers village are usually a maximum of 10 per room. At 60m\(^2\), it is well above the government minimum standard, but most camps are providing much less space e.g. 10 in a room with 15m\(^2\). Each worker in this room (in Figure 6.5) has limited storage space: a small cupboard and shared space under their bunk beds. In the Workers Village room, vinyl covers the floor, the metal bunk beds are bolted to the floor, and there are shoe racks inside and outside. Upon my questioning the operations manager, ‘why not let them change around their room in this camp?’ He replied,

\textsuperscript{154} While, a contemporary Western worker would have come to expect that an HR/personnel record would be maintained for them, but in contrast, for these low-income migrant workers the camp file (the residency file is another) is a further layer of visibility of their personal life.
“It depends on the culture. This is the ‘labourer’ category. The others are educated, they know how to deal inside the room itself. These people are not educated.\textsuperscript{155} See here, you keep a shoe rack - but believe me they will put the shoes underneath the rack. This is the problem we are facing. They also have shoe racks outside. These beds are fixed, we will not allow these people to move the beds for their safety. Some people sleep on the ground!”

The operations manager is indirectly arguing that there is much to be improved in the ‘orientation’ education in the sending labour nations through implying that these low-income workers lack adequate ‘cultural’ education, are uncivilised therefore need civilising. In this bizarre case, ‘for their safety’ the company locks down the bunk beds.

An individual in this accommodation must abide by explicit formal rules, as set by management or employer. These rules in the ICAD camp include: no carpets; no pets; no cooking in rooms; no eating in rooms; no dirtiness; no buying food and products from hawkers; no spitting; no smoking; no sharing personal hygiene equipment; no working as barbers; no burning candles or incense in the room; no pork in the room; no bicycles in the room; no pornography allowed; no cloths on the balcony; no alcohol; no power misuse in the room; no gambling; no rubbish outside the bin; no verbal or physical conflict allowed. Workers must always be decently dressed while outside their rooms; always switch off A/C, lights etc. before leaving the room; report all violations to the accommodation manager; no changes to the rooms are allowed; no visitors are permitted to stay overnight, they must leave by 10pm; all visitors must have a pass; no males are allowed in female accommodation (or vice versa); all shoes must be kept outside in the racks, not in the rooms; satellite dishes and illegal internet calls are prohibited; and finally “keep your accommodation tidy and take care of the accommodation, this is your home”. Beside these

\textsuperscript{155} The operations manager is using a familiar discourse that these workers lack education. However this assumption of workers lacking education is not universal. One of the participants in this study is ‘treated’ this way however, he is an English Literature teacher to year 12 in Nepal.
explicit formal rules\(^{156}\), there are informal rules and punishments but these were predominantly found in the smaller camps where less formal controls were evident.\(^{157}\)

![Image](image_url)

**Figure 6-5 – Workers’ room in Al Ain Labour Camp, 2013. (Source: Own photo)**

The micro-space offered to the low-income migrant worker is the bunk bed, the space saver to square foot, par excellence. The bunk bed is a ‘personal’ space for the worker,\(^{158}\) typically up to 90cm x 200 cm which is appropriated by the worker in various ways. Sometimes the company provides lockers and sometimes they do not. The worker’s space (see Figure 6.6) on the top bunk, has a music player with a speaker in the corner, a fan, a curtain rail, some photos of him from home, a picture of his dream motorcycle, places for clothes, a laptop bag and a briefcase where he locks important items. In the bed below, a TV can be seen. The workers put up linen or blankets to create the appearance of privacy. This

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\(^{156}\) Rules are evident in any space, but my listing the rules in this camp room is to highlight the sheer extensiveness of the rules.

\(^{157}\) As one worker from a small camp of 800 men tells me, “We organise ourselves, we resolve disputes, and dish out justice in our own way. Each room we assign a spokesperson. We will only involve camp management when resolution is not found. If we have a particularly difficult worker we assign them into a hard room, and that usually brings them into line.” This is referred to as a sort of “camp justice” system.

\(^{158}\) In extreme circumstances drivers (within smaller camps) are known to share one bed as one does the day shift and the other the night. During fieldwork in the Philippines, I found the same phenomena, workers on their own volition getting around the high prices of rent so they can send their families in the provinces more remittances.
privacy is solely an out of sight kind of privacy. The mattresses in worker rooms are of variable quality. Some workers have thick mattresses, some prefer thin mattresses and some prefer no mattress at all.

The cramped design of some camp rooms can lead to problems in the migrant workers’ life. Workers mentioned often the problems that interfere with getting a good night’s sleep, which can lead to poor health, bad humour, problems among the room-mates, and these problems can in turn spread to the work itself. In Chinacamp, the men frequently dismantle the bunk beds and put them outside in the hot summer sun, in an attempt to kill bed bugs. Camp staff have come many times to treat the room to little effect, so the men come up with their own solutions.\footnote{One solution is to cut in half a plastic water bottle, filled with water so that the bug cannot crawl from the floor onto the bed, but the workers tell that these bugs still come down from the ceilings.}

![Figure 6.6 – Workers company bunk bed, labour camp, Al Ain. (Source: Own photo)](image)

Temperature regulation is another problem area as each worker may have different temperature preferences, but the room standard often set to ‘as cold as possible’ so they turn to use heavy blankets to sleep. Next, there is the subject of noise. The coughing, laughing, snoring, farting, or listening to personal
devices such as phones, computers, or mp3 players etc. Workers often work different shifts so getting up or arriving at an odd hour can disturb others. Many listen to music through earplugs to sleep, or maintain ear plugs and eye covers to keep the sound and noise out. Finally, smell is another sleep disturbance. Smells from wet clothes drying, the mold on the walls, other people’s sweat and gas, preparing/cooking food or smelly shoes may bother many a worker. All these problems feed into the lowering of sleep quality, their available energy, and their health.\footnote{As one doctor explains to me that the spread of communicable diseases in overcrowded spaces is a serious concern. When cases such as TB are encountered, even if only symptoms the worker may be immediately deported. Hence rules such as no pets, no sharing personal equipment etc. are targeted at reducing this risk. Source: Informal conversation with a medical practitioner.}

Figure 6.7 - Workers fixing a bed bug problem, Chínacamp, 2014. (Source: Own photo)

The micro-space of the bunk bed is an object that can be found contemporaneously in many places from prison cells, ships, garrisons or in university dormitories, hostels, to children's rooms. It is a small ‘personal’ space in which they can individualise and find some sanctuary from the long working day. There is a sense of being spatially constrained, that is to say, the personalising of that space and showing their identity is restricted to 90 x 200 cm. These small spaces are multifunctional communal spaces, a place for sleep but it is also the office space, communicating privately, a seating space, a sexual and pleasure space, or a storage space. When the bed is insufficient then the floor becomes a multi-functional
space, for walking, sitting, ironing, eating, communicating, and entertaining – drinking, gambling, catching up with news or watching movies on TV. The labour camp bed space makes it extremely difficult for workers to satisfy their sexual needs but not impossible: cheap hotels, rented apartment rooms by the hour, and massage parlours are common.

6.1.4 Migrant Worker Hyper-management

The evidence presented in this section (6.1) was to show how the management of camps by camp management companies or employers set the conditions (location, design and quality of life) for living in a personal space for workers, how they encroach on their non-work time, and reduce the possibilities on how to live in this ‘personal’ and ‘private’ space\textsuperscript{161}. Living in cramped and crowded micro-spaces can adversely affect sleep, energy and lead to and health issues. The design and operation of the labour camp leverages both modes of exercising disciplinary power i.e. direct modes through controlling physical activity (where they can and cannot go or eat); and indirect modes through shaping the mind and surveillance.

Spatial and temporal dividing practices place limits on the movements of low-income migrant workers’: at the level of the camp, the room, and even the bunk bed. And, in the city, the uniform puts limits on where one can go and how one can behave e.g. if a labourer in uniform enters a mall, then he may will be stopped and questioned or if men are congregating on a corner near a family beach, then observers of security cameras will alert police to move them away or if bachelors are observed in family residential areas, then they may be moved.

This seemingly excessive set of practices I have called the hyper-management of the low-income migrant worker, a set of practices that have emerged from decades of large scale migration from Asia to Abu

\textsuperscript{161} This is not a totalisation, as workers manoeuvre around camp rules (e.g. cooking in rooms, smuggling in liquor etc.).
Dhabi and developed over time out of multiple events, agencies, governments, employers, camp management companies, health and safety profession, etc. and the influence the collection of numerous statistics from making the low-income worker an object of knowledge. While docility of the low-income migrant workers might have become the norm for workers, affluent expatriates and Locals alike, the hyper-management of migrant workers does not result in a disciplined society in some totalised fashion\(^\text{162}\). This hyper-management attempts to build productive and docile capacity, to keep the migrant workers problems to a minimum, and when problems do occur, they are to remain contained and out of sight from the rest of society, and wider afield.

**6.2 The Low-income Migrant Worker as an Object of Knowledge**

For Foucault, “there is no power relation without the correlative constitution of a field of knowledge, nor any knowledge that does not presuppose and constitute at the same time power relations (Foucault, 1977:27). In particular, through rendering individuals visible as objects of knowledge will it be possible to know them and then change them. The migrant worker is evident as an object of knowledge across various institutions, for example, workers become a governmental statistic on remittances, on health, on death, on divorce, on sexual disease but also down to an organisational statistic at the level of the employing organisation and camp management company, say on meals, on absences, on violations of rules etc. From these feedback mechanisms may emerge new supervisory systems. Results from monitoring programmes or one-off research projects are often set up to measure negative exceptions (e.g. death and disease) and may enter into the process of changing existing policies and programmes or establish new ones to further improve the management of migration and the migrant worker. Sending governments have created new sets of orientations depending on the exceptions in question, for example where certain problems/opportunities absorbing migrant workers into society led to the establishment of the National Re-integration Centre of Overseas Workers in the Philippines. Abu Dhabi Government

\(^{162}\) As Foucault already argued in the context of the emergence of the prison system (Foucault, 1977)
departments have also, over time, changed policies and practices on the management of the migrant worker, for example, once upon a time, workers required the Kafeel’s (sponsor’s) approval to have a mobile phone\textsuperscript{163}. Either way, the making the migrant worker (from the previous chapter) is highly dependent on these information feedback loops.

Institutions have begun to share this data in a bilateral or multilateral manner. For example: the labour camp data (as a whole or as an individual) can be shared with police; it can be shared with companies as in the case where an employee has not slept in his bed three for consecutive nights, and as one HR manager told me, that his medical insurance company has informed him of one worker who has registered with the local hospital 96 times in 3 months. Sharing data has become multi-directional. Moreover, this data, extrapolations, and interpretations have emerged at numerous Asia-GCC labour migration events where the migrant workers’ voice is largely absent, or at best only second-hand accounts. Depending on the questions asked and answered (and by who), this knowledge may act as a part of the feedback mechanism into the ongoing dispersed organisation of this disciplinary regime. Governments, universities, NGOs, camp management and employing organisations are deeply implicated in the recycling of the ‘migrant worker’ as one particular category or another.

One such sub-categorisation of low-income migrant worker was seen in use during this research, that of the “bachelor” that was used in the justification for the design and configuration of migrant worker ‘management systems’ – such as housing, transportation, and limits (norms) set on workers lives (to be covered in Section 6.2). It is estimated that some 70\% of male low-income workers live in Labour camps and the employers and/or camp management company often maintain a camp record for each worker. There is now tracking of camp activity such as their every meal; where they sleep; how many visitors they bring; the numbers of complaints they make; how often they are sick; migrant worker movements,

\textsuperscript{163} Some of these practices are still in place procedurally e.g. all migrant workers need a no objection letter from their employer to get a license to consume liquor.
and behaviour transgressions. This record feeds into ongoing migrant worker’s ‘management plan’ when they are not ‘adapting’ to life in Abu Dhabi.

As objects of knowledge, workers become implicated in the setting of norms about migrant workers. At the level of the individual migrant worker, transgressions from these norms can result in punishments of fines, other disciplinary actions, or deportation. Like MW1, a colleague, from another worker in this study, suffered this stiff consequence. This migrant worker was leaving the labour camp on his day-off to clean an affluent migrant worker’s home and when he was putting the household rubbish out there was a CID (under-cover police) parked in the street. The worker was approached, apprehended on the basis that it is illegal to hold a part-time casual job, and he was returned to the labour camp. Within a couple of days the concerned worker was deported. Workers may understand this risk, and as one worker told me, “I can be on the next plane out tonight if they chose” which only serves to highlight how much ‘power’ the disciplinary regime has in the eyes of the migrant worker.

The justification for such draconian measures from the UAE Governmental Agencies, Camp Management and Employers is put down to protecting the migrant workers from themselves and others. As one example shows from an interview with a camp operations manager,

“Sometimes the workers are asking why we have so much security, gates, cards, guards...like a prison, but the nature of their education, nature of their nationalities, their religions we are not here considering them inhuman, but they do not know the positive way to live a good lifestyle. If they were free I’m telling you there will be a lot of murders in the city, a lot of raping and some sex, a lot of kids...some, you know, with all respect - these people you do not know from where they came, and how they lived. We must protect them from themselves. If we took down the walls, the cards, the guards I would never sleep at home - never!”
This excerpt highlights how this manager constructs the worker as a ‘bachelor’ within a narrative of fear and danger, and a need for heightened protection for their own sakes but also other parts of society – women and children in particular. Since 2006, several government agencies have attempted to ameliorate Abu Dhabi’s poor appearance in the international press in the eyes of potential tourists and investors. Bachelor “squalor townships” are no longer acceptable and the municipalities use both aesthetic, safety, and suitability for family residential areas as their primary concerns to move most bachelors off Abu Dhabi Island into camps. Tactics such as the “Keep Abu Dhabi Island Beautiful” campaign, the introduction of regulations such the maximum 3 persons per room rule for those who live on the island, and large industrialised labour camps, have become the norm. Most camps are ‘protected’ 24x7 by security companies and borders controlled with the use of border/gate security e.g. turnstiles. As one camp manager rationalises,

“*We must protect them from themselves given their low education, low hygiene, low safety, and low intelligence levels. We protect them (and ourselves) through the use of these risk reducing segregation strategies. Keep them out of sight and under the tightest of electronic and personnel surveillance. If there is an ‘emergency’ they can go into an immediate shutdown and lock the trouble inside until it can be resolved.”*

The camp manager’s excerpt was commonly repeated in interviews with governmental employees, local’s, affluent expatriates, and employers alike. Implicit is the notion of the need to maintain tight control over the “low educated” and potentially dangerous migrant population164.

As Foucault points out, the ‘normal’ also implies the ‘abnormal’, therefore the disciplinary apparatus has built in measures to deal with deviance from the norm. Failure feeds back into improvement of the

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164 But, this narrative of protection obscures other benefits of such enclosure and surveillance - that is, it is there to protect governmental reputation by keeping out of camps - researchers, activist or journalists.
disciplinary regime, and is part of its evolution. In the cases of exception of these disciplinary techniques, in particular in the camp, the walls, gates, and turnstiles try to ensure that conflict does not over-flow into ‘public’ spaces.\textsuperscript{165} While the camp’s obvious function is to provide accommodation for workers; in the event of unrest or some communicable disease outbreak, it can also serve as a readymade detention centre; disciplinary space ready to take on the role as an instrument of sovereign power. Workers who break camp rules can be prevented from using certain privileges (e.g. sport facilities), they can have prohibited goods (or cookers) confiscated, they can be financially punished, or worse, confined (imprisoned) to the labour camp, for days without pay. As MW8 lamented, “I had an argument with our manager over the Wi-Fi in the room that was not working. It had been that way for weeks. They made me stay in my room for 3 days with no salary. I had to sit around all day with nothing to do.” From this excerpt, we can see that an argument about something unrelated to work or work performance, costs MW8 three day’s pay. This case shows the employer extends its reach into his personal time and space, and from the fieldwork there were numerous examples to draw upon. The normal worker (that is docile, obedient, subservient, responsible etc.) can continue to work and send home their remittances but those that are abnormal or deviant will be punished and, if need be – deported. Male migrant workers are positioned in discourse as uneducated or worse dangerous bachelors\textsuperscript{166} rather than fathers, sons, or husbands This latter discourse (individuals as something other than workers) comes up in various NGO’s and sending governments’ labour offices, but is silent in general Abu Dhabi press and policy.

The treatment of migrant workers as a object of knowledge feeds into another aspect of disciplinary theory, that is for a disciplinary apparatus to be efficient and productive, it requires subjects that are fit for purpose for that particular organisation (Foucault, 1977). When an employer recruits a worker, they are required to check that workers are arriving without communicable diseases. Once a worker obtains

\textsuperscript{165} That is not to say that they do not spill over, there are sporadic cases of strikes and demonstrations on the streets of the UAE.

\textsuperscript{166} This is surprisingly similar to O’Neill’s (1986) argument behind the problems inherent in the early industrial capitalist society and the development of the productive ‘employee’.
their offer letter, they are required to undergo a full medical through an approved medical centre and declared fit\textsuperscript{167}. Being marked fit for initial migration is a question of health and population security. A healthy labour force is all the more critical where migrants are housed in large labour camps, and where there might be a threat to the health of the indigenous population. Combined with the intelligence and strength tests (see previous Chapter), we can see a pattern for the search of a certain kind of fit – a strong, healthy, and docile worker. This additional health screening, prior to migration, was introduced in 2011 to increase the efficiency through reducing the impact on Abu Dhabi clinics, and to reducing the huge costs of treating then deporting ill workers\textsuperscript{168} to their home countries and the subsequent high medical costs of rectifying the problem if the disease spread throughout the highly and densely populated labour camps. This ‘fitness’ also extends to age. For males, no new low-income migrant workers are accepted over the age of 41, and for ladies no ladies under the age of 25 (variable by country). All workers may work until they are 60 years of age. For the disciplinary apparatus to remain efficient and productive this mark of ‘fitness’ is repeated at Abu Dhabi residency visa renewals every three years. The point is if fitness or age means that the visa will not be renewed then the worker will return to his origin country\textsuperscript{169}. So, we can see that ‘fitness’ signifies that a migrant worker population is fit for purpose and does not pose a health threat to Abu Dhabi’s population. But, Labour-sending countries and labour-receiving countries work, often with conflicting aims (e.g. the fight for migrant workers’ disposable incomes), programmes and tactics, to ‘extract’ the most utility from the migrant population and distribute social, economic and political benefits. Along the migration corridor, Governments, NGOs, employers, and migrant workers are all struggling to win in the “game” of labour migration towards seeking better results (depending on their aims) and, what has emerged is a regime that constitutes, subjugates, and controls migrant workers – around a norm of a certain ‘kind’ of migrant worker.

\textsuperscript{167} They are tested for height, weight, history of past illnesses, eye tests, heart rate, urine tests for sugar, albumin, bilharziasis. Stool is checked. Blood is tested. The medical is stamped and then needs to be attested by the UAE embassy.

\textsuperscript{168} Once TB was an example where only shadows on an x-ray will have the worker deported, however since 2015 this policy was reversed.

\textsuperscript{169} While this can be seen at the level of the Emirate, it can also be seen in certain occupations such as security guards who are required to do fitness tests on a regular basis.
In the next section, I will argue that there is an unprecedented level of worker management control resulting a form of hyper-management of migrant worker lives. I will also introduce the notion of the ‘Carceral Net’\textsuperscript{170}, a diagram of which while certainly disciplinary, maintains many other elements and technologies of power across a much wider geographical area than Abu Dhabi.

6.3 Hyper-Management of the low-income worker in Abu Dhabi within the Carceral Net

In Chapter Five, I drew upon empirical materials to demonstrate the making of the migrant worker. In the first section of this chapter, I drew upon empirical materials to demonstrate the managing of the migrant worker, outside of work itself. Within Abu Dhabi, the migrant worker (on bulk) is constructed as a male bachelor, an outsider, and outsiders need to be bio-politically organised - spatially, temporally, and economically\textsuperscript{171}. Up to this point in the thesis, I have demonstrated empirically how workers can be exposed to unprecedented levels of management control through disciplinary techniques of subjectification, dividing practices, and surveillance. These controls are extensive and demonstrate how ‘management’ constrains and imposes on the lives of low-income migrant workers, both at work and at rest, spanning 24 hours a day, in a term I call, hyper-management. When this making and managing of migrant workers is viewed together their extensive management becomes visible across many institutions, geographic spaces, and political jurisdictions.

In 2017, I heard a Local say, “God, everybody today wants to decide where to live, when to go out, where to go running, when to take their babies out etc.” This person was referring to Locals and the more affluent migrant workers when I heard it, but I was confronted with the stark contrast to the low-income migrant worker. For the low-income worker, as a rule, these decisions will not be applicable to them. These decisions are instead taken by a wide range of institutions engaged in the management of the low-

\textsuperscript{170} I mean fundamentally to say that Abu Dhabi plays a significant part in the lives of migrant workers.

\textsuperscript{171} There are of course many potential exceptions such as the migrant domestic worker.
income migrant workers lives be that, as we saw in the last chapter, from numerous ‘orientations’ from sending governments, training companies, and NGOs, or in this chapter, from their direct management in Abu Dhabi: by government policy to place them in industrial segregated labour camps, or by employers or by camp management companies.

The disciplinary apparatus that surrounds them reinforces their place in society with a subject position of the docile migrant worker that is here to work – not to live. The techniques of disciplinary power attempt to produce a certain kind of work and fortify a worker’s place as someone who is in Abu Dhabi to work. The emerged ‘norm’ sees hundreds of thousands of workers defer ‘living’ until vacations and at the end of their contracts.

Foucault contrasted and compared various systems of thinking on how to deal with the epidemic, first, the prototype of the leper that shows the sovereign exile of the leper; second, the prototype of the disciplinary enclosure of the plague patient, and finally, the free-flowing circulations of smallpox patients. My reading of his work, is to acknowledge that different (and new) configurations of power are always potentially in operation. In the case of the low-income migrant worker, there is a strong resonance with Foucault’s analysis. Like the abnormal and the normal, there is the correlative of taking the ‘uneducated’ (of the ways of living and working as a migrant worker) and converting them to a ‘fit’ and ‘educated’ individual (with attributes of a docile productive and responsible migrant worker). To be a ‘normal’ low-income migrant worker means that one consents to being part of the large foreign workforce that quietly forms the majority of the Abu Dhabi population while quietly going about their daily activities. To be ‘abnormal’ means to be exiled from the Carceral Net. In effect, we see various systems of thinking entering into the management of the low-income worker i.e. tactics from the management of the leper, plague or smallpox patient.
When techniques of disciplinary power combine with local laws on cohabitation, sex outside of marriage, working part-time for another employer etc. and combines with the threat of sovereign power in the form of forceful deportation and potential labour and immigration bans, then what exists is a very tight system of control, linked in all manner of ways. Foucault adopted the term ‘Carceral’ to indicate the emergence of a new prison system that included confinement, juridical measures and disciplinary techniques (1977). It is a term I found particularly apt for describing and explaining the making and the management of the low-income migrant workers. The Carceral Net is by which the low-income migrant worker is constructed by and lives under, is on one hand, a prototypical prison but on a much larger scale i.e. to allow for the circulation of labour along the Abu Dhabi – Asian Migration Corridor. On the other hand, while the hyper-management of workers extensively uses disciplinary techniques, the Carceral Net is a much wider diagram of power where the disciplinary is juxtaposed with mutually supporting (sometimes contradicting) economic, social/juridical and sovereign elements that function to prevent the workers changing the very conditions of their daily lives.

What are these additional elements? First, the lack of ‘disposable’ income prevents them from making choices that might have them live more independently of the employer. Low-income prevents them from sponsoring family members to join them. The Ministry of Interior puts up economic barriers for family reunification for the lower income class - the threshold is set AED 6,000 per month (USD 1,633). For low-income workers, they do not reach this threshold. Second, the Abu Dhabi government prevents many potential activities of the individual: their labour, as it is illegal to work for a second employer; workers cannot own businesses or land (although there are many locals that are happy to take a stipend for being the 51% owner in a business). Third, transgression from the norm of the Carceral Net may be followed up by means of sovereign power, that is to physically deport and individual, and mark them as not suitable for return. Moreover they may be prevented from doing so by an employer placing a ban on workers with the Ministry of Labour (see MW1’s story from the introduction chapter). Fourth, the economic pressure from unemployment, underemployment and/or debt servitude is a possibility for
workers, and even more so when the initial investment to migrate was a family investment. Moreover, the family’s dependence on these remittances puts significant pressure on individuals to grin and bear this level of subjugation. Finally, workers in this research explained that they seldom received any personal development and training (after their initial ‘education’) oriented toward their life, skills, and career building. Yes, they work and they build on the job experience, and yes this is not necessarily an employers’ responsibility, but neither are the conditions of possibility in place that might see them follow this course of action as individuals as part of a wider societal or community programmes. Even if one ignored the time, space and energy constraints of the low-income migrant worker, there are few actual opportunities for the worker, e.g. programmes such as art, literature, photography, language classes or those oriented at building new capacity through professional credentialing. The common counter-argument against these sorts of limits placed on workers goes like this, “They are here to work and not to live.” or “If a worker doesn’t like it, they can leave!”, but can they realistically?

As the previous paragraphs highlight, in the configuration of the Carceral Net there are many limits placed upon the low-income migrant worker. When confronting a low-income migrant worker about these limits in conversation, the comment was invariably “What to do?” This was often repeated to me, and it is an expression of recognition and acceptance of their position along the Carceral Net. They may just put up with it rather than risking losing their employment and having to face the consequences of returning ‘home’. Workers regularly shared with me that they ‘perform’ their docile role conscious that the rules of the game are known to everybody, and that their conduct must adhere to these norms. From the perspective of Disciplinary Theory, migrant workers are demarcated as subjects in being subjected. They are not “subjects” in terms of their points of view being considered, or of participating in the discourses that determine their status, in which migrant worker’s voices are seldom ever heard

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172 I am distinguishing between capacity and job skills training that benefits the organisation versus and more orientations on financial literacy, health and good behaviour of workers that benefits the Carceral Net; but more towards other hobbies, interests and pleasures.

173 In hindsight, I cringe s little when thinking about asking these sorts of questions to migrant workers. At times, they were a little annoyed with me, “it is easy for you to say” when I earned multiple times what they did.
except via other institutions (e.g. NGOs, where the migrant worker can be further subjected to interests, political standpoints etc).

In Foucault’s *corpus*, the sovereign ‘forms’ of power that constrain, that say no, that draw the line between acceptable and not acceptable; and the apparatus of security i.e. a ‘form’ of power that allowed the normalisation of the normal; circulations and offsets between one phenomena and another. In comparing against repressive forces that constrain, that say no, that prevent, he wanted to show how disciplinary power is productive and builds capacity - be that in the military, the school, or the factory.\(^{174}\)

In comparing discipline to the art of governmentality, then he wanted to show how it was recognised that it was even more efficient to operate within a normal distribution of norms. But, I’m arguing that in the Carceral Net, the low-income migrant worker normal distribution of norms is a very narrow one, even if in recent years this has widened (to be covered in Chapter 8). The strategy of educating workers is so that they clearly understand these limits.

The Carceral Net is a diagram of power that constitutes and manages the low-income migrant worker but, that also shapes and influences the lives of many involved along the migration corridor, be that families in the sending country, migrant workers, HR managers, Locals, and Abu Dhabi links to sending labour country institutions and procedures. Foucault argues that power comes "from below" as he rejects the “repressive hypothesis”. This is because he saw all individuals are vehicles of power throughout our daily lives. “[P]ower is everywhere: it is "exercised from innumerable points, in the interplay of nonegalitarian and mobile relations" (Foucault 1980:94). For Foucault, power is productive, not repressive operating through the desires of individuals. However, the Carceral Net suggests a different interpretation is possible. Yes, disciplinary power is productive in that Abu Dhabi has built an Emirate on the back of migrant worker labour, but it is also clearly repressive in that their hyper-management also significantly constrains the individual. This is not done through force and shaping the mind is not

\(^{174}\) The prison was a specific case where the thesis was that there was an interest in the correction of delinquents, one that was constantly deferred - until today.
solely imposed from the outside e.g. where migrant workers are voluntarily recruited into confessional practices such as the development of the dream map (see Section 5.2.2). But the Carceral Net is also repressive in that the severest subjection comes about by negating the very possibility of migrant workers participating processes where the rules emerge that regulate them (e.g. trade unions or organised groups in camps to negotiate living conditions). Most Locals are not blocked from accessing political spaces of government, of Majlisses etc – where the migrant worker is blocked from participating.

In the Carceral Net, the low-income migrant worker is highly visible and invisible at the same time. This increased visibility, I argue, has had the effect of intensifying controls over the migrant population, reducing its cost, and improving its efficiency. That is to say, when it is stable of course. Part of maintaining that stability is the preventing migrant workers from being seen and heard, also prevents them from seeing and speaking. In other words, migrant workers engagement in societal life outside of the production/consumption ‘transaction’ remains mostly an invisible subject (socially and politically). Acceptance of the ‘norm’ by migrant workers is a sign of migrant workers consent to the norm, but is not to say that all adhere to this norm as I will show in the next chapter. The Carceral Net has no single centre but instead, as Foucault discusses, the rules of strategy control its evolution or devolution. That is to say ‘nodes’ on the network are on their own trajectories. Work is emphasised in this construction of the migrant worker i.e. life is to be put on hold.

6.4 Chapter Conclusion

With the use of labour camps, extending the work of Pun and Smith (2007), ‘managements’ power over migrant workers increases much further than their ability to lengthen the work day and provide easy access to labour power. In this chapter, I’ve taken the extent of the management of the migrant worker, much further. As demonstrated in this chapter, migrant workers are not treated as acting subjects, instead they are regulated subjects – that is they are categorised, divided, positioned, and observed. Only Locals
are “subjects” are subject presumed to be active agents of decision and action. I say presumed, as Locals are disciplined subjects as much as the Migrant worker is disciplined.

In the first section, I showed how low-income migrant workers are divided into camps, enclosed by high walls and barbed wire fences with lockable and guarded gates; I’ve shown how they are housed, transported, and monitored; and I’ve shown how the camp design and room design feed into ongoing management of workers in their private lives. The contemporary Abu Dhabi employer and/or camp management company are now in the business of the management of life. In the second section, I argued that the migrant worker is an object of knowledge, and resulting sub-categorisations of the male migrant worker into the ‘uneducated’ or ‘dangerous’ bachelor were the primary justifications for their tight management control. As an object of knowledge, they provide the necessary data points to feedback back into the disciplinary apparatus. In the third section, I argued that the reach and breadth of techniques of disciplinary power along with other technologies of power forms a diagram of power, I’ve called the Carceral Net, read as the making and the managing of low-income migrant worker in their work and private lives. Given the evidence provided, there is a systematic prevention of free-flowing circulation of migrant workers and it is not solely directed at the body, but also their labour, owning businesses, and low-income. In that light, I am suggesting that while other parts of societies might enjoy certain circulations, the low-income migrant worker can be constrained under a tight disciplinary regime supported by other forms of power. In other words, the notion of security of contemporary Abu Dhabi populations translates to the enclosing of some, and free-flowing of other segments of society. This further supports Foucault’s point that power can emerge in many different forms in distinct historical periods.

The contribution from this chapter is to advance our understanding of how business and management is increasingly implicated in the management of the private lives of workers; but, this management as power (drawing on Chapter Five) extends to governments, NGOs, training companies, employers, camp management companies, and families. Surveillance, observation and knowledge sharing is fundamental
to the Carceral Net’s functioning. The Carceral Net shows an increasing separation and fragmentation of the relationship between people, work and their lives – with an effect of reducing the space and time for life. While, some authors (see Fraser, 2003; Barratt, 2003) that criticised Foucault’s enclosed notion of disciplinary power suggesting that the world is somehow more permeable and fluid making his concepts at out of date, this research serves to highlight that the scale of the disciplinary apparatus is much wider than his historical investigation of the emergence of the prison system. In the next chapter, I will bring into focus some interstitial spaces where the migrant worker finds ways to ‘live’ life under the Carceral Net.
CHAPTER 7: LIVING IN THE INTERSTITIAL SPACES OF THE CARCERAL NET: X-FAMILY

Up to this point, I’ve attempted to show how Abu Dhabi’s low-income migrant workers are made and managed through a diagram of power, I’ve termed the Carceral Net. In Chapter Five, I demonstrated how the different elements across the Asia-Abu Dhabi migration corridor endeavour to place migrant workers in heroic, financially savvy, responsible and duty-bound subject positions. These subject positions are not always consistent, but their overall aims are on the construction of a productive disciplined individual who lives to work. The methods mimic the disciplinary template and span far wider than any single society or single geographic location. In Chapter Six, I showed how migrant workers are hyper-managed under the Carceral Net through the use of extensive techniques of disciplinary power and other technologies of power. Finally, I showed how business and management (via many actors and institutions) are increasingly implicated in the management of the private lives of contemporary low-income migrant workers.

To round out the analysis of the management of the low-income migrant worker, this chapter will test the relevance of the family to this disciplinary regime. In Section 7.1, family in the literature will be reviewed, through which a gap in our knowledge is identified, namely: how family is implicated in the ongoing management of the low-income migrant worker. In Sections 7.2 and 7.3, the emphasis shifts to the empirical evidence that will show how workers attempt to live their lives in the interstitial spaces of the Carceral Net and to show how even new familial organisations can become entangled in the ongoing management of workers lives’. In section 7.2, the evidence will reinforce the earlier argument in Chapter Five that family shapes the subjectivity, decisions and actions of migrant workers long after migration. I will argue that migrant workers are estranged (perhaps, sacrificed) from family to satisfy the needs of the overall family economy. Evidence, on a few occasions, showed that ‘family’ prioritised the income produced by the migrant worker over the migrant workers as sons, daughters, fathers, mothers, husbands and wives. When this remittance relationship comes under threat, further measures could be taken by
family to hold workers in their subject position as the person that must put the needs (desires) of the family economy ahead of individual needs (desires). In section 7.3, the evidence will show how new familial configurations (what I term as X-family\textsuperscript{175}) can emerge as an effect of migration. The ‘traditional’ family relations and daily practices are ‘maintained’ remotely and are mediated by technology. On the other hand, X-family\textsuperscript{176} is practised locally in the practical and physical sense (i.e. with ‘husbands’, ‘wives’, ‘brothers’, and ‘sisters’ etc.). Despite their hyper-management, as already highlighted in Chapter 6, there were examples where workers found interstitial spaces to live their life\textsuperscript{177}. In this section, I will show how X-family can be such a space that offers support. Finally, in the conclusion, I will discuss the family and X-family in relation to first, management of the migrant worker and second, the techniques of disciplinary power.

Before reviewing the migrant worker literature that targets family in CMS and MS, I would like to introduce how Foucault positioned the institution of family and disciplinary power. This is important to do given that the focus was on disciplinary power in Chapter Two, and that Foucault did frequently cite the institution of family in his work. Foucault, first modelled the family on a sovereign power system (see the ancient Roman familia, Foucault 1977:135), he states, “I would put the functioning and microphysics of the family completely on the side of the power of sovereignty, and not at all on that of disciplinary power” Foucault (2003b:80). For Foucault, at this time, family as a sovereign institution maintained a backward-looking strategy that was reinforced by rituals, rites of passage, anniversaries and religious doctrines. However, the sovereign family structure has been greatly watered down in the 20\textsuperscript{th} Century with many interventions and policies that affected division of labour and responsibility (Rose, 1999) i.e. the sovereignty of the family was no longer an island of private business. As Foucault

\textsuperscript{175} X-family is from X-men to indicate some form mutation of family.

\textsuperscript{176} X-families are not reserved for the workers only but also spouses. It creeps into the popular culture with the following joke: “A migrant worker had not returned home in three years. One day he calls asking his wife how she is. She replies, “Thanks for all the money you’re sending. Our beer house is now a KTV Bar (a karaoke lounge), our tricycle has become a taxi, and our 3 kids are now 4!”.

\textsuperscript{177} Such spaces include the examples of sport that takes workers outside their labour camp walls; or where migrant workers turn camp border spaces into the Friday Markets.
noted, the family was eventually infiltrated by discipline, “…essentially in the parents-children cell, have become ‘disciplined,’ absorbing since the classical age external schemata, first educational and then military, then medical, psychiatric, psychological.’ (Foucault, 1977:215). Here we see Foucault reformulating his ideas of family quite differently. Where in History of Madness the asylum was modelled on the family, his work clearly set in motion that through the 19th century, the asylum (or prison or factory etc.) was more of a disciplinary system of thinking. So instead of the doctor being modelled on the father, the father or the family was now being infiltrated by disciplinary regimes. Family, as disciplinary, has a forward-looking strategy, a power over the future life - particularly that of children. This notion is already reflected in Chapter Five, from the multi-generational influences of parents over children that may become migrant workers in the future. In the History of Sexuality (1978), the deployment of alliances in blood had changed to the deployment of sexuality and the modern self, the modern subject. Healthy, docile, and productive subjects were to be constructed for later deployment into society as engineers, doctors, the working class etc. For Foucault the family became an object of analysis and manipulation in the epoch of biopower178. These are quite distinct perspectives on family and perhaps it will be more accurate to say that he has passed over and through the institution of family within his genealogical investigations on madness, the clinic, discipline, and sexuality. In Foucault, Family cannot be read as single model of power that is essential and natural with untouchable values but instead as a discourse, an institution and set of practices that changed over time. Because of this, this chapter serves both to further test the techniques of disciplinary power (consistent with Chapters Five and Six) but also to ask the question, how the contemporary family might be entangled with disciplinary notions of power.

178 The turn to governmentality is outside the scope of this thesis. Albeit, it is important to note that bio-power had a short shelf life.
7.1 Family and the gap in the Literature

In my review of the CMS literature relating to migrant workers in Chapter Three, critical questions of family were overlooked, as research has tended to focus on employers, recruiters, labour process, and worker experiences. Moreover, this research usually focuses on migration from the Global South to Global North, where families may migrate with the migrant worker. Therefore, perhaps it is has been assumed that family life is not too different between a migrant worker and a non-migrant worker resulting in the conclusion that there is no need for specific research for migrants. But, as I have highlighted in previous chapters, along the Asia-Abu Dhabi migration corridor, the low-income families, as a rule, do not migrate with the migrant workers.

Prior Migration Studies research has shown how the family is important in migration decisions and opportunities (Castles et al., 2014; Gardner, 2011) and it has brought attention to the family costs and mitigation of these costs. But generally speaking, the family is mostly accepted as a natural part of a migrant workers day to day life (see Crisp, 1999; Rahman, 2011a; Piper & Roces, 2004; Kamrava & Babar, 2012; Vora, 2008). Chapter Five, extends Gardner’s argument of the importance of family in migration decisions by claiming that family is deployed, implicated and entangled with the very making of the migrant worker (as opposed to a decision to migrate based on consultation with the family).

The family is not completely absent on migrant worker research more generally. In Migration Studies, Schuurman & Salib (1990) were some of the first researchers to point out the special significance of the family in GCC labour migration. This was both in the form of family, its involvement in migration, and the positive or negative impacts from migration on family. Since then, family has been depicted in many ways in MS either the network paradigm i.e. scattered family members around the world; or chain migration paradigm i.e. first one person migrates, then the brother, later a cousin etc. (Crisp, 1999; Rahman, 2011b); or the whole family migration (Piper & Roces, 2004); the inter-generational migrant family (Kamrava & Babar, 2012; Vora, 2008). Transnational theories have shown how the ‘extended’
family is often implicated in financing migration, and this creates a wider stake on the workers life and the gender roles of those left behind. Here the family has been depicted as the decision maker, the risk taker or lender of money in the wider familial economy. (Osella & Osella, 2006; Gardner, 2011). Finally, in sending country based familial research (which is too vast to cover here) many other aspects of family and migration are covered. As brief examples, Mckay (2007) follows the lives of a married Filipino couple to demonstrate how sending money and technology can bring the extended family closer together; or Silvey (2004) who explored a gendered perspective of Indonesian domestics workers pointing out the tensions and contradictions of workers not fitting into the origin ‘States’ use of ideal family; or Osella & Osella (2006) have constructed Indian, Kerlan men as thrifty during their contract followed by public displays of consumption at home, and their claim of the “paradoxical” worker who spends better more quality time with his family as an absent migrant (2011:76) than during his vacation. From this review of the literature there are gaps in our knowledge concerning the impact of familial organisation on the management of the lives of low-income migrant workers.

7.2 Family’s ongoing role in the management of the low-income migrant worker

My argument from Chapter Five was that the family may shape the subjectivity of their children well before any migratory decision. A migrant worker’s family is the usual reason migrant workers provided for labour migration. As we saw (in Chapter Five) in the case of MW8, it was in 1997 his sense of duty to his father that he resigned himself to obey his father to become a migrant worker. MW9 from the Philippines provided another example where her mother worked in Hong Kong for many years. MW9, was given the opportunity to continue at university and pass the burden of the costs of bringing up her daughter on to her parents, but she refused. She said “I have to do this for my daughter....I want to be responsible.” MW1’s (from the introduction) father worked in Saudi as a driver for 17 years but as his health deteriorated, MW1 was expected to take up the responsibility from his father and become the

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179 Anita’s mother was yet another example of this pushing her children to migrate. Anita is in Abu Dhabi, one brother is in Dubai, but Dubang has, till this date (2018) resisted and works as a Himalayan hikers’ guide.
income provider for the family. As Gardner (2011) points out, family is a very large part in the decision of low-income workers to migrate. These individuals, in the hope of writing a tale of rags to riches, see the profit and salaries that sit tantalisingly in the Carceral Net, and turn themselves into responsible duty-bound and docile subjects (du Gay, 1996; Rose, 1999) in order gain that income. The following evidence points to the notion that family continues to shape the ongoing subjectivity, decisions and actions of migrant workers toward the family economy and away from personal interests.

MW1 migrated to Saudi Arabia to join his father in 2003. As MW1 told me, it was expected of him as the eldest son, and his father had been showing signs of ill-health. By 2009, MW1 had moved to Abu Dhabi. When MW1’s father died in 2014, it was this event that sparked his urgent action to improve his salary, and the chain of actions that led to finding himself in a Police Station for 22 days before being deported (see Introduction Chapter). MW1 later talked about a lot of “pressure”, in his words,

“My wife gives me too much pressure. My mother tells her, ‘Now MW1’s father is dead, what MW1 can do, he must do better! My sister needs money for study. My brother got married but he is 90% blind, so I have to support them also. I’m very stressed. We live in a miserable life. I cannot properly support the family. Brother’s wife pregnant. All these things add to the pressure.”

MW1 when he was first working in Abu Dhabi he told me he was quite happy and, at the time, his salary was covering his immediate family’s expenses. But, in the above excerpt we see that once the father died his role became more important. The pressure went up, particularly when his brother married and his brother’s wife became pregnant with twins. The death of his father ‘caused’ a chain event of actions that placed MW1 in a very stressful and difficult position. Worse still, this pressure led to his pushing to be released from this sponsor, so he could search for that higher salary. This led to the argument, his incarceration and then his deportation and a ban preventing his return to the UAE is now in place. Urgently, he ‘willingly’ went through the auction system again (i.e. went into large debt) to take a role
in Qatar. Now, he admitted to me that his employer has not honoured the contract, and that his life in Qatar is much more difficult. As he told me over messenger, “So I can’t do anything now. When I fill two years then I can go back home.” It seems, rather than ask the question, “What would MW1 like to do with his life?” his family has assumed that it is his duty to step in for his father to provide comes first, whatever the personal cost. Upon my arriving to the city of Fenny in Bangladesh, I was put in a motorised rickshaw with MW1’s brother. We were speeding along the country roads on route to the village Dholatpur. I was making small talk with his brother, and shouted out across the noise of the rickshaw, “You must be happy to see MW1 again?” He shouted back. “Well, yes and no. He should have traded in his flight ticket for cash and sent us that money. Besides, while he is here, he will not be earning any money and spending it.” In this excerpt, clearly income is of a higher priority to MW1’s brother than MW1’s physical presence.

In the majority of workers in this study, the family was dependent on the migrant worker’s income. As Migrant workers send their income home, those initial loans that fund migration are eventually paid back, when, at this point, the worker attempts to move the family into improved economic circumstances. One reading is that migrant workers are estranged from family to satisfy the needs of the family economy. MW1’s case is a particularly example of this. It is as if the family ‘sacrifices’ him to an estranged life in the Carceral Net to ensure their own progress. Foucault has pointed out that the family has been an important institution in the disciplinary society, were the family insists that individuals take one course of action or another, often in relation to institutions known for being disciplinary (e.g. school, military service). And, in cases of exception e.g. the abnormal, then some sort of intervention is required (Foucault, 2003b). We can see these acts of sovereign power in MW1’s story (other cases: MW8’s father; MW6’s mother), as his father essentially ordered him to migrate to Saudi Arabia. This ‘ordering’ demonstrates the link that Foucault refers to the sovereign intuition and the disciplined worker.

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Qatar strictly implements the Kafala system, and is regarded are more severe ‘living’ for low-income migrants, so MW1 is literally stuck for two years until he gets his passport back or he absconds and becomes an illegal resident.
“Inasmuch as the family conforms to the non disciplinary schema of an apparatus of sovereignty, I think we could say that it is the hinge, the interlocking point, which is absolutely indispensable to the very functioning of all the disciplinary systems.” (Foucault, 2003b:81). In MW1’s case, these may appear to be acts of sovereign power, but how can it be an act of sovereign power when the sovereign is ‘sacrificed’ for the needs of the family economy? And, sometimes this sacrifice is more severe than merely their estrangement – it can result in a worker’s death.

Perhaps the perception of the application of familial sovereign power is instead a fiction i.e. MW1 has ‘ceded’ sovereign power through the submission to biopower, and the construction of productive migrant worker subject, a subject that sits and serves as an excess of internal labour supply and demand. It is clear from the review of the literature that there were only implied references to how the family and State will ‘sacrifice’ sons and daughters, and instead it tends to flip the argument to say that migrant workers choose to be the unsung heroes of their families and nation. Whether the workers describe their situation as responding to duty, to be responsible, to be economically independent, to pay for debts (such as dowry payments), or for sheer economic urgency and necessity, this ‘relation’ to family is important in maintaining the migrant worker in the responsible subject position. Moreover, one can argue they hold themselves in this position.

On one occasion during fieldwork, I was sitting on the edge of a worker’s assigned bunk bed. One of the workers is writing in his notebook – he runs a mobile micro-credit transfer operation i.e. someone needs credit for the phone, he transfers it to them with a small charge. Another worker, Mohamed, pull out a bag full of tools. With purpose, he opens the bag, and begins to run through what’s inside and check

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181 What makes workers ‘natural’ deaths suspicious is that the youthful worker was already ‘marked fit’ and medically healthy prior to their migration. In many cases depending on the timing of the death in relation to the workers contract, it may result in the transfer of labour debts from the worker to the widow/widower or orphaned children. There may be a ‘calculated’ sacrifice of single or multiple family members to produce income for the family overall, and in the end, the migrant worker’s income may become more important than the migrant worker him/herself.

182 Workers work with micro credit amounts that are below the minimum transfer available with the telecom provider.
that everything is there, is functional and ready to put to work. Today it is Friday, it is his day off. Mohamed is clearly tired but freshly showered wearing a Lungi and a t-shirt.

“I don’t have any time today. A little bit later, my ‘brother’ will come to pick me up and we will go to install satellite dishes for his clients. It gives me some extra ‘furloose’ [money] to send to my family.” I stress, “But, it is your day off.” Where he replies. “If there is work available, [MW8] does not get a day off. My family needs money. My salary is only 600 dirhams. Now, I’m electrician, but later I will put on a white thobe [dishdash, Emirati male local dress], a bus will arrive and take us to be spectators at the football game. They’ll give me an additional AED 30 for that. It’s not enough but the family needs money.”

Despite the fact that part-time employment is against the law and that it is Mohamed’s free time to rest and play, he refuses to let it go idly by. If he can fill it with extra income earning opportunities such as over time and odd jobs – he, and many others will. Mohamed gives himself little personal time, and this discipline shows on his frail body, the dry skin on his face, and particularly in his eyes. Beside the shower that presented him as fresh – his bloodshot eyes told a different story. It seems, he almost entirely lives to work. His subjectification of the self into the role of worker and income provider for the family is total, and reflected by his mission to fill his free time with extra work. Not every worker I came across is as stoic as Mohamed. So, what happens when these subject positions do not hold? Families may draw upon other family and friends to bolster responsibilities or ‘check-up’ on workers. MW4 tells me,

“If I lost my allowances, I cannot send as much money, boss. My cousin is coming over for the weekend. He is coming over from Al Ain. He has been sent [by the family] to check up on what I’m doing.”
This is a form of surveillance, albeit in this case an exception, given MW4 lost 50% of his income when he lost his governmental placement. If there are no family members nearby, then if necessary, the family will draw upon the sending nation’s State departments for help. One Filipino labour attaché explained,

“Here are the satellite labour office, we are linked with the OWWA [Overseas Workers Welfare Administration] systems. On occasion, we get calls to go and find migrant workers who have stopped sending remittances home. We will invite them into the office to explain. There is not a lot we can do, but we try to get the worker to do the right thing for their family. We will draw upon their original aims of migration in the first place. Sometimes, they’ve picked up boyfriends or girlfriends and change their spending habits. Sometimes workers have lost their way.”

We can see here, how families may draw upon State resources to intervene and continue with the responsibility narrative. In this excerpt, we can see how governmental institutions’ use their databases to retrieve employment details such as salaries and location to contact workers, then to invite them in for a ‘chat’. The labour office may enter into family political issues and attempt to mediate. The worker is encouraged to participate in financial literacy classes or similar post arrival orientations. Ultimately, the recourse to responsibility is repeated but even more extreme measures have been explored.

“Workers exit visas from the Philippines are tied to our database. So we are looking to make additional checks with our OWWA database to make sure that there are no complaints that workers are not sending enough remittances. The government has also been looking at not renewing visas where OFWs flout their responsibilities.”

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Another telling comment from the Labour Attaché, was the possibility of new relationships and changing priorities for the migrant worker, and the correspondingly ‘losing their way’ – as in the right way from the State and families perspective, as opposed to the personal interests of living get in the way of familial interests of providing\textsuperscript{184}.

The evidence points to the family wanting to maintain a strong influence in the ongoing subjectivity, decisions and actions of migrant workers - oriented toward the family economy and away from the migrant worker’s individual personal interest. If workers do start to spend their income on themselves or others that results in a drop or a halting of remittances, then the evidence points to families responding by calling on additional resources to reinforce the responsible subject (other familial members or governmental labour office located in Abu Dhabi). From the above evidence, we can see that the family remains a crucial element of the Carceral Net, implicated in the subjectification, surveillance and potential punishment of individuals. The State also is implicated and attempts to rally further social/juridical measures\textsuperscript{185}.

For the migrant worker who is estranged from his or her family, daily practices performed as family or as part of family (such as physical touch, cooking and eating together) are no longer a possibility. The physical practice is displaced to the discursive practice. Migrant workers and their partners routinely converse on what they had for dinner, problems at work, child success and problems etc. Husbands and wives, workers and parents or siblings continue to pass advice and share in the stress of the daily activities of family life. But these are verbal, emotional and intellectual practices only. Technologies act not only as mediators, but function to keep the intensity of the notion of family alive. During a migrant workers absence, technology embeds itself into the relations between migrant workers and their families,

\textsuperscript{184} It is important to add that the financial literacy training promotes that workers be careful on what the family spends the salary on. Both the setting up separate bank accounts and saying no to the “whims and fancies” from family members is stressed. This is an overlapping of migration, economic and development discourse.

\textsuperscript{185} Migrant worker groups in the Philippines have reacted strongly against such measures, and perhaps has been one of the reasons why it has not been fully implemented.
their parents, their siblings, their children etc. First, in the case of applications\textsuperscript{186} (e.g. Skype, WhatsApp, Google, Facebook, Instagram, and Snapchat) technology plays a key role connecting family members\textsuperscript{187}. Second, there is a burgeoning remittance exchange or grey money market infrastructure to channel remittances home. Third, there are the "regalos" (gift boxes) shipping infrastructure\textsuperscript{188} where workers purchase for goods that are either more expensive, hard to purchase, or of higher quality in their origin country, and then send these home to their families.

From the time that the low-income migrant worker lands in Abu Dhabi, the fabric of family can be stretched, torn, sometimes into disrepair, and new forms emerge. Technology only goes so far - a mother cannot receive the touch of her husband over Skype, nor can a father give his child a hug over Facebook, nor can a worker help out with dinner or cleaning up the dishes, or doing some maintenance on the house, or helping with a vehicle breakdown. All these sorts of physical interactions are off the table therefore emotional intensity can wane. Sometimes, workers described their frustration from this mediated connection to family and the constant stressing by family members of the importance of their remittances for day to day living, or loans for one-off events (such as an ill family member, a marriage, a party, or a crisis that requires funding). There was a perception by some workers that they had become the ATMs or banks that were somehow able to provide an endless sources of funds to their extended families. This can be interpreted as if they cease to be human or an individual with needs, instead they take on machine-like form for their family. So the question becomes, given their sacrifice for the familial economy, are there other dimensions of family implicated in the management of workers? In the next section, I will advance our understanding of other dimensions of family for the migrant worker. I will

\textsuperscript{186} In a ‘cold’ move by the telecom regulator in January 2018, VOIP applications like Skype are illegal to use. For a subscription fee of 10pounds per month any resident can have the permission to use regulator approved applications. The use of VPN is also illegal when being used for illegal activities (e.g. using Skype). That said, workers have reverted to video and voice recordings over WhatsApp and Messenger.

\textsuperscript{187} In 2017, in a cold blow to low-income migrant workers, the UAE blocked access to VOIP systems, instead requesting AED50 ($12USD) per month for access to their offered toolset.

\textsuperscript{188} This is a major money earner for the Philippine government, Philippine government set target of P600M on import fees. Threatened to open them...which triggered a zero-remitance day campaign with an estimated loss of 3BPesos. The NGO incites workers and their families... But the interests of protecting workers hides their goal of ending the labour export policy.
introduce the notion of X-Family, a play on X from the movie X-Men to signify the ‘mutation’ of family where the physical practices of family such as cooking, eating, ironing, cleaning, laundry, sleeping, entertaining and sexual relations ‘transfer’ to x-family.

7.3 The emergence of X-Family

Once migrant workers settle into their new accommodation whether in apartments, camps, or domestic homes, new support arrangements emerge in the form of X-family. In the following two sub-sections, the evidence will show how X-family acts as a support and the living in the interstitial spaces of the Carceral Net.

7.3.1 X-Family as support

X-Families were evident from my observations and from the descriptions from workers in labour camps, domestic homes (for domestic workers) and apartments. The rooms in labour camps provided a tight space for comradery support. MW9 lived in a company-supplied accommodation that held around 24 women (see Figure 7.1). They had 6 ladies per room with one person assigned by the company to be the lead person. When the company came for regular inspections or wanted to communicate some sort of procedural change, this person acted as that single point of contact. But, this woman was a long-term member of the company and had lived in Abu Dhabi for many years, so she offered advice and apparently calmed the girls when they decided to have a party. MW9 tells me,

“Abu Dhabi has a large male population, so we know that we are safer in groups”. In MW9’s room, she told me that they are all very close. “We celebrate birthday’s we go out together, we cook together, and we talk, share, and cry together. If someone is returning from vacation, we will meet them at the airport with flowers and balloons! We are truly sisters.”
Male workers, share similar practices of support and brotherhood. MW8 lives in a company supplied small labour camp of about 800 men, with ten men in his room (see Figure 7.2). In this room, he is the ‘elder’ and literally the oldest man in the room. Each room in this camp maintains an elected elder who will negotiate with other rooms or company management when crisis arise e.g. a conflict between two men from different rooms; or if the internet breaks down. The men regularly help each other, they lend money for an urgent ‘family’ crisis of a fellow roommate, they do laundry, or cook extra for a roommate who might be sneaking in some additional income in their free time. On occasion, they will be drawn into conflicts with other rooms that may result in violence and the police being called in. But largely, they try to get along, and periodically may run their own ‘cultural’ events that involve food, playing music and singing songs (see Figure 7.3). But, workers often suffer in silence, as MW11 explained.

“Look, all the workers in this room have problems. Their family has problems. What to do? Yes local dramas are brought into the realm of room discussion, but problems and dramas at home we generally all keep quiet. We know everyone has these dramas. We prefer to keep it silent otherwise the room

189 This was a birthday celebration. This kind of facebook post is quite common for Filipinos, and it seems to say to family that “I’m ok, I’m eating well.”
becomes too heavy. It will be too overwhelming if everyone starts sharing these problems. The room will become unbearable, it just wears people out. So instead we stay silent. Local problems, say with management or another room – yes, these we will talk about. But, that is the limit.” From this excerpt we can see a self-censoring of family problems in order that the room in which they live is lighter, has a semblance of normality with the right balance of problems. Migrant workers tell me they seldom talk about their ongoing ‘dramas’ as they’ve described them with X-family members, it is largely kept in silence because they all bear this cross to some extent or other. Problems often remain unsaid. Instead the support comes through laughter, games, sport, fun, food, parties, music, lending money, coming to one’s defence etc.

If there is an exceptional event such as a conflict with another room, or another group of workers, or with management, they can come to each other’s defence, in very large numbers. Examples in the fieldwork included taxi drivers who share precious regular clients with roommates; or service workers

Figure 7.3. Al Ain Labour Camp. 2014. (Source: MW8)
who would provide discounts on products for roommates. One example that escalated comes from the story in a small camp in Mussafah of about 600 workers. Deepak tells me,

“*One labourer’s father died. So, we had a whip around so he could afford the flight and have enough money for gifts for his family. The Management didn’t believe him and refused to let him go home. So we all refused to go to work the next day. The management was called, the police were called, even the labour attaché came. It was not just about the labourer, as the management had not met its duty. They had not always paid salaries, the internet had not been working for ages, no laundry, and the kitchens were terrible. They promised to fix these problems and allowed the worker to go home. But, as Kerala, India was having a boom period, 200 workers resigned and returned home, and the company lost a contract because of it. I’m not sure the company ever recovered.*”

In this clear case of resistance, through the supporting of an ‘ill-treated’ worker acts a catalyst for a large conflict with management, but evidence collected suggests that as far as they can, they attempt at least to protect each other.

7.3.2 Apartment X-Family, as exercising ‘freedom’

There is an apartment I visited on numerous occasions that houses around 35 people with 6-8 people per room. This remains a popular, if illegal, living arrangement for low-income migrant workers when company supplied accommodation is not provided. Often this is the situation for service workers e.g. restaurant workers, “office boys”, coffee shops, massage centres etc. Low-income workers reside in the earliest built apartment buildings and are often the most run-down. The Emirati’s and professional expatriates have left these buildings long ago, therefore there is a sort of wealth based spatial movement

190 The example I saw first-hand, was giving tenderloin steak in the supermarket at rump beef prices.
191 MW9 also provided an example of the workers refusing to work if Lulu removed the chair the cashiers sat on during their working day.
192 Halfway into the field work, the one room I participated with moved to another property.
in progress. This movement is never complete, as workers are evicted from old buildings, they are torn down to put up new ones, then the cycle continues.

The freedoms they enjoy in the X-family apartment is due no ‘camp’ and ‘employer’ hyper-management of their lives, and correspondingly they have more opportunity to live their lives. In contrast to low-income workers housed in large industrialised labour camps, the workers housed in apartments enjoy significantly more freedoms. They can decorate the rooms, they can have pets, they can cook, they can eat in rooms, they can smoke, they can burn candles or incense, eat pork, and can consume alcohol. They can dress as they please, and there is no accommodation manager or auditors coming to check changes to the rooms. They can have guests, in fact, this is quite common. The low-income apartment is a transient space where the makeup and population changes as both workers and guests come and go. Sometimes guests visit for the weekend. These guests are sometimes siblings, or cousins, or friends visiting on a tourist visa and is looking for a job. Therefore, a portion of the apartment X-family is always under constant change. Visitors are most welcome, but people coming through often have challenges with money, so permanent apartment workers take care with their personal valuables and money. These apartments house males and females. Although this crowded multi-gender living arrangement is illegal, it is very common, suggesting that the municipality is not extensively enforcing the policy of no mixed gender cohabitation. That is not to say that there are no rules, but the governance and negotiation on these rules are set by the ‘permanent’ occupants. Each Filipino room I visited had either a ‘kuya’ or ‘ate’ which means ‘elder brother’ and ‘elder sister’ respectively, and normally was someone who has a lot of experience working in the region. This person is the head of the room, and is involved in many individual workers’ decisions (for example the consideration of taking a new job; bringing a sibling to Abu Dhabi; requesting permission for a guest to stay etc.). In this apartment room, MW17 had this role.\(^\text{193}\) As people flow in and out of the apartment the dynamics of interaction naturally change. After 6 months even

\(^{193}\) My presence as a researcher for a period was ‘approved’ by MW17.
MW17 had moved out and MW13 assumed the role and eventually they moved again to a better apartment across the street.

The physical practices associated with the traditional collocated family are ‘transferred’ to X-family members. In one bunk bed space, is MW4, a Filipino 28 year old, married with one young son. He tells me when we first met that he loved his family very much. I watched him talk to them on Skype using his mobile. In MW4’s case, MW15 takes the place of his wife (as he did take the place of MW15’s husband). They cook for each other, they do each other’s laundry, ironing etc, they laugh together, and they share a single bunkbed space. MW4, at that time in 2014, supported MW15 to the amount of AED 200 per month as her salary was much lower than his. When MW15 went on leave to visit her family and when he did the same he tells me that they missed each other very much. By 2015, MW4 lost his position as a ‘tea boy’ in a government office after getting in a fight with a co-worker, resulting in the loss of the government allowances. From that point, MW15 then supported MW4 financially as she earned more than he did. We will return to their story in 7.3.3.

Life for these migrant workers in these apartments can become extremely complex. In another bunk bed, stays Burt who is married with 3 children, has been working in Abu Dhabi for 12 years. In 2014, he encountered problems when his Abu Dhabi based girlfriend got pregnant. Burt had to canvass his friends to come up with the funds to secretly (…so his or her family or employer would not find out) send her back to the Philippines for an abortion. In another bunk bed in the same room, MW13 (separated, with three children) and MW14 (single) have been in a close physical relationship not unlike MW4 and MW15’s, that is until MW14 had her visa application approved for Canada and left MW13 behind in Abu Dhabi. He subsequently got into a new relationship, but said he still loved MW14 very much. On

194 Actually, they rent two bed spaces but only use one. The other is used for family members or guests, including myself when I stayed there.
195 I personally observed them conversing on messenger on Juan’s and my trip to the Philippines in 2015.
one particular evening, MW13 was hanging out his washing, with a computer and a mobile phone sitting on the bed with two video Skype connections open. On the screen of his computer, MW14 (in Canada) was sleeping and he was looking at her still body lightly breathing under the light of her computer. On his mobile phone he was at the same time talking to his children in the Philippines\(^{196}\). In yet another bunk bed, a women in her 50s was crying and arguing in Arabic with her boyfriend. She is on a free visa,\(^{197}\) and her daughter (an undocumented migrant) was flirting with MW4. Within an hour MW15 had returned and the flirtatious daughter slipped into the shadows.

These are very complex relationships and familial arrangements. When MW4’s cousin was visiting from Al Ain, Michele maintained her distance and MW4 said to me “Please do not say anything to my cousin”\(^{198}\), but these arrangements are common amongst the Filipino workers (and I have seen with Sri Lankan workers also), he tells me ‘It is the Filipino way’. I interpret this statement of the “Filipino Way” as another way of saying that this has become a social norm that permits these arrangement ‘normal’. In other words, MW4 represents a subject position around a norm – therefore despite the challenges, it’s ok to live in such a manner. Workers can suffer to an extent when managing their own emotions in all this complexity. MW4 drew for me how he felt (see Figure 7.4) – a drawing he called the “burning angel”. He explains that on one hand he is an angel sending remittances monthly to his wife and son, but at the same time on fire, burning because of the nature of X-family and the secrets he is keeping.

\(^{196}\) In 2016, Jash’s temporary employment in Canada finished and returned to MW13’s side.

\(^{197}\) A Free visa is one where she pays around AED 5,000 to a Local who has sponsored her but without any commitment to provide housing or income. Illegal but many locals (particularly those on low incomes) are well-known for selling visas.

\(^{198}\) When we travelled to Philippines this was mentioned many times over in terms of my being careful not to let something slip with his wife around. On one occasion I did almost slip up when I asked about Michelle on his messenger…he scorned me not to mention her name on that channel.
From the thesis argued up to this point, it might come as a surprise that some migrant workers shared with me the opposite of the repressive argument from the Carceral Net, instead that the life they lead in Abu Dhabi, aside from the economic concerns, they are “free” from traditional family responsibility and cultural norms. MW6 from Nepal is free from the traditional notion of matrimony and motherhood, free as a female to go out when she likes, to wear what she likes (within certain constraints in Abu Dhabi) and to see who she likes. Here she embraces her segregation from family and husband, as it helps her breaks the shackles of ‘gendered family’ life in Nepal. In Nepal, she tells me, she must request permission from her father, husband or brother to go out, whereas in Abu Dhabi she makes those sorts of decisions on her own. Others too, such as MW4, admitted that he also made the most of the distance migration created between himself and his daily father/husband responsibilities. Over Skype there will be discussion and engagement on familial problems, but MW4 describes a sense of relief after hanging up. In Abu Dhabi migrants live a ‘singles’ sort of life, and in this restrictive sense, the migrant worker story becomes emancipatory. On the other hand, migrant workers also admitted that while on vacation they are “free”. As Malcolm tells me,
“Oh, it was so difficult to return after my vacation. At home, I was free. I could go anywhere, I could eat home food, I could drink, and I could fuck anyone. [pause] But the one month holiday had to end eventually. There is a lot of money demands on me from brothers and sisters, and my parents. I missed my girlfriend but, I’ve been back over a month and I have still not adjusted. Perhaps, in another month’s time I’ll be ok.”

This comment is telling on the complex juxtaposition of family life and X-family life. As he is telling me, he is making downward movements with his hands in the shape of an umbrella to show constraining pressures. His use of “eventually” indicates this economic pressure for him to return. Migrant workers’ family and X-Family emerges out of the migration process and therefore overtime co-constitutes migration for future workers. Until the end-of-contract vacation period, the family becomes mediated through technology, and x-family through the physical, spatial, the local, the here and now. Irrespective of the form of x-family assemblage, husbands and wives may continue to pass on advices and directives (even child disciplining) and share in the stress of day to day activities. At vacation time, this relation reverses when they may enter into “tourist parenting” (Osella and Osella, 2012).

7.3.3 When X-family threatens Family

The empirical data from this study showed that the revealing of such relationships could be very detrimental to the stability of family. In one case, MW5, a domestic worker provides a case in point. He was in a sexual relationship with his employer’s daughter for two years. According to MW5, his younger brother found out and reported his betrayal to MW5’s wife. At that point, the relationship with his wife became very difficult but MW5 finished out his current contract with the family and never returned. He promised he’d never betray her again. In a second case, that of MW4 and MW15, MW4’s wife found his phone with Messenger open. MW4’s wife had only recently found she was two months pregnant, but their relationship was sent into a spin after she read the messages and saw the pictures of MW15 on his
telephone. MW4 pleaded she was only a friend, and to prove it, he would never return to Abu Dhabi. MW4 and his wife separated and some 10 months later, the baby was born and MW4 continues to look for work in any country but the UAE\(^{199}\).

These sorts of stories are not unique to migrant workers, but migration accentuates the possibility of new relationships and the potential of breaking up family. Migrant workers acknowledged to me the dangers of having new partners. To prevent X-family overflowing into family, often the migrant worker creates a wall between the family and the X-family to protect each from the other. X-family partners are kept out of sight from husbands and wives and husbands and wives are kept in the shadows of X-family partners. This wall was observable in the need for two digital identities. Facebook accounts were set up such that there was one for blood family and remote friends, and one for partners and local friends. Private accounts are set up on platforms such as Baddoo that offer new opportunities for meeting partners. But, occasionally gaps open up in the wall (as in the cases above), and the details of migrants workers activities and relationships get out i.e. the husband/wife finds out about the boyfriend/girlfriend. Family and X-family are full of moments of variable intensity: in X-family, from the intimate and emotional moments to the mundane of doing each other’s laundry; in family from missing important events (births, deaths, graduations, and children growing up) to weekly remittance exchanges. Technology allows for the family to maintain a certain amount of intensity but when intensity drops it can lead to danger e.g. family stress, break ups (see MW5 and MW11 and MW6 above). There are indications that it is somewhat likely that husbands and wives ‘know’ or suspect of these X-family arrangements, but may choose to turn a blind eye and accept it rather than upset the income stream of remittances and the bigger picture (i.e. the family economy).

\(^{199}\) I never heard this story from Juan but from his wife who contacted me over messenger. I had to maintain a position of neutrality in order not to make matter worse.
While X-family on one hand might challenge the moral economy of family, evidence from fieldwork showed that it can tend toward being its disciplinary force in terms of subjectification and surveillance. MW6 was an independent person who was quite happy to build personal relationships outside the X-family, she told me that this was frowned upon and she was often chastised from her ‘sisters’ if she went out alone, as others believe this is to be dangerous and not responsible\textsuperscript{200}. MW11’s brother inlaw provides example of this as he recounted MW6 and MW11’s case.

“\textit{MW11 was acting very strange when he visited us for the first time in 5 years. He would not answer questions directly. Later, a roommate of MW11’s from the same village contacted me. I found out that MW11 had another girlfriend on the side. His [Nepali] roommates wanted him to take his obligations seriously and take the right path, but who knows now, he left the camp.”}

X-family may develop its own set of norms and may have its own unique set of connections with worker’s family members. If one is caught by X-family members doing things outside of traditional familial norms (this is distinct from MW5’s story above who was found out by his brother), then telling family members might be the consequence. Technology increases the risks of family finding out about X-family. Video Skype or messenger or WhatsApp (or similar applications) create windows that peer directly into X-family and family lives. Not to forget the novel new GPS tracking applications (e.g. Life 360\textsuperscript{201}) that migrants and their families may voluntarily use. Perhaps, given the impacts of X-family on family, certain elements from the Carceral Net acknowledge the X-family’s existence, and may attempt to prevent X-family from occurring. NGOs and religious institutions attempt to warn migrant workers and their families of the risks to establishing new relationships while abroad. Sometimes, these organisations offer alternative support networks and advice to migrant workers that struggle with these

\textsuperscript{200} Antoniotte was looking for a husband. She found one and was married in 2017 to an Arab Expatriate.

\textsuperscript{201} These applications promise “Peace of Mind” and “Safe, Synchronized & Together” through sharing locations, sharing where one has travelled that day, and request check-in etc. in ‘family circles’.
‘temptations’. “If you are feeling lonely and missing you family, don’t worry – come and visit our ‘coping with loneliness’ every Tuesday evening.” NGOs and Churches usually stress “placing family needs above one’s own”, the avoidance of hedonism, sexual indiscretion, and unbounded consumerism, and also advice on medical, and sometimes legal advice. These sorts of interventions taken to prevent the more promiscuous ‘x-family’ are not limited to workers, but also directed at spouses and children.

In Bangladesh, NGOs work with migrant worker wives, convincing them of the need for contraceptive use on the husband’s end of contract vacation. A survey in 2010 highlighted that 50% of the HIV/AIDS cases came from low-income migrant workers and their spouses. This dangerous statistic triggered new orientation training specifically for migrant workers’ wives, helping them understand that it is important to have sexual intercourse with their husbands using a condom, until such a time that they are cleared for HIV/AIDS. In the Philippines, OWWA’s mission was quoted to me as “keeping the family strong” and frequently offer “tributes in honour of our OFWs and their families”. Maintaining the healthy nuclear family is paramount to these elements in the Carceral Net, even in the cases of exception. For example, OWWA runs a half-way house mission for women. As the manager tells me,

“These women often come back after getting pregnant from their boyfriends. In the Gulf countries, sex is illegal outside of marriage, so a pregnancy is unequivocal evidence of this. However, often these are abused women also, beaten and sometimes raped by their domestic employers.”

These women stay in the facility until either an abortion or adoption or issues with the family can be ironed out. Others, however are not so lucky to reach their home country, and will either go to jail in Abu Dhabi, or abscond and be held up in the local embassy until arrangements can be made for their return.

The possibility of new partners in the X-family may threaten the family, but it may also support family and its own ongoing survival. Whether the relationships are emotional, economic, social, or otherwise,
the X-family practices may even keep their status as ‘economic providers’ stable and it keeps life bearable for migrant workers. As one NGO worker explained to me, “There is a certain acceptance of these practices, and as long as the husband or wife continues to send the remittances and returns to family at the end of the contract, everything is fine.” Sometimes it is through genuine ‘ignorance’ or ‘not asking questions’ to keep (in MW4’s words) “the house of cards” from being blown down. More detrimental to family is when workers simply begin disengage and begin to put personal needs in front of familial needs. MW13 elucidated, “I separated from my wife some 4-5 years into my life as a foreign worker. She complained about my trying to enjoy a bit of my life. When she complained too much, I began to call her less and less, and eventually, I sent less and less money too. I developed a new set of priorities. I think it was the case for her also. So, in the end we split up.” What ‘family’ is and what relationships are came under close scrutiny by MW13. In MW4’s case, which was his ‘real’ wife, was it MW15 who he spent 1-2 years straight with; or Nikki who he spent one-two months with on vacation? The result of his ‘betrayal’ to his wife has cost MW4 dearly. By 2018, he is without wife, habibi or a job.202

Migrant workers can end up in living in two distinct spaces, but not live either space fully or openly. That is, they long for and miss what they can’t have from their origin country: family touch, familiar food, culture and values, and the mediated technology is not a suitable replacement of the ‘real’. But at the same time on end of contract vacations, they now long for the X-family touch, or other niceties from Abu Dhabi. Moreover, the X-family partner is not someone who the migrant worker shares with parents, siblings or children. That is, at least it remains hidden behind walls. This physical, local, present, and situated orientation is juxtaposed against the technological, distant, future, and blood orientation. On first inquiry, X-family looks that it directly challenges family, at least the potential is there. On further inquiry, X-family supports it, as long as appropriate dividing practices and tacit agreements are in place.

202 By the middle of 2018, Juan has a new job in the Philippines.
and the flow of economic wealth remains intact. In this section, the evidence points to x-family, an arrangement that supports and offers certain freedoms to migrant workers during their contract, but it also creates tensions and potential problems. X-family has seldom been theorised alongside family as part of a disciplinary apparatus. While X-families are implicated in the supporting of migrant workers they may also threaten the very family structure that made them in the first place. X-family is only very superficially disciplinary through the living to certain norms, room rules and schedules, and as part of a wider surveillance apparatus.

7.3.4 Theorising and defining X-Family

While X-family is a term that I coined to signify and describe what I witnessed from my fieldwork, I see family and by extension x-family as an effect (and instrument) of power (Foucault, 1977, 1978). That said, x-family does have some precedence in the family themed migration literature. From one perspective, the positioning of X-family has been theorised not as family per se, but as part of a general support structure that provides certain benefits to migrant workers (Khalaf and Alkobaisi, 1999). Khalaf and Alkobaisi (1999) describe how kinsman or friends can act as “bridgeheads” whose “ties are personalised and sympathetic, and thus carry much needed multifaceted support” for the migrant (Khalaf and Alkobaisi, 1999: 286). These authors describe how from this worker that support other workers may derive economic benefits (from being recruitment intermediaries) and/or improve their social status (from being seen to improve the family/village from where they come from.) But, in the end, they say little about the ongoing relations between the migrant worker and this support i.e. their focus is more about the support while migrating and getting employed.

From a much larger body of work, X-family (the concept not the term) has been theorised as transnational family, defined as a social production across borders, where family life is negotiated and maintained through an emotional connection yet physically separated from family (Bryceson and
Vuorela, 2002). Similar to the Khalaf and Alkobaisi (1999) notion of kin or friend, this literature positions family as an ‘imagined community’, and one that is not biological per se. In this extensive body of research, many aspects of the transnational family are theorised, including: effects of transnational fatherhood, motherhood and childhood on migration-development policy (Sorensen and Vammen, 2014); the global care-chain (Hochschild, 2000); the benefits (Oso and Ribas-Mateos, 2013; Mckay, 2007) or the costs (UNICEF, 2007; Schuurman & Salib, 1990) of these transnational familial organisations. Much of this research focuses on the changing roles for parents, and the effects on children ‘left behind’ as part of the migration process. However, Cohen’s (2015) article of male migrants from Mexico working in the United States is a notable exception. She explored the changing dynamics of migrant social relations and the balance struck between the traditional family in Mexico and the migrants’ relations in Chicago (i.e. ‘x-family’). She found a “deep commitment” that migrants make to each other and in a similar light to my own work, that workers were ‘permitted’ (by X-family members) to have extramarital affairs, only as long as they did not threaten the marriage of the partner ‘left behind’ and/or the family reputation. The findings in Section 7.3.3 showed how family mobilises in case where family believes x-family has begun to threaten it. This finding was replicated in Cohen’s (2015) study, albeit explained through patriarchal familial honour and not loss of remittances as I explained in this thesis. Moreover, Cohen’s study showed how workers exercised sexual freedom separated from familial life in Mexico, but did not explore exercising freedoms from other actors and institutions e.g. State/and employers. Like Cohen (2015), there has been similar work on familial reorganisation between Africa and Europe (see Kastner, 2010) where workers ‘pragmatically’ reorganise familial relations to maximise utility, for spouses, children, and themselves. X-family, as a notion will be of interest to the transnational family academic circles most generally, on Asia to GCC migration paths (Gardner, 2005; Vora, 2008; Osella and Osella. 2012); other scholars interested in migrant coping and support strategies, or particularly in CMS, for example, with an interest in boundaries between work and family (Piszczech & Berg, 2014).
7.4 Chapter Conclusion

In this chapter, first I positioned how Foucault has theorised the family in his writings, then, from Section 7.1, I showed how there is a gap in our knowledge about how family is implicated in the ongoing management of low-income migrant workers. From Section 7.2, I showed the evidence (extending findings from Chapter Five) that points to how family may attempt to continue shape the subjectivity, decisions and actions of migrant workers long after migration. The migrant worker is implicated in the reinforcing of this subject position as the person who may put the needs (desires) of the family economy ahead of individual needs (desires). I have argued that the family is fundamental element that positions family members as productive migrant workers deployed to cater for the needs of the overall family and State economy. This can be read as sovereign power, but it more clearly lends toward the disciplinary as part of a wider notion of biopower (Foucault, 1977, 1978).

In Section 7.3, the evidence has demonstrated how another organisation has emerged as an effect of migration, that of X-family. While ‘traditional’ family remains a remote and technologically mediated affair, X-family is practised locally in the practical and physical sense. There were examples where workers found interstitial spaces to live their life, yet both family and X-family were found to be entangled in the Carceral Net that sits around the low-income migrant worker. Where there are cross linkages between family and X-family then walls may be breached. Moreover, technology is increasingly involved in maintaining intensity between family and the individual, but it is also implicated in policing workers e.g. Video Skype, GPS trackers. The evidence from this study, X-family (on the contrary to family) sees only a superficial involvement in disciplining, but in its more supportive and emancipatory guise, is an element that provides stabilisation in the Carceral Net. But it quickly can be seen to destabilise an individual’s place within the Carceral Net when families find out the realities of other migrant worker relationships. When X-family threatens the family economy, this chapter showed how further measures are taken by family to hold workers firmly in their subject position as responsible
workers. Finally, in taking a look at previous migration family research where the notion of ‘x-family’ was visible was discussed in order to position, define, and potentially further theorise the concept.

The contribution from this chapter is to advance CMS’s understanding of how migrant workers are managed through familial relations. X-family in its various guises feeds into our understanding about the daily management of migrant workers along this South to South migration path, but both Family and X-family are important ‘institutions’ to consider when thinking about management and power in workers’ lives. ‘CMS’ and MS authors’ have shown how migrant workers cope either by drawing on the support from forms of community organising e.g. national social clubs or domestic worker social movements (see Gardner, 2005; Jiang & Korczynski, 2016; MacKenzie et al., 2012) or in terms of unions (Fitzgerald et al., 2012). This research moves the current literature focus from the social/community to the workers and their colleagues themselves, and to their ‘living’ spaces. Despite the infinite number of configurations of X-family arrangements, the new forms of daily life become implicated in the management of the low-income migrant worker’s life. In a second piece of art work (see Figure 7.5), MW4 depicted, in part, what I’ve been trying to describe as the Carceral Net. In this representation, MW4 is an eagle, while flying he is looking for a branch to perch on. There are two islands, one representing home and the other Abu Dhabi, but on both islands on every suitable branch for landing there is a cage with an open door ready to entrap him.

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203 Barriers exist to creating social/community groups in Abu Dhabi: they must pay a fee, they must have their activities approved, and they must have an officer. This formalising and regulating of social groups (of more than 10 people) is part of a UAE “…vision of ensuring social welfare and quality services for the general public.” (Press) This reflects in a distrust in social/community groups self organising and is perhaps one of the reasons informal worker to worker support is quite common.
Theoretically speaking, Foucault put “…the functioning and microphysics of the family completely on the side of the power of sovereignty, and not at all on that of disciplinary power…Supervision is not constitutive of but supplementary to the family, whereas permanent supervision is absolutely constitutive of disciplinary systems” (Foucault, 2003:80). That said, he saw the family as a “hinge” between different models of power. In the past few chapters, both the disciplinary and sovereign power can be seen in this research. On one hand there were the cases where the family “insisted” on the migration of its family members for work (e.g. MW1’s and MW8’s cases) and on the other hand, there is evidence of the family’s implication into the construction and the ongoing management (surveillance) of the migrant worker. As Foucault states in his study of sexuality, the sovereign and disciplinary regimes of power “did not come about without overlappings, interactions, and echoes” (Foucault 1976/1978, 149). So, the sovereign model was evident but not compelling. The disciplinary when considering the wider notions of biopower were more compelling in family, but not X-family. The X-family (seen as an extension to the functions and practices of family) is neither sovereign nor disciplinary, but both repressive and productive at the same time. X-family may provide a supportive ‘living’ environment for workers and it may become an environment for the surveilling and policing of their lives. Part of the reason for the lack of a compelling narrative might be that migrant workers who were recruited for this study were from

Figure 7.5 - Cages. Source MW4.
multiple countries across Asia, and the contexts of each country/society/family relation are so variable to see patterns. Despite this variability, it seems at least, Foucault’s historical comment that family can be regarded as an important target in the aims of biopower to construct a productive labour power (Foucault, 1978) is very plausible in this contemporary context.
CHAPTER 8: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

8.1 Introduction

This thesis positioned within the subfield of Critical Management Studies (CMS) focused on the low-income migrant worker for whom there is, it is often argued, inherent power disparities and potential for worker exploitation that necessitates conscientious attention by management researchers (United Nations, 2016; Ahmad, 2008; Anderson, 2010b; Jiang & Korczynski, 2016). CMS research has tended to explore migrant workers who migrate from the ‘global south’ to the ‘global north’ and has left south-to-south migration paths to other disciplines. South-to-south migration numbers are now larger than south-to-north migration counterpart (OECD, 2013) and the precarity of low-income workers is well documented therefore thoroughly deserving of critical scrutiny (Gardner, 2005). This leaves a gap in our knowledge about management of migrant workers and results in management knowledge that is biased towards contexts where migrant workers are a minority within a larger regime of work and labour. Consequently, the principle aim from this research was to examine the relevance of techniques of disciplinary power in the management of the lives of low-income migrant workers along the Asia-Abu Dhabi migration corridor.

It is hard to deny the productive capacity of this Asian-Abu Dhabi migrant labour regime, as demonstrated through a) the massive construction (and reconstruction) of Abu Dhabi’s vital infrastructure, b) the large quantities of inward remittances into labour-sending countries. And c) a level of productiveness for the individual and the family through the fact is that migrant workers showed signs or talked about an improvement in social and economic mobility back in their home countries. Yet, despite this productiveness, this thesis points to a low-income migrant worker who is a deeply subjugated subject within a diagram of power, I termed the Carceral Net.
In the remaining sections of this Chapter, I will provide a summary of the thesis; outline the contribution to our understanding of the management of migrant workers; and finally explore limitations and opportunities for future study.

8.2 Summary of this Thesis.

In Chapter One, I positioned this research to address a gap in CMS’s knowledge on the understanding of the management of low-income migrants along a south to south migration path, namely the Asia-Abu Dhabi migration corridor. I introduced the context of the labour-sending countries, and the context of the Emirate of Abu Dhabi where the migrant worker is received. I introduced CMS as a broad tent of critical projects and perspectives. By positioning management as practices of power, I broadened the discussion to exploring management that is dispersed across many actors and institutions and not solely something done by the manager. My general aim in this thesis was to address a gap in knowledge within CMS on the management of low-income migrant workers along south-to-south migration paths and to bring to light, where, how and to what extent management (in a broad sense) is implicated in the lives of the low-income migrant worker. More specifically and theoretically, the aim was to explore the relevance of the techniques of disciplinary power in the management of the low-income migrant worker.

In Chapter Two, I introduced the techniques of disciplinary power as the conceptual basis for the study. This introduction referred to both Foucault’s original text (Foucault, 1977, 1978, 2003) and where CMS scholars have engaged with the specific techniques of dividing practices, classification, subjectification, and surveillance in their research (Burrell, 1988; O’Neill, 1986; Deetz, 1992; Jacques, 1996; du Gay, 1996; Clegg et al., 2006; Miller & O’Leary, 1987; Townley, 1993; Knights, 2009). I positioned this study with previous CMS engagements with disciplinary power, albeit they have mostly been at the level of an organisational function, an organisation, or a single society. Migrant workers are “transnational” therefore I justified the need to depart from a bounded approach to research that would permit my attention to span multiple sites across non-contiguous time and space. My approach to the techniques of
disciplinary power is such that disciplinary power should not be seen as an abstract universal theory of power, but rather as a situated historical set of techniques and practices (Foucault, 1977). In other words, these techniques of disciplinary power provide an analytical starting point of concrete management practices of migrant workers that are situated in a particular place and time.

In Chapter Three, I drew upon both CMS and Migration Studies to establish what is known about the management of migrant workers. I showed that authors have addressed many research interests from the lives of migrant workers (Holgate, 2005), employers as central to migrant worker’s lives and conditions (Rodriguez, 2004; MacKenzie & Forde, 2009), intermediaries (Shah, 2006; Fellini et al., 2007; Forde et al., 2015; Connell & Burgess, 2009; Mackenzie & Forde, 2009; Forde & Mackenzie, 2009), government policy (Martin et al., 2006), unions and support communities (Martinez-Lucio, 2003; Fitzgerald, 2012). But, CMS tends to focus on migrant workers from the global south to the global north. The south-to-south migratory path is absent and remains an important subject to explore given that the issues highlighted on migrant worker rights abuses and the unique social, cultural and political contexts. Due to the gap on south to south migration, I drew heavily on Migration Studies: covering Migration, Legal Studies and NGO work (Ghaemi, 2006; Human Rights Watch 2012, 2013; Tock, 2010; Mahdavi, 2011; McGeehan, 2012), yet I found that the management of the low-income migrant worker in these migration studies was shown to be understood or explained primarily through the perspective of the structural Kafala system (Longva, 1997, Gardner, 2005).

In Chapter Four, the methodological implications of performing critical ethnographic research along the Asia-Abu Dhabi migration corridor were discussed. The research question raised certain challenges methodologically and ethically. Methodologically, by adopting this view of management as a set of techniques of disciplinary power, I needed an approach that would enable me to get up close to the concrete management practices of migrant workers. Second, by locating this research along the Asia-Abu Dhabi migration corridor, I needed empirically to look beyond a single place of work where
managers and workers interact and further beyond the single society/county in which they work. I argued that a critical ethnography would be the preferred open-ended exploratory approach. Finally, my research methods were shared including how empirical materials were collected, and the iterative work I undertook between working with concepts, data, analysis and writing. Ethically, I had to come to terms with the semi-covert strategy for research. I adopted an approach that would best mitigate the potential precarity for migrant workers involvement, and my own. But these were not water-tight practices e.g. hypothetically speaking, photographic evidence extracted from a confiscated laptop will hardly be anonymous. From a different perspective, throughout my engagement with these participants, they have frequently called upon my help in different ways. From money, to job finding, to references and to intervention. In most cases, it was very ethically quite problematic on whether to accept or decline such requests.

In Chapter Five, the thesis turned to the making of migrants through the subjectification from family, migrant education, and the uniform. I argued that some of these elements these elements all work toward placing individual into the particular migrant worker subject position – that of the responsible person who is a going to overseas to work, and return this investment to their family and country. My fieldwork showed how far and wide the subjectification extends, and with what methods are implicated into the making of the migrant worker. Evidence showed that it occurs in the family, in sending governmental discourse and programmes, it occurs in numerous orientations across the migration corridor, and in Abu Dhabi society through media, governmental discourse, and camp management. Second, methods deployed included awareness, education, training, testing, and certification, but also extended to body movements, gestures, and diet. Moreover, the uniform as a tactic of inscription or branding of the body largely reinforces but also undermines these subject positions. That is to say, the uniform constitutes docility alongside the enterprising individual.
In Chapter Six, the thesis turned to the treating individuals as objects of knowledge and the managing of migrants through “dividing practices” across space and time. Low-income migrant workers are not treated as acting subjects, instead they were found to be highly regulated subjects – that is they are categorised, divided, positioned, and observed. I showed how many low-income migrant workers are placed into camps, enclosed by high walls and barbed wire fences with lockable and guarded gates; I showed how they are housed, transported, and monitored; and I showed how the camp design and room design feed and their camp record feeds into ongoing management of workers in their private lives. Their life becomes a hyper-managed life, one oriented toward work not life. The employer and/or camp management company have got into the business of the management of life. I also built up an argument that while the techniques of disciplinary were relevant, they were juxtaposed alongside other technologies of power, that of sovereign force of deportation and employment bans, and social/juridical limits on the possibilities for changing the very conditions of their daily lives. Moreover, what was clear from Chapter Five and Six was that the Carceral Net was showing an increasing separation and fragmentation of the relationship between people, work and their lives – with an effect of reducing the space and time for life.

In Chapter Seven, I claim that family may attempt to continue to shape the subjectivity, decisions and actions of migrant workers well after migration. The migrant worker was often found to be sacrificed to satisfy the needs of the family economy, yet through over-time and extra work, migrant workers are implicated in the reinforcing of this subject position as persons that must put the needs of the family economy ahead of individual needs. I showed that when the family economy is threatened, how the family and sending labour government departments may take further measures to hold workers in their responsible duty-bound subject position. This chapter showed how migrant workers form new familial organisations, in what I termed X-family. The traditional notion family remains a remote and technologically mediated affair, while X-family is practised locally in the practical and physical sense. There were examples where workers found interstitial spaces to live their life, yet both family and X-
family were found to be entangled in the Carceral Net that sits around the low-income migrant worker (albeit, the X-family was found to be much less disciplinary than family).

8.3 Research Contributions

In this section, research contributions will be discussed in relation to GCC area specific Migration Studies (to be covered first), and to CMS (to be covered second).

8.3.1 Contributions to Migration Studies: The ‘dismantling’ of the Kafala System

In Migration Studies, the Kafala has been given a lot of weight in the control of migrant workers, as it is seen to place “expatriates into a pattern of submission and docility” (Longva, 1997: 108) and “hems and confines lived experiences of all transmigrants” (Gardner, 2005:54). Migration Studies have frequently claimed that migrant workers are abused and put into structural positions of inequality (see HRW 2012; 2013; McGeehan, 2012; Longva, 1997; Gardner, 2005). According to these authors the Kafala sponsorship system is a “structure of dominance” over the vulnerable migrant worker who often has his/her rights violated by the employer. A critical importance is given to the Kafala labour system as a major cause of the practices of exploitation.

While the weight of these claims in the control of migrant workers has not changed, the evidence of this study suggests that the Kafala labour system and the kafeel/migrant worker relationship is gradually being eroded and replaced with a ‘contemporary’ (might I say, “Western”) employer-employee relationship. This new relationship includes features such as a contract ‘protected’ by juridical systems and is heavily supplemented by the techniques of disciplinary power. Control still attempts to “hem and confine” using Gardner’s words, but less from fear and force, and more from the docile subject and discipline. From the 14 attributes highlighted from Chapter Three on the elements of Kafala System, only three remain in place fully; five are partially in place, and five are no longer in place (at least
See Table 8.1 below for more explanation. This evidence, therefore, supports the views from authors that have criticised the emphasis played by of the Kafala System in GCC based Migration Studies (Vora, 2013; Kanna, 2011; Osella & Osella, 2012).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Kafala Attribute</strong></th>
<th><strong>Still applicable in Abu Dhabi?</strong></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Sponsor to act as intermediary with the State.</td>
<td>Yes, but, new channels opened between worker and State.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Sponsor is to be aware of workers’ location and movement.</td>
<td>Partly. Control of location and movement is largely now a disciplinary process (Chapter 6).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Upon contract completion or termination, the sponsor is to be financially</td>
<td>Partly, i.e. only when full contract conditions are met by employee.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>responsible for worker repatriation to their origin country.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 The Sponsor may confiscate and withhold worker’s passports.</td>
<td>No longer legally allowed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 The worker has no right to labour strike or form a union.</td>
<td>Yes. In fact, even social community groups must be registered with the government.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 The worker has no right to move employment without permission.</td>
<td>No. The worker may move upon completion of their contract, or even earlier with certain conditions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 The worker has no right to exit the country without permission.</td>
<td>No.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 The worker is fixed in the job/employment position named in the contract.</td>
<td>No.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 Workers are under the threat of deportation.</td>
<td>Partly. If some juridical or disciplinary norms are broken – yes; but workers have 60 days to move</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 HR managers or Public Relations Officers (PRO) are mediators that increase the</td>
<td>No. MOL has opened many new channels.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>distance between the migrant workers and exercising their rights.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 Linguistic barriers (legal processes are in Arabic).</td>
<td>Partly.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 Debt servitude incurred during recruitment and migration and accrued at the</td>
<td>Yes. For Bangladesh, Sri Lanka and Nepal this is prevalent, but for the Philippines much less so.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>level of family or extended family.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 Minimal access to State provided facilities to exercise grievances.</td>
<td>Partly, but new online and telephone channels are open.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 Inconsistencies in employee contract information or outright disregarding of</td>
<td>Somewhat less likely as the MOL records a copy of the signed contract of the worker; but employers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>contractual agreements.</td>
<td>may try to force a resigning a contract.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 8.1 – Relevance of elements of the Kafala System in Abu Dhabi
Changing Relations between Sponsors and Workers

As we saw in Longva (1997), Gardner (2005) and McGeehan (2010), the Kafeel was accustomed to asymmetrical power in relation to the worker. This is now less than before, for example: for Abu Dhabi migrant workers no longer need a ‘no objection certificate’ from employers to change jobs (or leave the country) like is still the case in Qatar or Saudi Arabia\(^{204}\). Nor can the employer legally sequester their passports. In fact, the opposite is sometimes true for example when a migrant worker lodges a complaint with the MOL with his employer, there is a ban on visa processing placed on the employer by the MOL. This can make it difficult for the employer to get additional resources if they need them. This is a reversal of fortunes as such and is used to assist the quick resolution to investigated complaints. The establishment of MOL and the firming up of labour laws, with inspectors, and fines and penalties for companies that evade these laws mean that it is getting harder for the Kafeel to exercise their dominance. Since January 2017, domestic workers are now also protected under these same labour laws. This is not to mean that laws are effectively enforced or that migrants will not be abused, but that there are changes in the Kafala governance regime. The majority of low-income workers are employed by large organisations in security, construction, oil and hospitality sectors, and the businesses are often very large family conglomerates. The worker now signs a contract that is copied and lodged with the MOL. This makes it more difficult for the Kafeel to play the job substitution game or changing wages and benefits once workers arrive. In contract disputes, the worker can lodge a complaint, obtain a temporary work visa and look for work elsewhere. If the labour court finds in favour of the worker, then the worker may continue to stay if he managed to find a position in a new firm. In effect, the Kafeel as sponsor is being transformed into the employer.\(^{205}\) I’m not suggesting that these changes are a reaction to international pressure or a desire for improving the adherence to workers’ rights. Over the years, governments have justified changes in regulatory actions in the name of the ‘failure’ of laissez-faire recruitment practices

\(^{204}\) Knowledge of these changing limits to their circumstances is obviously key. I must add, that for certain nationalities this legal ability to move jobs is still risky. Take a Bangladeshi, on security grounds they may be rejected in the new application.

\(^{205}\) The employer is now only partly “responsible” for the worker and their lives. With the exception of small companies less than 50 employees, the employer is responsible to provide housing and health insurance but food or transportation are not required to be provided. If the worker commits a crime then the Kafeel is certainly not responsible.
and have tended to turn toward creating highly regulated recruitment markets. While Abu Dhabi’s labour market is still regarded as flexible for employers, over time there are more checks and balances in place. Abu Dhabi has ‘intervened’ with employers who have become increasingly regulated and controlled but with wider interests at hand, e.g. nationalisation programmes with quotas for businesses to recruit locals. So, despite this transition from the sovereign Kafala system to the social juridical and disciplinary apparatus, perhaps the contemporary migrant worker is even more deeply subjugated than these previous studies have stressed, particularly when considering the extent of the Carceral Net’. Simply stated, it very difficult for the migrant worker to attempt to change the very conditions of their own lives. But, this study did not find that migrant workers live under “milieu of fear” as Kanna describes (2011), but rather, the ‘usual’ uncertainty about keeping ones’ job.

In the wider “game” of Asian-GCC labour migration, there has been an increasing international administrative measures around migration that has seen the partial dismantling of the Kafala system, and as I have argued in Chapters 5-7, control is now supplemented with disciplinary power. The Carceral Net is geographically, institutionally, and conceptually dispersed, therefore, there is no central tower in to which the migrant worker can directly resist the disciplinary measures taken in his/her production and management. Previous UK research has shown how despite the difficulties they may face as exploited minorities, migrant workers can resist through unions, or to learn how to cope with the difficulties they face, may create and draw upon support communities (MacKenzie et al., 2012; Jiang & Korczynski, 2016; Khalaf & Alkobaisi, 1999; Kathiravelu, 2012; Also Gardner, 2005 in the Bahrain context) but, in Abu Dhabi, both of these mechanisms (unions and unsanctioned/unregistered support groups) remain illegal. Instead, as I have argued in Chapter Seven that the emergence of X-family provides a different kind of support. Rather than those of exception (e.g. unions), it is through the X-family. I have shown

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206 One that actually works out favourably as a barrier to entry for new recruiters
207 Source: AD Economic 2030 Vision
208 Most recently in 2018, I discovered a support community that took the form of Whatsapp messaging application. It was a two tiered system, the first, where a core set of individuals invested savings over long periods to start businesses in Nepal. The second, where a much wider group participated in questions and answers about living in Abu Dhabi, but this also had a
evidence that the migrant workers “make do” within interstitial spaces within the Carceral Net, and yet while the X-family itself is supportive, it can become a disciplinary instrument within the Carceral Net. Moreover, if the truth seeps into the awareness of the family, then it can also destabilise the Carceral Net (e.g. as was the case for MW4). On the South to South migration path both Family and X-family (to a minor extent) are important ‘institutions’ to consider when thinking about management and power in workers’ lives. This argument leads to one final contribution to migration studies in the creating of a more contested space on the discourse on family and migration in Migration Studies, given that as a rule, family is largely treated in functional and supportive terms, and the research tends to neglect family’s role in social control of the migrant worker.

*Implications of these changes to the Kafala System.*

For the *Kafeel*, there is a lessening of their ability to exercise sovereign power over the low-income migrant worker e.g. it is now illegal to confiscate worker passports. As new channels open up and new technology is installed between State institutions and workers there is a lessening of the ability of the *kafeel* to dupe the migrant worker. One example of this can be seen through the new complaint mechanisms and the storing of original contracts in a government database to prevent contract switching). Moreover, less ‘permissions’ from the *kafeel* are now necessary in the low-income migrant workers life e.g. changing jobs at the end of the first contract; getting a mobile phone. But, they are still in place in a few areas such as getting a liquor or a driver’s licence. This still means (for the important case of changing employers) that a worker can be tied up in that relationship for 2 years, and this remains, in part, so that the *kafeel* get his return on investment from the migration costs. There are potential benefits for the labour market after this two-year embargo, at which point workers can use their labour mobility to resist poor treatment as seen in previous ‘CMS’ research (Alberti, 2014).

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209 In a very recent article of Gardner, he argues that the juridical system is largely symbolic when it comes to migration and migrant workers. Legal authors, such a McGeehan argue there are many practical problems also.

210 Workers can leave the country, but they will receive a ban on returning for two years.
For the sending and receiving governments there has been a tendency to centralise the management of migrant workers through technology such as databases and processes at a national level. In other words, certain controls and jurisdictions have moved from the kafeel (as sponsor, and as responsible) to government institutions and their agents. This centralising effect can be read as decreasing utility in the prior notion of the kafeel and the role the kafeel takes in society, and an increasing utility in the use of employer-employee relationship. This may not be an easy change for many Local’s that treat the Kafala system as a source of personal income. Moreover, there is a centralising and sharing of migrant worker information bilaterally between sending and receiving nations in the form of shared data and process improvements. Relatedly, this centralising creates a sort of normalising effect on the management of migration and migrant workers, in part exacerbated by key nodes on the network, such as IOM and ILO.

That said, there remain key differences between sending States and receiving States that suggests an overall strategic positioning in international labour relations.

While I read camp management companies as an effect of these changes, for employers (as proxy kafeels) these new governmental policies, channels, and technology constrain, to an extent, how they can treat low-income migrant workers (e.g. mandatory health insurance, use of camp management companies etc.). But, despite the implementation of these controls, there are still certain corruptions still in the migration practices. For example: it is regarded common practice, by those interviewed in this study, that in the security guard business to oblige the migrant worker to carry cash to hand over to HR managers upon their arrival; and suspected that HR managers bring in migrants that they predict will fail the security required fitness or intellectual capacity to pass the exams in order to create a constant turnover of workers. Moreover, the criticism still holds that there is always the possibility of worker exploitation over workers through information asymmetries.

For the activists (such as Human Rights Watch) these changes may reflect some success in their provocations, but at the same time, the target of their attention may now appear more dispersed. It was
convenient to target the *kafeel* and the regulators and policy makers from government. Given the global scope of the disciplinary apparatus, resistance now needs to be equally as dispersed across many nodes in the network; and given the limit of resources results in the need to explore new tactics and new targets for bring about changes in the improvement of migrant worker treatment that this study has highlighted (e.g. family exploitation of family members).

For the low-income migrant worker, the level of subjugation has changed not decreased. Surveillance is at multiple levels, at the level of family, camp, employer, and State, therefore, it remains difficult for the individual or groups to openly develop a response to unfair treatment; besides, as the diagram of disciplinary power suggests, a successful disciplinary process has the migrant worker self-disciplining their behaviour, silencing their voice, and controlling their own behaviour and movement. Moreover, the combination of deportation, social/juridical laws, the disciplinary apparatus, and biopolitics keeps a firm grip on the individualised worker, and social movements or unions remain strictly forbidden. At the same time, a worker can use their international mobility to flee the country at any time, if they so wish. However, this decision would be considered in light of the initial (often family) investments to migrate. There are some positives, that is employer mobility after the two-year contract period. If the employer makes them redundant, there is the additional small window of opportunity of 60 days to find another employer. Finally, in the cases of making a complaint against an employer, there is a new visa category that allows them to work in another role, up until that complaint is resolved.

**8.3.2 Contributions to CMS on the management of low-income migrant workers**

The contribution from this research to CMS is in two parts. The first relates to the subject of the management of migrant workers in general, and the second relates to the specifics of the techniques of disciplinary power in the management of migrant workers and ongoing relevance of disciplinary power in the theorisation of management. But first, let me provide an overview of where thesis contributes to
advancing CMS’s knowledge on the management of low-income migrant workers:

1. Migrant workers along the south to south migration path are made and hyper-managed within the Carceral Net across the Asia-Abu Dhabi migration corridor. Despite the ‘fashioning’ of workers in the European context, as described by ‘CMS’ authors (see Section 3.2, in Chapter Three), this research draws attention to how this making and management of workers spreads much further and wider than previous research has identified. While the techniques of subjectification and dividing practices remain as described by Foucault (see Section 2.4, in Chapter Two) they are far from declining in the daily lives of migrant workers and therefore all the more necessary to pay critical attention to them. The hyper-management of migrant workers supports Pun and Smith’s (2007) finding that dormitory accommodation extended employers ‘power’ over works but it goes much further than to argue that management extends their ability to get more productivity and work out of an employee, instead I argue that through the use of the labour camp, employers and collaborators are now in the management of life and not just work. But not all management was disciplinary, for example: the notion of X-family is a unique contribution to how we can think about the management of the lives of migrant workers. It forms a part of the management of migrant workers daily lives; and in part was part of the Carceral Net – both as a stabiliser and a destabiliser. It stabilises given it often provided emotional, social, and even economical support; but it also de-stabilises if family came to know about x-family (in its male/female cohabitation set up).

2. Despite the call for post-disciplinary conceptualisations of power and management in CMS (see Fraser, 2003; Barratt, 2003); low-income migrant workers are highly regulated subjects – that is through the techniques of disciplinary power, they are made into objects of knowledge, they are extensively divided at multiple scales and registers, and under significant observation in their private life.

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211 I take post-disciplinary to mean the disciplinary power is a ‘dead’ manner to research the contemporary world. In another sense, my ignoring boundaries of organisation, society and country is in a sense post-disciplinary, if that is to mean after discipline period in a ‘post-enclosure’ sort of thinking.
Subjectification: various actors and institutions from both sending nation and Abu Dhabi placing individuals into the migrant worker subject position, but more specifically as responsible/dutiful person who is going to overseas to work, and return this investment to their family and country. Moreover, typical disciplinary methods were seen in use, such as awareness, education, training, testing, and certification, but it also extended to body movements, gestures, diet, and the uniform.

Scientific Classification: More and more of migration and the management of migrants is mediated by technology. Migrant workers are made into statistics on multiple scales from migrant flows, remittances, diseases, and deaths; down to absences, health insurance claims, violations of camp rules, and what they eat. From governmental, NGO, and intergovernmental conferences this data becomes feedback mechanisms into the Carceral Net, and from it may emerge new supervisory systems. One sub-category of the migrant worker in Abu Dhabi is of the ‘bachelor’ whose lack of education and potentially dangerous behaviour justifies many of the limits on their lives.

Dividing Practices across space and time. The notion of the management of migrant workers in their private time is perhaps one of the most important contributions to CMS’s knowledge. This is not a question of the management of employees in their daily work; but about their management outside of work (spatially and temporally). Government policy dictated that employers and camp management companies place the majority of migrant workers into camps, enclosed by high walls and barbed wire fences with lockable and guarded gates. These workers are monitored and transported to/from their work. The camp design and room design both feed into ongoing management of workers in their private lives where the notion of the private life for these individuals has almost dissolved. It is no longer about the management of work; but the management of life.

I acknowledge this (perhaps) Western individualistic bias in my research.
Finally, the disciplinary is now very dispersed geographically, where sending and receiving labour countries collaborate in numerous ways to ensure an efficient and controlled labour migration system. Disciplinary power is not dead (Weiskopf & Munro, 2011) it just mutated and spread out.

3. While this research focused on the techniques of disciplinary power, the management of the low-income migrant worker is entangled in a larger diagram of power. It is not an either/or of Foucault’s systems of thought: sovereign/disciplinary/social/juridical/and governmental power but a variable and historically emerging diagram of power that is made up of thousands of minute struggles every day.

About Management of Migrant Workers in General

In Chapter Three, I grouped previous CMS migrant worker research into the following areas of central interest: employers and intermediaries; migrant workers; labour process theory; union and community support. Most of this body of work was along migration from the Global-South to Global-North. This left a lacuna along alternative migration paths, not solely from the perspective of the migration corridor itself, but while the migrant workers may share the same starting point the destination point is of a very different social, economic, and political kind.

MacKenzie et al. (2012) and Holgate (2005) have emphasised UK migrant worker exploitation is more likely for those with a precarious legal status. But, in the Abu Dhabi context migrant workers maintain a ‘stable’ legal status, and yet still this exploitation manifests. This leads me to the conclusion that the exploitation of migrant workers along the Asia to Abu Dhabi cannot be explained by their legal status alone. That said, there is certainly a relationship between low job security and accepting certain conditions the one might otherwise not accept. This is consistent with Thompson et al., (2012) that the

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213 Noted that some would differentiate CMS from LPT, but my notion of CMS was a flexible and broad notion in the first place, with less interest in sub-field identity politics.
threat of losing one’s job can have the effect of reducing worker resistance to the kinds of management techniques that they suffer. But, diverging from Thompson’s call for focus on the employer-employee relationship in LPT, there is far more to migrant worker management from other actors other than the employer. The structuring of minds, bodies, and lives goes far wider than the employment relationship. That is to say, the management of workers is not something that can be accounted for through the narrow study of employers, managers, workers and workplace relations (such as from studies like, Barker, 1993). Thompson and Ackroyd argued that Foucault does not provide “a better alternative to accounts of workplace relations” (1985:625) but, this study showed that to understand the management of the migrant worker, it was fruitful to step outside the employment relationship to get a better understanding of their management. Therefore, the evidence in the preceding chapters pointed to an extensive array of actors that have a stake in the making and managing of migrant workers, and within CMS, we should be wary of explanations from such a narrow analysis.

The work of Forde et al., (2015) and Anderson (2010) has already implicated recruitment agencies and government policy/regulations in the process of shaping the subjectivity of migrants into flexible and reliable workers. This was in the following ways. First, the discourse of oversupply and precarity of their working arrangements in temporary agencies ‘led’ to self-disciplined and docile workers. Second, the acknowledgment by the worker (under a work permit) and their dependence on the employer, not solely for the job but also for residency may cause the worker to self-police to ensure their behaviour matches the expected behaviour of the employer. Much of the existing research is geographically bound solely to the destination country where the migrant works, hence both Forde et al. (2015) and Anderson (2010) focus only on ‘strategies’ that were situated and operate within the same country as the employer. By contrast, I was interested in my expanding the geographic area of my research to see if there was a ‘fashioning’ of workers beyond recruiters and receiving country governments. In chapters Five and Seven, I showed that migrant workers along the Asia to Abu Dhabi migration corridor are positioned as certain kinds of worker subject by family, government agencies, NGOs, and ‘orientation’ training
companies. Chapter Five showed how the labour-sending governments and family construct the migrant worker as a responsible national hero and investor, and that the training companies reinforce this construction of an adaptable, knowledgeable, and docile worker. Upon the workers arrival to Abu Dhabi, this process of positioning individuals into docile subject positions continued through on-boarding orientations by employers and through the delivery of their uniform. And, from Chapter Six, we saw evidence that migrant workers were not treated as acting subjects, instead they are regulated subjects – that is they are categorised, divided, positioned, and observed in Abu Dhabi society.

From the perspective of the employers and other intermediaries my review of the literature highlighted that employers may attempt to make the most out of the docile migrant worker and structural inequalities to force individuals into potential situations of exploitation for their effective consumption of life and energy (Turner, 2010, MacKenzie & Forde, 2009; Toledo, 2013 Holgate, 2005; Stevens, Hussein, & Manthorpe, 2011; McGeehan, 2012.). What is clear is that this is not a simple ‘fashioning’ of a certain kind of worker to be exploited at work (MacKenzie et al., 2012; Holgate, 2005), but rather that the Carceral Net spreads wider than work into the very space, time and resources for life. More specifically, the employer and/or camp management company have encroached into the business of the management of ‘life’.

In other work on migrants, Wickham et al. (2009) argued that workers accept and perhaps choose exploited subject positions. While this study certainly suggests that while workers largely consent to their status and subject position of the heroic income provider more research is required to understand how much migrant workers know of their future conditions and therefore if they “choose” to be exploited as Wickham et al. argues. The workers in this study had quite variable levels of knowledge about their future lives as migrant workers. Workers are largely constrained to work and living in a manner that serves the broader interests that surround biopower – be that docility, safety and security, development etc. Their apparent contentment is an indication of the effectiveness of their subjectification.
The notion of the emergence of X-family in the lives of migrant workers is a unique contribution to how we can think about the management of the lives of migrant workers. X-family forms a part of the management of migrant workers daily lives by providing social, emotional, and economic support; but on occasion it was also a disciplinary instrument that helps keep migrant workers ‘on the straight and narrow’.

**Disciplinary Power and the Management of the Low-income Migrant Worker**

The techniques of disciplinary power: dividing practices; classification; subjectification; and surveillance provided the theoretical and conceptual basis for this thesis. These techniques of disciplinary power were found to be spread across a wide geographical scale with participation up and down from a myriad of institutions and actors in a wider diagram of power that I called the ‘Carceral Net’. To advance our understanding of the management of the lives of the low-income migrant worker, I felt it was necessary to break the theorisation of discipline outside the boundaries of the single organisation (e.g. Clegg et al., 2002; Weiskopf & Munro, 2011; Munro, 2011; Fleming, 2014). The question became, how far these techniques extend across the management of the lives of the migrant worker?

Scientific classification as seen briefly in Chapter Six did surface with numerous actors from governments, universities, NGOs, camp management and employing organisations implicated into knowledge that surrounds the ‘migrant worker’. The migrant worker was evident as an object of knowledge across numerous institutions and the feedback mechanisms from this, enter into the changing shape of the Carceral Net. These categorisations undertake performative and constitutive roles, and the results enter into the unfolding game of international labour management. From wherever the source, these monitoring and research results are entangled in the process of establishing the normal and the abnormal individual, where the abnormal are disciplined or discarded. As outlined in Chapter Two, dividing practices are intricately related in a circular fashion to the classification. The empirical evidence
from Chapters Six pointed to extensive use of dividing practices both from the governments and organisations that manage migration or migrant workers, and the migrant workers themselves. The spatial management of workers in labour camps through camp placement, camp design, room allocation and uniforms are tactics used in the process of separating individuals and groups of one classification or another, e.g. labourers from Locals; males from families, Indians from Pakistanis etc. As Foucault (1977) discusses, these dividing practices are fundamental to turn the individual into an object of knowledge to measure statistics and performance measures in the first place, but, we can conclude that dividing practices are a vital technique for the Abu Dhabi policy of keeping low-income migrant and national populations apart to maintain security and attempt to maintain a secure an ongoing sense of national identity.

Theoretically, surveillance is intricately related in a circular fashion to the classification and dividing practices, i.e. first divide, then observe, and classify then again re-divide, re-observe and re-classify. Dividing practices only offers the opportunity for observation, but as I showed in the preceding chapters that surveillance is significant in the lives of the low-income migrant worker. Workers are made visible by spatial dividing practices and their ‘branding’ of their bodies with the use of the uniform. From this visibility, employers, police, camp managers and others (e.g. security companies) can put in place their monitoring programmes, the cameras, HR spies, the electronic cards (identity cards, labour cards, access cards) and tracking systems keep a close eye on the distributions of operating around the norm. Those that enter the ‘abnormal’ category are dealt with, and this is normally in the juridical sense (e.g. fine, firing and possibly deportation). As a rule, the ‘abnormal’ are discarded, rather than put under further observation. This surveillance is aimed at the level of larger groups and populations and not individuals. But, the research found that familial surveillance was also in operation. Family largely ignored the notion of X-family (or did not know of its existence), but there were cases (from Chapter

214 In the prison, a poor behaving prisoner will not be discarded “outside” into society but a worker may be simply discarded “outside” to their origin country.
Seven) where the family brought in the State, other family members or used technology when remittances and relations were in jeopardy.

Chapters Five and Seven showed how the practices of subjectification (by the self or others) is a crucial element in the making and managing of migrant workers. The evidence pointed to individuals turning themselves into a ‘migrant worker’ in pre-migration decisions and ongoing management of the self. In pre-migration, there was evidence that workers chose the path of their parents or consented to the duty and responsibility imposed on them. Of course, this is not achieved in isolation, as the family, State, NGOs and individuals are mutually constitutive of each other. There are so few examples of mass demonstration, strikes and walkouts etc. suggests that that workers actively consent to their place and their subjugation in society. They certainly accepted the ‘norms’ of X-family, despite the conflicts it poses them and their view of the moral economy and family (e.g. MW4’s Burning Angel). Finally, despite what little free time the worker had in their schedule, they would often fill it with additional work, overtime, or part-time jobs etc. This perhaps demonstrates how self-disciplined the low-income migrant worker can be.

The Carceral Net operates across numerous points across the Asia to Abu Dhabi migration corridor and it has as one of its effects – the production of the productive, docile and civilised migrant worker. Abu Dhabi employers are interested in both the arrival of a productive subject, but also a docile one. Abu Dhabi’s Government is key in the defining who is medically ‘fit’ to migrate, e.g. including demographics such as acceptable age ranges to migrate but this exists in tension with other elements of the Carceral Net. But, when workers become ‘unfit for purpose’ they will be returned. This can be a State decision (e.g. to deport a person because of their particular nationality, particular age, or if the worker broke the law) or it can be an employer decision (e.g. downturn in economy, of if the worker broke organisational rules etc.) Migrant workers are made, hyper-managed and then discarded in the process of consumption.
of labour and life. Returning migrants are then ‘picked up’ by the sending labour country and their family, left to deal with the wear and tear and problems of their reintegration.

Conceptually, this research argues that the techniques of disciplinary power now span much larger distances than the single enclosed space, be that the prison, the society or a country. Because sending and receiving labour countries have different ‘strategic objectives’, the aims behind the techniques of disciplinary power throughout the Carceral Net can be in tension or opposition. For example, sending nation’s subjectification attempts at the construction of the ‘enterprising overseas worker’ versus Abu Dhabi’s attempts at the construction of the ‘docile worker’. The disciplinary apparatus’s collective aim is to make a migrant worker with the right balance of financial literacy, adaptability, and stoicism that will put the family organisation before their own needs. One reading of family is that it is the producer of ‘wholesome’, educated, financially savvy, healthy, docile, and productive subjects that are being constructed for deployment locally and into the global labour supply chain. Family (just as X-family) can be read as an effect, and a disciplinary instrument of the State, and a power over the future life of migrant workers. However, it is not a total disciplinary system, it is rather a more piecemeal disciplinary 'system' – partially in evidence and partially supported by other technologies of power.

The techniques of disciplinary power (from surveillance to normalisation) are therefore supported by and in tension with other contemporary technologies of power that both extend or constrain its disciplinary reach and efficiency. However, I argue that they are also made more effective when combined with the sovereign force lurking behind the abnormal, i.e. ‘not-so-docile-worker’. This sovereign force took micro-forms such as an employer fining a worker, or macro-forms such as the State deporting groups of workers. These contemporary configurations of the techniques of disciplinary power highlight the importance of continuing to look at the disciplinary power in contemporary places, periods, and contexts. The indirect implication (of this dispersed ‘hyper-management’ of the low-income migrant worker) is that 40 years after Foucault disciplinary power is an important element in the power over life.
But, this thesis also shows how the disciplinary techniques are juxtaposed with other conceptualisations of power. The need to write-off the disciplinary in search for a post-disciplinary research in CMS is not a correct standpoint. Instead, being sensitive to new diagrams of power as a combination of different elements that work in unison and tension across a non-contiguous geographical space is a more fruitful line of enquiry.

This thesis has documented how the Carceral Net encroaches on the time, space, and energy of the individual through, in part, the deployment of a comprehensive set of disciplinary techniques from a wide set of actors and institutions. Essentially, migrant workers are ‘made’ for consumption and then consumed. This might just be the pessimistic and negative outcomes from research that focuses on disciplinary power that Fraser (2003) and Barratt (2003) argue against. But from my position as a critical researcher, it remains crucial to explain the workings of the low-income migrant workers internment as a counter reading to the many benefits of migrant worker management.

In order to open up spaces theoretically to think about the workers “struggle” against power, Fleming and Spicer (2007) depicted the “Prison”, the “Playground” and the “Parliament” as three ways for understanding organisations. For these authors, if “…we live in a universal prison of organisational domination” then “escape is very difficult.” (2007:4). There was a small amount of evidence of the “playground” from Chapter Seven on X-family. I was hard pressed to find evidence of the “parliament”, in which “actors” struggle every day to have their voice heard. However, while we might admire the optimism of Fleming and Spicer (2007), it is my argument that it is very difficult for the migrant worker to escape their making and hyper-management by employers, family, and the State. The metaphor of the “prison”, it seems, is presently the best fit to describe the tight management of the lives of low-income migrant workers. But, this is a “prison” that spreads very large geographical areas and can be seen at multiples of registers across the Carceral Net, and the X-family, in a sense, supports the disciplinary regime (in its stable forms) and sometimes undermines it (when a migrant worker is ‘forced’ to return
to his home after x-family life becomes common knowledge\textsuperscript{215}). Low-income migrant workers find themselves under the constant gaze of the Carceral Net that can be read as an assemblage of many technologies of power. In this study, the set up for the low-income migrant worker is distinctly disciplinary in the attempts to divide the Emirate into spaces for Locals, spaces for affluent migrants, and spaces for low-income migrants, spaces for women and men etc. but it is supported by other technologies of power.

While one cannot argue that sovereign power, wealth, and discipline are somehow separate in the fabric of daily life (e.g. if migrants had wealth and opportunity in their own country they would not migrate) this research has not been a search for the causes of migration. For me, the migrant worker and migration are causes and effects, constitutive and constituted. Docility is made and managed giving the perception of less force and less direct power is used over workers. The changes (reflected above in the dismantling of the \textit{Kafala} system) from a sovereign conception of power to a disciplinary apparatus power mimics the Foucauldian claims (1977/1978). These he put down to the inefficiencies (costs of injustices, reputation etc.) of the sovereign apparatus. The making of migrant workers (in its current forms) was not the case in the 1960-70s. It was since that time that receiving labour countries began to work with sending labour countries to design and over the years modify these new programmes. But, as Foucault demonstrated in his analysis of differences between managing disease (lepers, plague, and smallpox) the free flow of disciplined subjects in a certain mentality is even more efficient (Foucault, 2003) and more acceptable in liberal contexts. That said, rather than any complete devolving to the disciplinary apparatus, the sovereign right of expulsion and deportation remains in place, i.e. if the worker transgresses the norm, then they risk exile.

\footnote{\textsuperscript{215} I’m referring to the cases where spouses find out and object to x-family partners and living arrangements. Juan and Zuis were both such cases.}
The findings from this thesis are not in-line with Bauman (2000) and Fraser (2003) who have argued that disciplinary power is dated or dead in the contemporary fluid world. It might be the view shared by many in CMS is that the contemporary Western or Global organisation is under a new regime of control. Munro (2000), mimicking Deleuze’s 1992 argument, claimed that the network society has moved from disciplinary enclosures to open spaces; that the body is ‘motile’ not ‘docile’; that time is global ‘real-time’ not scheduled, and workers span connected nodes not confined to cells. The findings from this study, at best, only partially support Munro’s thesis. Despite the calls from those in CMS (Weiskopf & Munro, 2011) for post-disciplinary theorisation in management216, this thesis shows that it is indeed still a relevant and important area for productive critical analysis. Moreover, this research contributes to address the observation that CMS theoretical works on disciplinary power vastly outnumbered empirical work (Huber and Brown, 2017). The adoption of Foucault’s conception of disciplinary power as the conceptual basis for study proved to be a relevant analytical toolbox for examining the management of the lives of low-income migrant workers. In chapter three Longva (1997) argued how the migrant worker experiences a ‘politics of exclusion’. This is only possible through the process of dividing practices i.e. as one becomes a member of one category or another (e.g. a local versus a migrant worker). This results in certain benefits to the privileged group, and certain costs to the less-privileged group. While my research builds on Longva’s work; it also shows that it is not solely a matter of inclusive and exclusive groups, but that the technology of disciplinary power is part of a larger diagram of power where elements may at the same time mutually support or contradict each other (e.g. the different aims of NGOs, versus sending and receiving labour governments). The Carceral Net demonstrates that it is not an either/or question of power, but instead, a diagram of power can be assembled with many elements. For example, the low-income migrant worker is under surveillance that is both central (panoptic) and multiple (panspectronic, as Munro (2000) describes217). That is to say, that surveillance can be seen as central in

216 I’m not arguing that this view is universal, Huber and Brown’s (2017) shows this is not the case in their paper on Identity Work, Humour and Disciplinary Power.
217 This term panspecton was coined by Manuel DeLanda in his book War in the Age of Intelligent Machines (1991)
the design of the labour camp, but it is also built up from a multiple of surveillance ‘sensors’ be that cameras, other workers, or big data (e.g. mobile phone usage) Upon exception from the norm, the migrant worker is subject to sovereign diagram type punishments, e.g. deportation and exile.

Foucault (2009) argued that technologies and techniques of power can evolve into new forms and configurations in different times and spaces. Following on from the review of technologies of power, I include below in Table 8.2 a diagram of power of the Carceral Net, but it is not definitive and it continuously evolves (as do the individual trajectories of technologies within). These elements included in the table are not meant to be properties of some permanent structure, but strategies between relations, “and its effects cannot be attributed to an appropriation ‘but to dispositions, manoeuvres, tactics, techniques, functionings’; ‘it is exercised rather than possessed; it is not the “privilege”, acquired or preserved, of the dominant class, but the overall effect of its strategic positions.’ (Deleuze, 1986:25) This is a configuration that is not entirely disciplinary, as was highlighted above in the use of deportation; or as in Chapter Seven, where the X-family cannot be explained using the techniques of disciplinary power.

In other words, the diagram of power changes and adapts (Deleuze, 1986).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Technologies of Power’s known features</th>
<th>Sovereign</th>
<th>Social/Juridical</th>
<th>Disciplinary</th>
<th>Biopower</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Leper</td>
<td>Plague</td>
<td>Constraining</td>
<td>Constraining and Productive</td>
<td>Small Pox</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Repressive</td>
<td>Constraining</td>
<td>Constraining and Productive</td>
<td>Flows</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Body</td>
<td>Capacities</td>
<td>Body</td>
<td>Milieu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prevention</td>
<td>Objectification Normalisation</td>
<td>Governance through ‘Freedom’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prohibition Seizure Exile Death</td>
<td>Prevention</td>
<td>Objectification Normalisation</td>
<td>Governance through ‘Freedom’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Desired Migrant Worker</th>
<th>Servant</th>
<th>Law abider</th>
<th>Sending country: enterprising responsible worker</th>
<th>‘Motile’ Worker (Munro)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Servant</td>
<td>Law abider</td>
<td>Sending country: enterprising responsible worker</td>
<td>‘Motile’ Worker (Munro)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father, Mother and in some countries</td>
<td>Blockage on destination countries, role and genders</td>
<td>Experts Training Examination</td>
<td>Multi-generational and chain migration</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 8.2 – Diagram of Power of the Carceral Net

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subjugated: Location and movement</th>
<th>Sending country exit certificates</th>
<th>Dividing Practices  - Camp location  - Camp Design  - Room Allocation  Surveillance Uniform</th>
<th>Surveillance: video Skype, IT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Observation: An object of knowledge</td>
<td>Norms</td>
<td>Orientations  - Norms</td>
<td>Cacophony of Experts  - A norm of norms GPS trackers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Limit (that can result in deportation)</td>
<td>Sheikh  - Judge  - Contracts  - Breaking laws</td>
<td>Breaking Norms at the level of camps, employers, and in society.</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tying workers potentially to poor living and working conditions</td>
<td>Debt servitude incurred during recruitment and migration and accrued at the level of family or extended family.</td>
<td>Duty Responsibility  - Norms  - Consent</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blockages to improve conditions of MWs life</td>
<td>Barriers to setting up support groups  - Owning businesses  - Owning property  - Having a Driver’s license  - Part-time work</td>
<td>Time Energy Access (spatial distances and credential gap)</td>
<td>Now, workers may change jobs without the employer’s consent, but subject to conditions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resistance to Power</td>
<td>Protected by social/juridical</td>
<td>The worker has no right to labour strike or form a union.  - X-family  - Not sending remittances.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I’m not arguing that *Kafala system* is dead (To get caught in the periodising of techniques and technologies of power is to fall into the same criticism I’ve made of some in CMS, that is to call for the post-such and such a diagram of power.), but, that in this setting along the Asian-Abu Dhabi migration corridor it is presently less theoretically relevant. Instead, I am arguing that we need to be constantly

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218 Table generated and adapted from Knights (2002) and Nealon (2008)
aware of and explore new diagrams of power, one diagram (from this research) that has the *Kafala* juxtaposed with the disciplinary apparatus along with other technologies of power. In this diagram of power, the workers’ lives, to an extent, are sacrificed for the good of the family in the sending nation from where they came. Their gratification to enjoy the fruits of one’s labour (outside stoic pride) is delayed, in some cases, for many years. And, the chances of gaining more credentials to move up the job/career ladder are severely limited for workers; therefore, the result is that many remain stuck in a social and economic position that is difficult to escape\(^\text{219}\). Sadly, from lack of economic mobility, it may result in a migrant worker who may return home with his/her most productive labour years behind him or her, only to find that he or she is to be dependent on the family that he/she financed for many years.

### 8.4 Reflections on Critical Ethnography

In this section, I will take the opportunity to share my thoughts on the adoption of critical ethnography. High levels of immersion is a key element of ‘good’ ethnographic research; but often this immersion is left to how one is immersed in the empirical field. But this reduced focus on the field (Ybema & Kamsteeg, 2009; Gill & Johnson, 2010) is quite misleading for the part-time researcher. To reflect on methodology (in terms of empirics) solely would be misnomer. For me, immersion and struggle was less about ‘the empirical field’ and more about the ‘academic field’ i.e. aspects of the process including academic disciplines of research and writing. This has been a constant and at time frustrating wrestling with the process, the norms, and the academic discipline. To say that this struggle has not had a role or an impact on the research would be a severe understatement. There are many examples of these struggles\(^\text{220}\).

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\(^{219}\) This is not impossible, only very difficult. One worker got an online IT degrees from the USA. He filled petrol tanks by day and studied by night. He returned to Philippines, obtained some experience before returning to Abu Dhabi on 10 times his petrol filling salary.

\(^{220}\) I’m not trying to suggest there are not these struggles felt by full-time researchers, but that their immersion in academia over the whole PhD period might be a more efficient enculturation.
First, I had set about doing this research assuming that CMS should care about it; and this resulted in less than convincing early chapters on the need for research. I had set about working with Foucault in a very broad sense of governmentality alongside discipline that resulted in a thin theoretical standpoint to undertake research (acknowledged in June 2016). I had dismissed many CMS authors because of the lack of GCC based research on migrant workers and initially put all my effort in Migration Studies that I could easily relate to. However, this resulted in early work that could have been in another department of the university, and not the business school.

Second, it took me a few years to come to accept that I was not doing a Foucauldian study, but an ethnographic one. Moreover, I had not taken the time early on to get to grip with the various schools of ethnography, instead, I thought I would just live it; following Longva (1997) I settled on this approach called participant-living ethnography where observation was a function of living as a participant in the same country as the low-income migrant workers. Fortunately, Van Maanen (1988 and 2010) and Madison (2005) provided me with the tools to understand critical ethnography, both its place in a larger field, but it’s alignment to interests of CMS, that is the unsettling of “both neutrality and taken-for-granted assumptions by bringing to light underlying and obscure operations of power and control.” (Madison, 2005:5)”. The reality is that I threw myself into fieldwork far too early. My justification related to the threat of losing my job (under Emiratisation) and losing access. The threat was real and Emiratisation was always lurking around the corner. At the time, I was one of 10 migrant workers in my department, and as of today (2018) I am the last migrant worker employed.

Third, the empirics were the least of my struggles. In fact, early papers on the Uniform, X-Family and Labour Camps remained fairly consistent since 2014, but I took a long time to reach the required clarity of thought for a cohesive thesis, in particular on the conceptual basis and my research’s relevance to management itself.
Finally, writing has never been a skill of mine. Early writing hid behind the polemics and the drama of what I believe I was seeing. On one hand, I arguably wasted an entire year writing the first draft of the thesis in 2016, only to have it (and for a time, myself) destroyed in the annual review process. On the other hand, it can be read as a costly lesson learned in academic humbleness and reining in ones delusions of grandeur. I would argue that this journey has had a positive material effect on the research, and the researcher. In hindsight, it would be easy to say, “If I began the project all over again, I would execute it very differently”. However, these lessons are perhaps indicative of the open ended exploratory ethnographic experience of the part-time researcher, besides they are extremely valuable and will shape future projects.

The nature of doing critical research in the GCC countries remains a very risky endeavour. For future visiting researchers’ hopeful of critical inquiry on the management of low-income migrant workers, they have few options at their disposal. First, there is fully overt and approved research, but this will remain extremely unlikely. If the researcher is a non-academic resident then, I’d recommend following the same semi-covert and low key approach works best. Fully covert is of course possible, but how a researcher would obtain access into the ‘private’ lives of the migrant workers would be difficult. If the researcher is from an Asian or African country with local language capability, then a fully covert and full participant-observation approach would be possible. The combined multi-sited ethnography approach of Marcus (1995) and Feldman (2012) was very productive when trying to consider management as power, over non-contiguous space and time. Without it, I could have never made the connections and found the fissures in the general discourse on Asia to GCC migration. But it comes with inherent risk of the research text appearing too thin for many academics. This, notion of the “thin” remains an enigma to be further explored, to me breath is depth but pivoted on its axis.

Finally, I have thought long and hard about whether the following points were somehow related. First, on that day in 2006 when I mistook the migrant worker bus as a prison bus. Second, alongside the later
study of Foucault’s book on a history of the Prison, and third, my analysis that describes the migrant worker living under a Carceral Net. Was I predestined to see a prisoner’s life for the low-income migrant worker? To an extent, but methodologically, I took precautions and I was always open for the empirical site to push back against the theoretical perspective. And, to an extent it did where as seen in my analysis of X-family not being particularly disciplinary and my final recognition of a much wider diagram of power in the management of the lives of migrant workers, that includes many elements and technologies. Moreover, while I did not sign up to the CMS emancipatory argument, I end up considering that the low-income migrant worker should be emancipated from the Carceral Net, that is to say, it is abhorrent to me that one can be prevented from improving the conditions of one’s own very existence.

8.5 Limitations

There are limitations to any research endeavour, including this one. The multi-sited, part-time nature and precarity of researching this subject in Abu Dhabi (as discussed in 8.4) ‘forced’ my hand to make many practical considerations. This led to the limitation of what a ‘breadth’ methodology entails, that is opportunistic, often random and semi-covert ethnographic moments that I have tied together to form this thesis. The study may have benefitted from a more overt approval by either companies or government officials. In this case, I could have had the opportunity to explore more situations and in further depth, for example: intergovernmental collaborations or more time in labour camps. That said, from a critical standpoint, I’m unsure if this would ever be possible in the current social, cultural, and political situation.

The theoretical focus of this study was concerned with the techniques of disciplinary power. In the approach I took, there were aspects of subjectification (i.e. subjecting the self) that I could not manage to explore sufficiently without the opportunity to live alongside workers. This was in part a problem of access, time, but even more so, the problem of language. My lack of access to migrant workers’ own languages risked our misunderstanding each other. For instance, MW1 frequently referred to his Kafeel as his owner, but his understanding of ownership and own may not have matched my own. Inevitably
limits to time, finance, and access are critical factors in what can be attempted. Ideally, further investigations could consider multiple researchers that have native language capability and access. A further limitation of this study concerns the fact that I ‘rushed’ to get into the fieldwork well before I had settled on a conceptual basis. Nevertheless, it could be argued that the study benefited from this conceptual ‘flexibility’ and demonstrated my willingness to reformulate research focus as the project unfolded, a principle feature of a feature of inductive ethnographic research (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007).

One potential limitation of my work is that it can be criticised as “Eurocentric” for working with the conceptual basis of disciplinary power. As much as I argue for CMS to step outside of their Western centric global south to global north migrant worker studies, my theoretical interest is distinctly Western. This would remain a criticism even in the case of adopting other principle theorists’ conceptualisations of power: be that Marxist (class), Bourdieu (symbolic power) or Baudrillard (simulacra), therefore a turn to a more “grounded” theory is an open opportunity, not that I can yet conceive how one could unpack power in a grounded fashion without being theoretically informed in some way.

8.6 New Research Directions

Asia to Gulf migration (at the time of writing) is the third largest movement of migrant workers in the world and therefore remains an important site of investigation, in particular as we take into account that these countries maintain very different social, cultural and political configurations that could have a significant impact on the ‘kind of’ management involved. Fleming and Spicer (2007:108) have argued that space, life and labour are less integrated in contemporary times when compared to the times of the artisan, where the workshop, the home and the family functioned in the same space. This study shows evidence of the further separation between low-income workers and their family; the temporal deprivation of living from long work days; life under intensive surveillance, visibility and invisibility in
the camp design; spatial deprivation, and their living in rule bound micro-spaces. But, there remain many interesting avenues of research that could build on my work here.

For instance, I only scratched the surface of self-disciplining of migrant workers, therefore more attention could be paid to (self) subjectification of low-income migrants both disciplinary and neoliberal governmentality. This would require living and working in close quarters with migrant workers. From another angle, there seems (to me at least) to be so little visible resistance from migrant workers to their exploitation, therefore studies into other forms of mobilisation that I may not have picked up on could be beneficial. Another fruitful area might be in comparing the Asia-Abu Dhabi migration corridor with say another GCC country or Asian country, e.g. Thailand. There too could be very specific studies on managers of migrant workers (e.g. an HR manager) where roles can be quite different from Global North based manager studies or my work on family could be strengthened by an ethnographer who is based in Asia rather than in the GCC. These kinds of studies would provide further dimensions of a complex story.

Lastly, Foucault (1977/1978) posed disciplinary power and biopower within the same economy of power relations where the disciplinary pole centred on the individual body, and biopower on the “species” in an overall biopolitics of the population. Biopower can be read as the broader manifestation of disciplining the social body at the level of society. In this study, the techniques of disciplinary power took analytical priority in relation to the management of migrant populations, however, while migrant workers are individual bodies, but they also form multiples of social bodies as migrant worker populations. Biopower (later transposed to neoliberal governmentality) could be an additional dimension for future research. Biopower and neoliberal governmentality remain important concepts as they may provide some indications of the ‘motives’ implicit in the thousands of daily struggles within the Carceral Net. CMS scholars have theorised with biopower (see Clegg et al., 2002; Weiskopf & Munro, 2011; Munro, 2011; Fleming, 2014). These authors argue that the contemporary worker has become a
competitive ‘enterprise’ within many enterprises (e.g. sections, departments, business units and the firm) within a market of human capital. Their theorising and reframing HRM is provocative, however, in the context of Asia to Gulf Migration Corridor, the testing of these neoliberal arguments are opportunities for future enquiry.
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APPENDIX A - GRADATIONS OF MIGRANT WORKER CATEGORIES

The below gradations are in reality not clear. Take the term ‘skill’ in low-skilled worker, often this assignment to a worker is more dependent on how institutions frame an individual as opposed to the facts for the worker i.e. the work may be low skilled, but the individual may have university or professional qualifications.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gradations</th>
<th>Common attributes (not exhaustive)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Undocumented (illegal) migrant workers:</td>
<td>Often missing their identity papers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No access to medical</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Can be unemployed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Often employed unofficially - day labourers, sex workers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Often the most vulnerable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>May live rough</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low-income migrant workers</td>
<td>Sponsored by local Arab for a fee - no job supplied or,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sponsored by company with job supplied</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Longer working hours e.g. 7am-7pm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Crowded living conditions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Often with heavy burdens and family responsibilities.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Males/females often live in gendered/industrial spaces</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Household workers may experience separation and isolation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The majority of migrants are in the low-skilled strata performing 3-D jobs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>They are sourced from South Asia and are paid monthly between AED 600 and AED 2,000.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Employers are required to give workers health insurance.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Often referred to as temporary contractors, guest workers, or the lower class.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Uniformed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Skilled migrant workers                                      | In healthcare (e.g. Indian doctors), business owners, entertainment industry  
Live throughout the city freely  
Can have their families living with them  
Migrants are either soon leaving or plotting to leave at some point  
Middle class  
Sometimes uniformed |
|--------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Highly-skilled migrant workers                               | May be MNC or SIE migrants (under protection of government or company)  
Relatively freely moves between companies and work  
Full healthcare  
Live where ever he/she chooses - in villas, apartments and compounds.  
Lifestyles of high incomes, employment of low-skilled migrant  
Known as expatriate worker  
Upper middle class  
Not uniformed (well excluding the abstract uniform of wearing a suit) |
Figure – Remittances and FDI; Source Worldbank, 2016.
Figure - Inwards Remittance Against GDP
APPENDIX C – LAWS AND INSTITUTIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Labour laws/Policies/MOUs</th>
<th>Ratified ILO Convention</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Philippines</td>
<td>Migrant Workers and Overseas Filipino Act of 1995 (RA2042)&lt;br&gt;RA10022, Amended Act, 2010</td>
<td>Yes, 1993</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nepal</td>
<td>Foreign Employment Act, 2007&lt;br&gt;Foreign Employment Regulations 2064, 2007</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table – Sending Country Laws.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Organisation</th>
<th>Established</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bangladesh</td>
<td>BMET</td>
<td>1976</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sri Lanka</td>
<td>SLBFE</td>
<td>1985</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philippines</td>
<td>POEA&lt;br&gt;OWWA&lt;br&gt;NRCO</td>
<td>1982&lt;br&gt;1977&lt;br&gt;2009</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nepal</td>
<td>DOFE</td>
<td>2008</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table - Primary sending country institutions and year of establishment
MW3, a driver, 42 years old at the time of writing, and a Buddhist from Kandy, Sri Lanka. In 2009 he decided to take a loan from his sister to get work in the Abu Dhabi. He is married to Damayanthi (also 42) and they have two children, a son 16 years; and a daughter 10 years. Both children are in private school, something that would not be possible on his driving income in Sri Lanka. He pays for school, food, some money for his mother, and some food for his wife’s brother who is not working. There is a lot of love in their family. His daughter adores her dad, and giggles almost whenever he talks. On the day I arrive to Sri Lanka to visit him in April 2014, his daughter calls him on the telephone crying thinking that he was returning to UAE. The day before he arrived, her Mum tells me that Hirania had all her clothes ironed and ready to collect her Dad from the airport. Emotion wells up inside when getting close to these loving family encounters. MW3 and I have known each other for many years since MW3 was our regular taxi driver in Abu Dhabi from 2010. MW3 worked for the Tawasul taxi company since 2009 until 2014 when he changed to work for as a private driver for a company in Dubai. He still works for this company and returns home every year. MW3 epitomises the selfless worker who has put his family’s needs over his own for many years.

MW4 (Philippines)

MW4, a “tea boy and messenger”, 30 years old at the time of writing, and a Catholic from Mindoro, Philippines. MW3 first migrated to Abu Dhabi in 2012, with the financial help of his sister who lived in the UK. He is married to Nikki and they have a son 5 years. Nikki is a sales rep for a Pharmaceutical company, maintains a good salary and company car. MW4 says his migration was to improve his earning potential. He is very close to his son, who during my visits never left his side except when reluctantly he had to go to school. MW4, works for Abu Dhabi National hotels and says we was conned into joining the company through the promise of working at the Emirate Palace as a fine dining waiter. However, since 2012 he has been placed in various governmental clients as a “tea boy”, including the Environmental Agency, Abu Dhabi where I met him. He was very popular there, until his physical
altercation with another worker led to his removal from this customer site and the loss of 30% wages paid extra for workers at governmental sites. Since 2014, he has worked as a messenger at Masdar. MW4, contributed much to the Chapter on x-family through opening up his accommodation, his life, and our visit to the Philippines together. He is a basketball fan, likes to drink, to enjoy life, and he buys nice clothes and kicks when he can afford them. At the end of his last contract, he had returned to the Philippines to do a training course run by the Philippine government training organisation – TESDA. He graduated after 70 hours as an Autocad operator. He now is looking for work in Philippines, but feels that his future is somewhere outside of the Philippines. Now, one year since his return to the Philippines, MW4 found work locally, but again resigned and is returning as a butler, for a Qatari, Military Attaché.

MW9 (Philippines)

MW9, a Lulu’s cashier, 26 years old at the time of writing, and a Catholic from Papangas, Philippines. MW9 fell pregnant in 2010 and dropped out of university to take care of her daughter Khaye. MW9 first migrated to Abu Dhabi in 2013. She remains unmarried but since 2015 she resigned Lulu and returned to Philippines with her new boyfriend of an Arab nationality. Although we did not visit the Philippines together, she allowed me to visit her family and meet her daughter in 2014. Her mum was a migrant worker throughout MW9’s childhood in Hong Kong so MW9 was brought up by her father and grandparents, and one generation on her mother now repeats the cycle. We met in 2013 while I was researching sporting activities of Filipinos, namely basketball after midnight. MW9, was very helpful in sharing experiences and images of her life in a ladies’ only company camp, and her estrangement from her daughter. She attempted as much as possible to enjoy life but never at the expense of her daughter’s needs. In 2016 she returned to Philippines with an Arab partner. They married and since then we have ‘lost’ contact so, I am not able to provide an up to date status.

MW1 (Bangladesh)

MW1 whose story I opened the thesis is a Muslim and a citizen of Bangladesh who migrated to Al Ain, Abu Dhabi at the end of October 2009 in search of a better life. He paid approximately AED 10,000 in
recruitment fees purchased effectively through an auction system (that would take him more than six months of 100% of his salary to pay back, so in reality took much longer). This migration was funded through his father’s sister and selling some land. His goal was to bring happiness to him and his wife, young son and daughter; his unmarried sister; his brother who is effectively blind; and support his mother, and his sick father. MW1 and I met quite by chance as I was researching a site known as “Bengali corner” where men from Bangladesh congregate on Fridays to socialize, eat, and chew paan. MW1 spent seven years working as a driver under his domestic employer (known as the Kafeel in Arabic meaning sponsor in English) returning home to Bangladesh every two years. Since his father’s passing in 2014 MW1 repeatedly complained to his boss of not having enough salary, set at AED 1,600 per month. Since that time, he saw an increased level of financial responsibility that stressed him terribly. So, he demanded to be released or given a pay increase. His sponsor, complained to police that he stole from them. He was jailed and deported, and marked with a ban from re-entering the UAE. Since July 2016, he obtained a new driver job in Qatar, again for a private employer. At the time of writing this chapter, it is 2018, and MW1 (the case that we opened the thesis Ch 1. P14.) has returned to work. He is currently banned from working in the UAE. When he was deported to Bangladesh, he found no work that would allow him to keep his family in the manner that they were accustomed. Besides, his familial responsibility has grown given his 90% blind brother has married and his wife has had twins. But, to get back to work he had to navigate once again the recruitment and migration process that is replete with asymmetrical power relations. To his disappointment, he once again felt he had to enter into the auction system ‘to be eligible’ to take the Qatar drivers job. He knew all too well that this was an illegal and corrupt practice, but, he tells me, “This is Bangladesh.” He asked me to fund him a 10,000USD loan, to which I refused. I did, however, recommend him to video record all of these illegal transactions, in the hope at least that once he had arrived in Qatar, he could claim through the Department of Foreign Employment. He did not do this. Since his return to work, he has found himself in worse circumstances. He works for a private individual; his salary is not covering his loans and his family’s daily needs. He recently went further into debt to pay for his mother’s two eye surgeries. Frequently, he pops me a
message on Microsoft Messenger. The last message (at the time writing) was to wish me a Happy Eid, the one before that – a request to help him understand the New Zealand migration requirements. He proclaims, “There must be someone you know that can help me?” I have not lived for any significant length of time (bar one year) in New Zealand since 1993. I know I have few contacts there. I tell him, I’ll have a look. Within Qatar, there are still strong connections to management through the *Kafala* system, e.g. any migrant must have the *Kafeel’s* permission to leave the country. So, MW1 seems to have it worse in Qatar than Abu Dhabi.

*MW10 (Nepal)*

MW10, a lube technician, 44 years old at the time of writing, and a Muslim from Katmandu, Nepal. MW10 first migrated to Abu Dhabi in 2001. He married with two sons (MW10, 18 and Anas 14) who along with his dedication as a Muslim takes up most of his time. His father was a successful business man, and in 2001 he decided to break away to the Gulf to work towards establishing his economic independence. His boys are in private school and his son MW10 earned an international scholarships to go to university in Michigan, USA. MW10 and I met quite by chance in 2013 when the oil light went on in my car on route to Al Ain, on the commute home. I decided to change the oil completely, and he serviced my car. MW10 has worked for ADNOC in 2001, originally as a petrol attendant but changed to a Lube agent as he was having some health problems with that difficult role outdoors in the summer heat. He always complained that he was conned into taking the role. He thought he was going to be in oil sales (as in crude oil) and when he arrived they took him to the labour camp, gave him an attendant uniform and said you’ll be serving customers petrol. He still works for this company and returns home every other year. We travelled together to Nepal in 2014.
APPENDIX E – 26 PROCEDURAL STEPS DOCUMENTED

I counted 26 procedural steps in the process of migration (summarised in below Figure), where at each step, the worker is ‘readied’ for the life that awaits them. Each step becomes a ‘gate’ with its own access code, a code based on the rules laid out by that institution, each with its own history.

![Figure - Summarised Recruitment and Migration Process]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>From Sending Nation</th>
<th>Rationale</th>
<th>Institution/Authority</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Connect to Job Demand</td>
<td>Directly with Recruiter, or via Sub-Agent, Government Portal, or perhaps as is becoming increasingly common via a friend of family contact.</td>
<td>Agent&lt;br&gt;Sub-Agent&lt;br&gt;Friend&lt;br&gt;Government Portal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provide Certificates: Birth, Education, Skills, Marriage</td>
<td>Identity, Age, Gov statistics, School, university, professional designations, driver’s license, Muslim certificates (if Muslim)</td>
<td>Origin National Gov.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Undergo Medical (1)</td>
<td>Given the costs of flights, visas etc. this is the time to cull out workers not ‘fit’ to work.</td>
<td>Approved Medical Centre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provide CV</td>
<td>Marketing of self to market.</td>
<td>Worker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Undergo Recruitment Examinations</td>
<td>Cull out workers who do not meet a min. Standard. May involve intelligence, skill, and strength tests.</td>
<td>Recruiter/Employer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Undergo Recruitment Interviews</td>
<td>Cull out workers who do not meet a min. Standard, will not cope with conditions</td>
<td>Recruiter/Employer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provide Passport</td>
<td>Access to travel. International identity, and permission to exit/entry another territory</td>
<td>Origin National Gov.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Undergo Pre-departure-orientation</td>
<td>Making the work, skills, language, place. Very much embodied experience for the migrant worker</td>
<td>Origin National Gov.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obtain Overseas Exit Certificate</td>
<td>Access to source country permission to leave country. Discursively constructed under the need for worker safety.</td>
<td>SA Gov</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sign Contract (1)</td>
<td>Letter of intent or official contract....</td>
<td>Recruiter/Employer</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**From Abu Dhabi**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Obtain Entry permit (28 days)</th>
<th>Paperwork that will allow entrance to UAE for further processing</th>
<th>MOI</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sign Contract (2)</td>
<td>Sometimes a second contract is provided and conditions changed</td>
<td>Employer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Undergo Medical (2)</td>
<td>Medical repeated for specific serious risks, AIDS, TB etc..</td>
<td>UAE Gov Medical Centre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obtain Police Certificate</td>
<td>Required for government posts. Finger printing required.</td>
<td>MOI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Undergo Security Clearance</td>
<td>Required for government posts.</td>
<td>MOI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provide Attestations and Translations of additional documents diplomas, marriage certificates</td>
<td>Confirm that relevant certificates are genuine.</td>
<td>SA Embassy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obtain Labour card/permit</td>
<td>Relevant authorities approval of your permission to work</td>
<td>MOL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apply Residence Visa</td>
<td>MOI approval of your permission to live in UAE for period of your contract</td>
<td>MOI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attend Post-arrival orientation training</td>
<td>Reinforcement of living in Abu Dhabi, but also initiation into company policies and regulations</td>
<td>Employer Sometimes from Sending country labour office</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obtain Emirates Identity card</td>
<td>Access to relevant governmental services, and ID card while in country.</td>
<td>EIA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obtain Medical Insurance card</td>
<td>Access to medical services</td>
<td>Insurer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obtain Bank (Debit) card - Ratibi</td>
<td>Access to ‘banking’ services</td>
<td>Banks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obtain Company office security card</td>
<td>Access to company locations</td>
<td>Employer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obtain Company accommodation security card</td>
<td>Access to company accommodation</td>
<td>Employer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obtain Company login to systems</td>
<td>Access to electronic systems (could be company or MOL)</td>
<td>Employer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Logins to communication systems</td>
<td>Access to communication</td>
<td>Worker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>End of contract</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clearance certificates to exit home country</td>
<td>Proof of next contract so that worker is eligible to leave home country again on the next cycle.</td>
<td>SA Gov</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Event Description</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>29/07/2019</td>
<td>Event 1</td>
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<td>08/08/2019</td>
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<td>11/08/2019</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>19/08/2019</td>
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<td>20/08/2019</td>
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<td>21/08/2019</td>
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<td>23/08/2019</td>
<td>Event 25</td>
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<tr>
<td>25/08/2019</td>
<td>Event 27</td>
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<tr>
<td>26/08/2019</td>
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<tr>
<td>27/08/2019</td>
<td>Event 29</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>28/08/2019</td>
<td>Event 30</td>
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<tr>
<td>29/08/2019</td>
<td>Event 31</td>
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<td>30/08/2019</td>
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<tr>
<td>31/08/2019</td>
<td>Event 33</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: The above table is a sample of the detailed interview schedule. Actual dates and events may vary.
## APPENDIX G - SUMMARY OF TECHNIQUES OF DISCIPLINARY POWER IN THE HYPER-MANAGEMENT OF WORKERS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dividing practices</th>
<th>Chapter 5</th>
<th>Chapter 6</th>
<th>Chapter 7 Family</th>
<th>Chapter 7 X-family</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Physical distribution (enclosure, partition, function and rank)</td>
<td>Camp Placement</td>
<td>Uniform</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Camp Design</td>
<td>Room Allocation</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Control of activity (division of time; elaboration of procedures; proscription of body and correct gesture; body and object definition; exhaustive productive use)</td>
<td>Camp Rules</td>
<td>PAO – gestures, skills, bodily training, uniform</td>
<td>Skype calls schedules. Brave/Interested faces.</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Room Rules</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organisation of genesis (regulate activities: dividing time; putting time into series; conducting examinations of competency levels)</td>
<td>PEO, PDO, and PAO – competencies, exams</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Composition of forces (resulting arrangement of groups of individual bodies; productive; machine metaphor)</td>
<td>PAO – Uneducated to Docile Worker</td>
<td>PEO – Citizen to Heroic Foreign workers</td>
<td>Migration Itself</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Docile Worker</td>
<td>UN</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Classification</td>
<td>Constituting individuals in discourse from research; and then feeding back into customising or refining techniques of disciplinary power. Categorisation into the normal/abnormal, ranked, function, etc. are intricately related in a circular fashion to the implementation of dividing practices.</td>
<td>Camp Management Feedback Mechanisms</td>
<td>Sending and Receiving Government Discourse</td>
<td>NGOs Gov. Departments</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| | | | | |
| Numbers; statistics; ratios; performance measures; benchmarks | Camp utilisation Camp measurement: meals, violations, medical | Sending and Receiving Government Statistics | Divorce Statistics | Sexual Diseases Statistics

Pregnant Women in halfway house

Subjectification | Turing oneself into a subject | Consent to the Norm | PEO, PAO | Responsible Father/Mother Son/Daughter | Burning Angel

“The Filipino Way” i.e. X-family as a norm is OK

Individualisation | Allocation to a bunk bed, HR and camp record | Tests, Examination | Saviour

Consent | Learning and Consenting to their place in society | PEO, PDO | Consent to Migration

Self-disciplining (circular) | Awareness of Surveillance and punishment systems |

Surveillance | Making visible subjects | Camp Design | Uniform | Video Skype Tracking Systems | Camp Design

Organisational gaze: vertical and horizontal (Sewell & Wilkinson, 1992) | Employers Camp Management HR Spies | |

Human and technological elements | Cameras Facial recognition | HR Spies Security Guards Undercover Police | GPS Trackers like application: 360degrees |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Technique</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dividing practices</td>
<td>Physical distribution (enclosure, partition, function and rank)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Control of activity (division of time; elaboration of procedures; proscription of body and correct gesture; body and object definition; exhaustive productive use)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Organisation of genesis (regulate activities: dividing time; putting time into series; conducting examinations of competency levels)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Composition of forces (resulting arrangement of groups of individual bodies; productive; machine metaphor)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Numbers; statistics; ratios; performance measures; benchmarks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subjectification</td>
<td>Turing oneself into a subject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Individualisation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Consent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Self-disciplining (circular)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surveillance</td>
<td>Making visible subjects</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gaze: vertical and horizontal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Human and technological elements</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Summary of techniques of disciplinary power in the family and X-family