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Hidden inequalities amongst the international workforce

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Chapter 11: Hidden inequalities amongst the international workforce

Gaye Özçelik, Washika Haak-Saheem, Chris Brewster and Yvonne McNulty

Abstract

This chapter focuses on low status expatriates who have been largely 'hidden' from managerial scholarship. They are 'hidden' because they are ignored by the migrant literature which looks at people trying to remain in their new society and gain citizenship; and ignored by the expatriation literature which is mainly concerned with high-status 'top' talent. These hidden expatriates are typically maids, drivers, security guards, and construction workers - low status and low paid, unable to obtain citizenship, and liable to be sent home, unemployed, at the whim of their employer. If we, as scholars, are to contribute to the betterment of society by elevating the health and well-being of those who live in it, then we must recognise the existence of and address the management issues and concerns of those at the 'bottom of the pyramid'. We use Organisational Justice theory and draw on examples from Turkey, Singapore and the Middle East to examine the position, the concerns, and the issues of such workers and their often-unequal place in the workforce.

Introduction

There are, as this volume shows, hidden inequalities in many workplaces. These issues are magnified when we take a detailed look at internationally mobile workers. The focus of most of the international human resource management (IHRM) literature has been on high-status, high-skilled expatriates assigned by their companies to important positions in foreign subsidiaries for a temporary period. This has provided rich insights into the management of internationally mobile workers at the 'top of the pyramid' (e.g., Hechanova et al. 2003; McNulty and Selmer 2017). Being assigned from their company headquarters, which are usually located in countries with high standards of living, these expatriates are for the most part the beneficiaries of enhanced and generous terms and conditions of employment (Andresen et al. 2012), significantly better than those earned by most of their local contemporaries. However, there are other kinds of expatriates. There are self-initiated expatriates

(SIEs) who take their own initiative to find the opportunity to work, for a temporary period, in the global workforce, usually on the same kind of contractual terms as locally employed people (Suutari and Brewster 2000; Andresen et al. 2012; Cerdin and Selmer 2014).

, there are other internationally mobile members of the workforce, such as migrants (Al Ariss and Crowley-Henry 2013). They are mostly from less developed or developing countries and are either obliged to leave their home countries due to some natural disaster, war or political upheaval, in which case they are usually referred to as 'refugees'; or they may be seeking to escape high unemployment, or just looking for a better life, in which case they are usually referred to as 'economic migrants'. Migrants, economic migrants especially, intend to settle in the new country, having expectations of permanent residency and/ or citizenship. Some migrants may be highly qualified (Cerdin et al. 2014) and many of them will earn good salaries in their new country, often much higher than might have been possible in their original home. We note, though, that because of failure to recognise qualifications or perhaps because of straightforward prejudice, migrants often end up in jobs that do not equate to their qualifications (Fullin and Reyneri 2011; Harvey 2012; Al Ariss et al. 2014). Many migrants of course are unfortunately exposed to more inferior if not exploitative conditions of employment (Alberti et al. 2013; Platt et al. 2017).

One group of internationally mobile workers – low-status expatriates – have largely been hidden from business and management research (Haak-Saheem and Bewster 2017). Though recent research has aimed to put emphasis on vulnerable workers (Connell and Burgess 2013) and has started to examine the 'bottom of the pyramid', though usually in terms of countries rather than individuals (Simanis 2012; Simanis and Milstein 2012), these workers remain hidden because they have been, until recently, overlooked by policy-makers in the industries and countries in which they work; and they have been ignored by the business and management literature (Haak-Saheem and Brewster 2017). They fall between the migration literature, which looks at people trying to have a permanent residence in their new society, and the expatriation literature - which is almost entirely concerned with 'top

talent' and has turned a blind eye to the larger numbers of low-status expatriates, a substantial part of the workforce in many countries.

We begin this chapter by defining hidden expatriates, and then outlining the extent of hidden expatriation and its location and characteristics. Then we adopt an Organisational Justice theory lens to examine the way hidden expatriates are managed. To bring some reality to the picture, we examine the situation of hidden expatriates in three specific countries: Turkey, the United Arab Emirates and Singapore. Lastly, we draw some conclusions and suggest recommendations for policy makers, practitioners and scholars.

Hidden expatriation: extent, location and characteristics

McNulty and Brewster (2017) provide some construct clarity around the 'expatriate' concept. They argue that there are four distinguishing characteristics: (1) they are working individuals, (2) legally, and (3) temporarily living in a country, (4) other than the one of which they are a citizen. This definition includes assigned expatriates and self-initiated expatriates but excludes retirees and students (who are not working in the local labour market), and migrants (who are seeking citizenship). It does not, however, restrict the term to only high-status expatriates, even though almost the entire literature on expatriates makes that assumption. 'Hidden expatriates' are low status workers who otherwise meet all the criteria of being 'expatriates'. These people are SIEs in the sense that have chosen to seek temporary work in another country, but they work in menial or manual occupations with very limited legal rights, often 'hidden' from the sight of other members of the host society as well as from academic study. They are, however, far more numerous than any other form of expatriation.

In adopting the above definition of expatriates as our focus in this Chapter, we note that an important issue in relation to the international workforce (whether high- or low-status expatriates, qualified immigrants, economic migrants, or refugees) is the high number of *illegal* workers in host countries. This is a global issue concerning 'irregular migration,' found to some extent in all countries including

developed and first world nations (Geddes 2005). Syrian refugees in Turkey, for instance, have often had to flee with nothing, and that includes any official papers or approval for their border crossing (Ekmekçi 2017). There are other examples, including people staying beyond their work permits, and cases of people-smuggling and modern slavery (Crane 2013). Penalties can be severe: even when these workers manage to stay in the country, they are often in a vulnerable position. For example, in the Gulf Cooperation States[1] such workers are subject to labour abuse, with the loss or withholding of income, long hours of work, insufficient nutrition, and unequal status. It is impossible for them to speak up against their employer (Malit and Naufal 2016).

Hidden expatriates account for approximately 150 million individuals with no, or limited, educational background who live and work outside their country of origin, of whom 11.5 million are domestic workers, with half of the world's male domestic workers located in the Arab Gulf States (ILO 2015). In 2015, the East Asia and Pacific region hosted 9 million low-paid foreign workers, 69% of whom were from within the region, mainly from Thailand, Malaysia, China, Indonesia and the Philippines (World Bank Group 2016). Turkey, the United Arab Emirates and Singapore represent countries with large numbers of hidden expatriates,[2] where their presence is an important factor in the host country's economic development. The GCC have the highest proportion of low skilled workers as a share of all workers, at 35.6%. About 75% of all expatriate domestic workers are women. Male migrant workers are much less likely to be domestic workers, with noteworthy regional differences (ILO 2015).

Hidden expatriates come mainly from developing countries and suffer from the low educational levels and skill base typical of such countries. They find (nearly always low-paid) jobs in manual and menial roles across industries in richer countries, working as security staff, building site labourers, drivers

[1] Formally known as the *Cooperation Council for the Arab States of the Gulf* (or colloquially as GCC), a regional intergovernmental political and economic union consisting of all Arab states of the Persian Gulf (Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, and the UAE) except for Iraq.

[2] In contrast to, for example, Malaysia at 9.5% (World Bank Group, 2013), South Korea at 3% (Roh 2014), and Australia at 1% (Australian Government 2016). Across the EU countries, foreign workers made up 7.4 percent of persons in employment in 2015 (Eurostat 2016).

and maids. They are expatriates (not migrants) because their stay in the country is temporary – in many countries they will either be expressly forbidden from permanent residency, or they will find it almost impossible to meet the requirements for citizenship. Hidden expatriates have few social rights (Frantz 2013). Like some migrants, many of them earn low wages, live in poor conditions and see no opportunity to advance their expertise and career. At the end of their work contract they will either have to find ways to extend the contract or to get another one (Au 2017a; Au 2017b), or they will be required, legally, to go home.

These hidden expatriates, at the bottom of the employment pyramid as well as coming from 'bottom of the pyramid' countries, are motived to work abroad in order to improve the standards of living for themselves and their families. Many of them are geographically separated from their families over long distances, living in their employer's premises or in compounds or in shared apartments, often many to a room (Loh 2016; Chong 2017c). They do this in order to send money back to their families. Despite the fact that they earn very low sums in the host country, they still manage to remit substantial amounts back home (see Table 1). Developing ('bottom of the pyramid') countries received two-thirds of that, nearly three times the amount of official development assistance. The true size of remittances, including unrecorded flows through formal and informal channels, is believed to be significantly larger. There were substantial outward remittances from the Gulf States; Turkey, notably to the Russian Federation; and proportionately from Singapore. For a number of poor countries such as India, the Philippines, and Bangladesh, such remittances are a substantial element of the gross national product (World Bank Group 2016).

Table 1a: Remittance outward flows

	Worldwide	**Turkey**	**Arab Gulf States**	**Singapore**
Remittances flow in billion USD	601	24	98	5.9

Source: World Bank 2015

Table 1b: Remittance inward flows (leading countries)

	Developing Countries	India	Philippines	Bangladesh
Remittances flow in billion USD	441	72.2	29.7	15.8

Source: World Bank 2016

These financial gains for the family come at a price – children growing up separately from their parents and the worker's parents dying without their own children in attendance. Hidden expatriates also pay a price; their work is frequently in menial, exhausting jobs (Chia and Zaccheus 2012) – more than a few, indeed, are assaulted or killed (Alkhatib 2017a; Chong 2017a). Many of them are subject to varying degrees of deception, injustice and unfairness (Haak-Saheem and Brewster 2017).

Job security for hidden expatriates is typically low. This arises from *how* they are employed. Many are hired via local employment agencies or subcontractors in the countries they come from, leaving them with low or no levels of voice and union representation (Fillinger et al. 2017). Often their passports are held by their employer, or in some cases by an agency, giving third parties considerable control over them. Nearly all are institutionally disempowered to deal with workplace violations.

While the above is true of many hidden expatriates, some have different motives: their main aim is simply to stay alive. There are, as we write, people fleeing Syria and neighbouring countries (UNHCR 2017): fleeing from civil war and the violence of ISIS (Islamic State of Iraq and Al-Sham) to Turkey but hoping to 'go home' once (and if) the situation in their home country is resolved. They are perhaps the most vulnerable hidden expatriates, facing many burdens and hardships, often situated in dangerous or unregulated work environments, facing long-term unemployment or under-employment (Geddes 2005).

The Context of Hidden Expatriates in Organisational Justice theory

Some hidden expatriates (probably more than is ever reported) suffer varying degrees of injustice and unfairness at the hands of agents or employers. Such vulnerability manifests in Organisational Justice issues related to compensation, work conditions, exploitation, discrimination and abuse (Justice Without Borders 2017). Organisational Justice examines whether employees feel they have been treated fairly in their jobs and the ways in which those determinations influence other work-related variables such as work behaviour and motivation (Hassan and Hashim 2011, p. 83). It is a relevant framework for hidden expatriates who routinely tolerate poor working conditions rather than express dissatisfaction. In the sections that follow, we explain the link between Organisational Justice and hidden inequality using four justice dimensions: distributive, procedural, informational and interpersonal justice. Our analysis by country is informed by these four dimensions illustrating that current management practice is not in line with the principles and perspectives of workplace justice. Further, there is a lack of a generic framework that explains, illustrates or supports workplace justice for hidden expatriates to the extent that our adaptation of Organisational Justice in the current context is able to do.

Uncertainty is a powerful source of stress (Monat et al. 1972), where the anticipation of facing an unknown, possibly threatening situation is more stressful for some individuals than for others (Greco and Roger 2003). Hidden expatriates face continual uncertainties. Accordingly, feelings of loss, helplessness, anxiety and anger are normal experiences during their time abroad (Ashford 1988, Hausman and Reed 1991). Ambiguity is pervasive, leading to feelings of little ability to control the external environment, and feelings of inequality. In such situations fair treatment can have a powerful effect (van den Bos and Miedema 2000; van den Bos 2001; Diekmannet al. 2004). Unfairness creates doubt for people regarding their capacity to cope, leading to emotional exhaustion and organisational withdrawal (Cole et al. 2010).

Of fundamental importance to the study of Organisational Justice is Deutsch's (1975) principles pertaining to equity (whether perceived outcomes reflect the receivers' respective input), equality

(whether received outcomes are equal across individuals within the same group), and need (whether received outcomes satisfy the receivers' relative needs). Four dimensions of Organisational Justice have been conceptualised and empirically confirmed, and measures have been psychometrically validated (Bies and Moag 1986; Greenberg 1993; Colquitt 2001). These dimensions are: (1) *distributive justice*, the fairness of decision outcomes affecting employees such as pay, reward, or performance ratings; (2) *procedural justice*, the fairness of the process and procedures used to determine allocation decisions including employee outcomes; (3) *informational justice*, the fairness of information provided to employees by decision makers regarding organisational issues that affect them in terms of specificity, completeness and timeliness; and (4) *interpersonal justice*, the fairness of interpersonal treatment of employees by decision makers with regard to politeness, respect, sensitivity, and dignity (e.g., whether they explain decisions thoroughly).

Distributive justice

Distributive justice assesses the perceived fairness of outcomes received in comparison to one's input, education, and what others receive (Adams 1965). Perceptions of distributive justice have been shown to impact positively on individuals' attitudes to work, work outcomes, and supervisors (Moorman 1991). In contrast, violations increase the desire to punish and impose harmful consequences on a putative wrongdoer (Skarlicki and Folger 1997). In the hidden expatriate context, the effects of unfair distributive justice are most frequently seen in workplace violations related to pay. Bangladeshi workers, for example, pay the highest agency fees to relocate to Singapore (circa SG$5,000 to $15,000) but earn the lowest salaries (SG$350–$800 a month) (TWC2 2017), and take an average of 16.5 months to repay their recruitment fees (Baey and Yeoh 2015). Relatedly, when domestic workers physically harm or steal from their employers or purposefully damage the employer's property, the most common explanation given is retaliation for abuses of distributive justice (Chia 2016; Chong 2017b).

Procedural justice

Procedural justice includes opportunities for control of a process and its related outcomes, the ability to voice one's viewpoints (Folger and Cropanzano 1998), consistency, lack of bias, availability of appeal mechanisms, accuracy and following ethical and moral norms (Leventhal 1980). Past studies show that procedural justice has a positive relationship with stress (Judge and Colquitt 2004), organisational commitment (Cohen-Charash and Spector 2001; Colquitt et al. 2001), motivation, performance and turnover intentions (Williams et al. 2002). One of the principal tenets of procedural justice is voice, meaning the opportunity for individuals to put forward their points of view during the process of making decisions that will affect them (Judge and Colquitt 2004). Hidden expatriates, because they are foreigners, usually do not speak the host country language, and work in positions with little authority, thus having virtually no opportunity to voice their questions and concerns. In Bangladesh, it is common for licensed and unlicensed intermediaries to be involved in linking foreign workers with training centres and agents. At each stage of the process, additional payments are demanded and collected through a banking system called *hundi*, but with little or no official documentation detailing what these payments are for, and no opportunity to question the arrangements (Bal 2016). This example (among many) illustrates an increasing need to know more about hidden expatriates' position in, and views of, procedural justice (Aleksynska et al. 2017; Justice Without Borders 2017).

Informational justice

It has been established that people respond to uncertainty in their work lives by seeking information (Ashford and Cummings 1985). Not being sufficiently informed about upcoming changes, especially if they affect a person directly, can cause perceptions of injustice (Bies 2013). Information needs to be timely (Sapienza and Korsgaard 1996) and from an appropriate source and phrased in a way that can be understood by the recipient (Marschan-Piekkari et al. 1999). Hidden expatriates have expressed dissatisfaction about delays in receiving crucial information from employers that is often 'funnelled' through agents (Fillinger et al. 2017). Ideally, information should be delivered through the most direct medium possible and, if necessary, through other avenues altogether if collusion between agencies

and employers is suspected (Justice Without Borders 2017). In Singapore, for example, a recent report (Fillinger et al. 2017) shows that hidden expatriates face considerable obstacles in furnishing evidence to substantiate wage-theft claims due to a lack of access to documentation such as contracts, timesheets, and salary slips; many workers report not having seen or signed employment contracts, in some cases deliberately withheld by their employer to ensure there is no paper trail or proof of employment. Many of these workers lack the knowhow and 'positional power' to circumvent established channels when negotiating fees and obtaining needed documentation (Aleksynska et al. 2017).

Interpersonal justice

Interpersonal justice, whether people are treated with respect in interactions, has been found to have a significant negative relationship with stress (Judge and Colquitt 2004; Takeuchi et al. 2007). Four different facets of interpersonal justice have been proposed (Bies 2005): (1) derogatory judgments when not true; (2) deception, such as feeling lied to in recruitment; (3) invasion of privacy and unwarranted disclosure of personal information; and (4) disrespect, being ignored. All of these categories have relevance for hidden expatriates. For instance, it is common for them to live in cramped and crowded dormitories with no opportunity for privacy (Loh 2016), and for employers or agencies to retain their passports, employment contracts and pay slips, thus denying them the evidence needed to file legitimate grievances (Fillinger et al. 2017). Despite legal agreements about pay being made in their home country before relocating, hidden expatriates are frequently deceived and coerced into signing lower-wage contracts upon arrival in the host society or simply paid less than what was originally promised (Justice Without Borders 2017). When wage-theft or injury claims are made, many find themselves accused of lying because witnesses are coerced by employers to tell a different version of events under threat of repatriation or being blacklisted from future entry into the country (Fillinger et al. 2017).

The above four areas of Organizational Justice illustrate that at issue for hidden expatriates and their employers is often (lack of) agreement as to what constitutes 'fairness'. We suggest that for hidden

expatriates, high job demands coupled with perceived low control and, too often, unjust treatment, impact their job satisfaction and motivation, and can be linked to counterproductive work behaviours such as running away from employers, faking illness/ injury, leaving before contract completion, theft, or physically harming the employer (Chong 2017b).

Hidden Expatriates in Turkey

Over the last three decades, Turkey has hosted a great number of hidden expatriates. Sectors such as textile, tourism, entertainment, domestic help, and construction benefit from these temporary, low-status foreign workers, who mostly come from Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Azerbaijan, Armenia, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, Russia, and Ukraine. They choose to come to Turkey because there are more job opportunities than in their home countries and because those from Azerbaijan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan share similar religious beliefs, cultural values and aspects of language with Turkish people (Şanlıer-Yüksel and İçduygu 2018), thus finding it relatively easy to integrate (Ekmekçi 2017).

Since the 1990s, Turkey has hosted a large cohort of foreign female domestic workers (maids and child-minders) originating from these former socialist countries. There is an increasing demand for such help among local middle- to upper-class women in professional fields whose work takes them away from the home (Akalın 2010; Cheung and Lui 2017). Wages in Turkey are higher than in their home country. For instance, an Uzbek domestic worker earns a salary of $600-800 per month, nearly four times the amount they would earn back in their home country for a similar job. Most hidden expatriates send remittances home to their families to buy a house and/ or car and to subsidize their family and children's household costs (Kaska 2006). Some, but not all, intend to save enough money to eventually return to their home country (Erdoğdu and Toksöz 2013). It is common for domestic workers to take a day off per week for which they receive 'pocket money' from their employers (usually $15-20) and which is typically the only money they spend on themselves.

These hidden expatriates are subject to certain inequalities and sometimes exploitation. Those whose status is undocumented and irregular are a particular target for human rights violations. There have

been recent systematic procedural reforms to enable foreign workers to get a work permit in Turkey, via application by the employer (Ministry of Interior Directorate General of Migration Management 2014). However, some employers prefer not to get work permits, which can be expensive (they then have to pay social security payments of around $100 per month, for example) or deduct these costs from the workers' salaries. The result is many hidden expatriates agree to work under difficult conditions without objection, such as working for more hours for lower wages, sometimes being left unpaid, and bad behaviour by their employers.

Other hidden expatriates in Turkey are not economic migrants but, especially since 2011, are refugees and asylum-seekers from Syria and neighbouring countries (UNHCR 2017). Turkey signed the 1951 Geneva Refugee Convention, defining standards for the treatment of refugees. The extreme flow of asylum seekers during the last few years led Turkey to adopt a comprehensive new law, the 'Law on Foreigners and International Protection, No. 6458' in April 2014. Under this law, refugees from Syria benefit from a group-based 'temporary protection' regime, which grants them the right to stay, protection from forcible repatriation and access to a set of basic rights and services, including free healthcare, primary and secondary education and work permits. Nearly all gain access into Turkey through its open-door policy, concentrating in big cities such as İstanbul, İzmir and the southern cities of Şanlıurfa, Hatay, Gaziantep, Mersin, Adana and Kilis (Ministry of Internal Directorate General of Migration Management 2018), although some get stuck in government-run sheltered camps (Baban, Ilcan, and Rygiel 2017). Officially there were 3.56 million such refugees in Turkey by mid March 2018 (UNHCR 2018), making it one of the largest immigrant flows of the past century.[3] However, the real number, including those who arrive in 'irregular' ways, is considered to be much higher. Their motives for relocating to Turkey are to protect themselves and their families from violence (Yıldız and Uzgören, 2016), to find employment (usually low-paid), and/ or to transit through the country to Europe.

[3] Approximately 84% of refugees are hosted by developing countries, led by Turkey, Pakistan and Lebanon. Turkey hosted the largest number of refugees worldwide, with 3.561.707 people as of 22 March 2018. The Syrian Arab Republic was the top source of country of refugees worldwide in 2016 (World Bank Group 2017).

These hidden expatriates have to be legally registered in order to have access to health and education services. Around 30% of the Syrians are illiterate with no schooling and young women and teenage girls have more difficulty integrating into the Turkish education system because of language, cultural issues and years of absence from schooling (Woods, Benvenuti and Kayalı 2016).

Work raises lots of difficulties for this hidden expatriate community. They are entitled to social assistance and access to the labour market, but the majority of them work illegally because they do not want to pay the expenses of getting a work permit or having tax deducted from their wages. Their irregular position drags them into working under very poor conditions (Woods, Benvenuti and Kayalı 2016). In many Syrian families, the norm is that women stay home as caregivers and men go out to work. Women who do work find jobs in the garment and textile industries. Some men also work in textiles but most work in the food, tourism, cement, metal, and leather industries (İçduygu 2016).

Hidden Expatriates in the Arabian Gulf States

The Arab Gulf region attracts a large number of hidden expatriates. For example, in the UAE low-paid expatriates account for 51% of the workforce in industries such as construction or services (Haak-Saheem and Brewster 2017; Ministry of Human Resources and Emiratization 2015). For example, over 95% of construction and domestic workers in the Gulf States are hidden expatriates, mainly coming from the Indian Subcontinent, the Philippines and other poor Asian and African countries. The attractiveness of the Gulf States lies in its economic status, and the geographical and cultural, and in some cases religious, proximity to their home states.

Word of mouth about the experiences of hidden expatriates, shared with their families and friends back home, is an important source of information for potential moves, particularly because many hidden expatriates are illiterate, and have limited access to information. They have to rely on information provided by previous expatriates or agencies. Therefore, the level of uncertainty remains high and people often move to the Gulf without any clear understanding of the implications of

expatriation. Recently, the government of the UAE has issued a set of new laws and regulations to ensure the protection of domestic workers in key areas such as terms of contract, nature of work, workplace, remuneration, and the period of daily and weekly rest. Respective agencies involved in the relocation should inform workers about the legal framework of the UAE before they cross their national border, but these illiterate workers often do not get the information. In addition to the national legal system, the UAE has signed bilateral agreements and memoranda of understanding with various labour supplying countries to (1) promote regional integration, (2) control irregular migration, (3) ensure temporariness and (4) protect rights and encourage just and fair treatment of hidden expatriates. In reality, despite these efforts, most of these individuals are either not able to comprehend the complex legal system of the foreign country or their desperate financial situation leaves them with no other alternative than moving under high level of uncertainty and risk. Often, agencies and employers misuse their situation by treating them unfairly.

While unfair treatment remains somewhat gender independent, in that it applies to both sexes, the landscape of low skilled and paid expatriate's changes as the number of female workers increases (ILO 2015). For instance, in the UAE, these women work in traditionally female-dominated jobs, such as maids or nannies in private households or beauty technicians in salons. Private households prefer to employ female maids and cooks rather than males, viewing them as a safer choice, especially if children are involved. Additionally, cultural and religious restrictions among men and women has increased the drive to employ low-paid female expatriates; female family members can move freely in their houses if their servants are female, whereas the principles of Islam require them, for example, to cover their hair when interacting with men. Hidden expatriates are 'sorted' into male and female occupations based on stereotypes and prejudices (Darity and Mason 2004) and/ or family and societal structures (Jacobs 1989; Platt et al. 2017).

Haak-Saheem and Brewster (2017) found that hidden expatriates in the UAE are exposed to poorer working conditions than other groups of expatriates, which impacts on their work outcomes. For example, often they do only what they are asked to do, being unlikely (nor expected) to act beyond

their specific duties. The classification of hidden expatriates as manual workers often neglects their capacity to do other work than providing household services or working on construction sites. Their social and personal lives is impacted by their status of being low-paid expatriates. If not in the private households of their employers, hidden expatriates live in communities designed for them. So male workers may live in labour camps carefully separated from better districts of the cities. As their families remain in the home countries, they share the accommodation with other male hidden expatriates. Any sexual interaction outside marriage is unlawful in the United Arab Emirates (UAE) and can result in jail sentences and deportation. There is no or very limited interaction between male and female hidden expatriates.

Hidden Expatriates in Singapore

Singapore relies heavily on hidden expatriates, with the highest foreign-to-local labour ratio in the world after the Arabian Gulf States (Fillinger et al. 2017). Approximately 1.67m people (38% of the total population of 5.61m) are classified as 'non-residents' and legally entitled to reside and/ or work there, of which the two largest categories are low-skilled 'work permit holders' in the construction, cleaning, security, and retail sectors (44%) and 'foreign domestic workers' (14%) (Yong 2016; Ministry of Manpower 2017). Work permit holders, the lowest wage category of foreign workers in Singapore, comprise nearly a third of the total workforce (Fillinger et al. 2017). Male foreign workers from Bangladesh, China, and India make up the majority of the workforce in Singapore's construction and marine sectors, with the highest concentration of low-status foreign workers being 75% in construction (Ministry of Manpower 2016). Hidden expatriates are drawn to Singapore because it is relatively safe, low on corruption, and provides a comparatively 'decent' wage (Yeoh 2006). The employment of foreign workers in Singapore is regulated by the Employment of Foreign Manpower Act, which was established to protect their legal rights (Justice Without Borders 2017; Yap 2014).

Hidden expatriates in Singapore work in well-defined, segregated jobs, separated according to nationality, race and gender. For example, maids have mandatory medicals every six months as a condition of continued employment, including pregnancy and HIV tests. Those who become pregnant

will lose their jobs and be repatriated. Homosexual acts are illegal and lead (if discovered) to jail sentences and deportation. These restrictions are often more than just practical; for example, maids are forbidden from marrying a local citizen without approval from the Ministry of Manpower.

Understandably, financial incentives are critical to these individuals. The value of the financial benefits they receive must, however, be viewed through the lens of their referent context (see Heine et al. 2002): A Filipina domestic worker earning a salary of SG$700 per month in Singapore would earn no more than 10% of that amount doing the same job in the Philippines.

There are numerous cases of criminal conviction in Singapore for employers guilty of workplace violations involving hidden expatriates; for instance, of failing to pay workers (Seow 2016; Toh 2017a, b), of blackmailing construction workers by demanding kick-backs to guarantee their continued employment (Lee 2017), and of hiring workers illegally (Alkhatib 2017b). In similar cases, hidden expatriates (predominantly women) can be physically ill-treated, sometimes viciously so, being starved, beaten, sexually harassed, and verbally abused (Alkhatib 2017a; Chong 2017a; Kerr 2007). The government acts swiftly, in the cases that come to light, to prosecute offenders, who are dealt with harshly in the zero-tolerance legal environment. Many workplace violations for hidden expatriates involve pay. In most cases an employer has the power to terminate and repatriate the worker and may do so without returning 'savings' money[4], especially if the amounts are undocumented. The reporting of 'wage-theft', while historically low, is slowly rising (Humanitarian Organisation for Migration Economics 2017; Salleh 2017). It has also, as noted above, been linked to counterproductive work behaviours among hidden expatriates. This is a particular concern for female domestic workers such as maids and care-givers, as they interact with minors and elderly people (Wong 2016). Their dissatisfaction and frustration has resulted in serious and harmful actions against their employers (Chong 2017b; Yong and Sim 2012).

[4] Savings money is an illegal practice where employers make salary deductions of $50-$100 a month for the purposes of ensuring workers' 'good behaviour' and helping them to save for their eventual return to their home country (see Chan 2011; Humanitarian Organisation for Migration Economics 2011).

In Singapore, a growing debate is centred around whether there is enough 'justice-oriented' help to resolve wage-theft and injury claim disputes among hidden expatriate construction workers (Au 2017a; Cheong 2017a; Lam 2017; Tan 2017a, b), and the job demands stress of domestic workers (Seow 2017), where in many instances the majority of support is offered by charities and non-governmental organizations (Humanitarian Organisation for Migration Economics, 2010; TWC2 2015; Justice Without Borders and National University of Singapore 2014).

Table 2 summarizes the key issues of hidden expatriates in the context of the three selected countries.

<<Insert **Table 2: Key issues of hidden expatriates in selected countries** about here >>

Cultural Aspects of Hidden Expatriation in Turkey, Arabian Gulf States and Singapore

The inequalities faced by low-skilled expatriates in all three countries has some potential to be explained in a cultural context. Using Hofstede's cultural dimensions, *Power Distance* and *Individualism-Collectivism* are the most relevant for differentiating nations and cultures (Basabe and Ros, 2005). All three countries (Turkey, Arabian Gulf States and Singapore) demonstrate high power distance with acceptance of a hierarchical order including inherent inequalities (Hofstede, 2001). Inequalities of power, which coincide with strongly hierarchical societies, are evident through the higher incidence, for example, of human rights violations (Basabe and Ros, 2005). Hidden expatriates in Turkey pursue cultural patterns similar to the Turkish culture (Şanlıer-Yüksel and İçduygu, 2018), particularly related to the Islamic religion, which supports a hierarchical culture (Basabe and Ros, 2005) that may leave people unpaid or lower paid, unprotected, and exposed to inequalities and sometimes exploitation. In a similar way, high power distance of the UAE is shared by hidden expatriates originating from India, the Philippines, Bangladesh and other poor Asian and African countries, who are used to accepting a steeply hierarchical order and conforming to the diktats of their 'superiors'. Singapore, on the other hand, hosts low-status workers from countries such as China, India and Bangladesh (Ministry of Manpower 2016; Yue, 2011), many of whom share the Confucian

background of Singapore, which is reliant on unequal relationships between people and is positively related to hierarchy (Basabe and Ros, 2005).

On the individualism-collectivism dimension, the three countries are all considered collectivist societies (Hofstede, 2001). Islam, dominating the majority of societies in Turkey and the Arabian Gulf States, is a collectivist religion, as is the Confucianism of Singapore. For instance, Syrian refugees in Turkey often fail to express their demands or raise concerns through bureaucratic channels as they do not want to appear too demanding and to go against the authorities (ORSAM, 2016). The language problem is another important cultural issue that hidden expatriates have to bear (Salleh, et al., 2012; Woods, Benvenuti and Kayalı 2016), making it difficult for many to achieve informational justice.

Conclusion and implications

As ever more low-skilled expatriates relocate to work and live (temporarily) in a country other than their home, the management literature, and particularly the human resource management (HRM) literature, will have to more fully develop in order to create space for accommodating the reality of global labour mobility. As current research on IHRM has started recently to examine non-traditional expatriates, more scholarly discussion is needed to examine the working conditions of low-status expatriates. We have used Organisational Justice theory to discuss workplace related inequalities. Turkey, the Arab Gulf States and Singapore show the unequal practices hidden expatriates face while working and living in a host country, but we stress that hidden expatriates can be found in almost all developed countries, and many less developed ones, even if in those countries they represent a smaller percentage of the workforce. These are vulnerable people in unequal circumstances and they are often exploited.

Prior studies indicate that perceptions of justice related to a number of HRM practices have been studied and found to be positively related to organizational outcomes such as commitment, outcome

satisfaction, job satisfaction, evaluation of authority, organizational citizenship behaviors, and performance (Colquitt et al., 2001; Podsakoff, Bommer, Podsakoff, & MacKenzie, 2006). However, there has been very little investigation of perceptions of justice regarding management policies and practices for low-status global workers or even high-status expatriates. This is an area, as we have indicated, where there are large numbers of very practical research questions to which we simply do not have the answers. We suggest that the 'justice' literature provides a valuable theoretical framework for extending knowledge in the fields of work and occupations, IHRM, and migration relating to the circumstances of these many millions of members of the international workforce. This feeds into a growing debate about whether employers and government agencies are providing enough 'justice-oriented HRM' to help resolve wage-theft and injury claim disputes among large populations of hidden expatriates, which in many instances is handled instead by charities and non-governmental organizations.

We know, for example, that while fairer, more equal treatment for hidden expatriates is only beginning to be addressed by policy makers, NGOs and researchers (Bal 2016; Ekmekçi 2017; Gleeson 2015; İçduygu 2016; İçduygu and Diker 2017; Justice Without Borders and National University of Singapore 2014; Khatir 2017; TWC2 2015), so much more is needed given the extent of the problem (as outlined in this chapter) and the widespread implications for the workers involved. We call for scholars' attention to be directed towards the extensive numbers of these hidden and vulnerable global workers, most particularly because the issues these workers face are not typically associated with the modern economies in which they work, often falling below the standards deemed 'decent work' (Arnold 2010; Wettstein 2012).

As the number of these low-status expatriates grows, managers and policymakers have to direct more attention towards their management. In particular, the emergence of practices and policies tailored to organisational and individual needs is of significant importance. Specific policies and practices are required that enable refugees to access education, training and employment. Vocational training

programmes can provide qualifications to the standards expected by the institutions in the host-country (İçduygu 2016). Acquiring new skills or adapting their knowledge to the economy will give hidden expatriates' the opportunity to work in just and favourable conditions and enable them to enjoy a better standard of living with sustained physical and mental health.

For economically-driven expatriates, these same objectives require not just fair laws and regulations, but effective enforcement of them. The moves to extend such legislation to the 'recruiting' countries is welcome, but needs to be backed up by local enforcement. Employers need to understand that almost all hidden expatriates have, like all other human beings, the capacity, with care and attention, to do much more than they are often allowed to do, to the benefit of the society, the employer and the individual. Providing such care and attention, and such opportunities, would go a long way to alleviating the failures of Organisational Justice that so plague these workers at present.

Whilst there remains a major research demand to fill many of our basic knowledge gaps, and to develop theoretical understanding of the role of hidden expatriates within organizations, we believe that awareness is the first step and we hope that in the future such expatriates will be considerably less 'hidden' from the view of scholars than they have been hitherto.

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