Migrant Workers' Educational Experience- Empowerment or Suppression?

A Qualitative Study on Filipino Migrant Workers in Taiwan

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Master Thesis

Comparative and International Education
Department of Education / Faculty of Educational Science

UNIVERSITETET I OSLO

June 2021

II

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2021

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Abstract

This paper aims at understanding Filipino migrant worker (OFW)s' educational experience in a receiving country, Taiwan. The purpose of this study is to figure out to which extent education can influence OFWs' lives, and whether OFWs view their educational experience as empowering or suppressive. In this paper, social phenomenon of international labor migration will be illustrated, and the focus will be narrowed down to OFWs in Taiwan. Selected literature on migration and education, however, unveil dilemma of migrant workers' education that education can be either empowerment or suppression.

This study combines Stromquist (2002) and Rowlands (1995)'s classification of empowerment to generate analytical framework that guides us to examine the dilemma at three different levels; personal, relational, and collective. The methods used in this qualitative study are semi-structured interview and participatory observation.

The findings show that the majority of interview participants, OFWs with educational experiences in Taiwan, felt empowered through their educational experiences at personal level. Empowerment at relational level, however, were limited to the groups of people participants already knew, for example, their families and co-workers. Participants answered that there is a weak linkage between their educational experience and building new social networks, especially with Taiwanese people. Two categories fall under collective level of empowerment, economic and political dimensions. While some participants viewed their educational experience economically empowering, there was only a little room for their economic and political empowerment in Taiwanese society.

Acknowledgements

It has been a long journey to finish this thesis. From the end of my fieldwork, at the very start of December 2019, when I just got back to Norway from Taiwan, it took me more than a year and half until I get to hand in this paper. I am more than proud of myself about not giving up. I remember all the days and nights in Oslo, Seoul, and Puli. I remember all the fear, lethargy, frustration vividly, but also the little happy moments that have sustained me up to today. And writing this thesis has been a "empowering" process for me.

First and foremost, I want to thank my supervisor, Torill Strand. I can't express how thankful I am for your patience, compassion, and academic insight you shared with me. When I felt lost and lonely in this journey, you encouraged me and guided me through the path. I owe you a lot. Tusen takk! And I also want to thank my previous supervisor, Lene Buchert, and my CIE classmates. I learned a lot from you all. Thank you very much.

And I am so thankful for all the participants of this research for sharing their stories with me, and with the world. Salamat po! I want to thank my friends and informants in Taiwan as well, hoping that we can see each other again soon. 謝謝你. My friends in Norway, Taiwan, Korea, and the Philippines, you were my sunshine of this hard times. Thank you for making unforgettable memories with me. I wish you guys all the best with all my heart.

Last but not least, I want to thank my dear family. I know you suffered with me through this time, and will be even happier than me for the completion of this thesis. Dear mom and dad, I love you and you are the best parents for me. Dear my sister, thank you for sharing your positive energy with me. I dedicate this thesis to my grandfather. 감사합니다.

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Abbreviations

MECO   Manila Economic and Cultural Office

      (Philippine Representative Office in Taiwan)

OFW   Overseas Filipino Workers

OWWA   Overseas Workers Welfare Administration

POEA   Philippine Overseas Employment Administration

POLO   Philippine Overseas Labor Office

TIWA   Taiwan International Workers' Association

SE Asia   Southeast Asia

1 Introduction and Background

1.1 International labor migration

Due to increased mobility and global connectivity, modern society allows the flow of people seeking for better places to study, work, or spend their life time. Although the luxury of exploring the world is not for everyone, increasing number of people from middle to low-income countries choose to live abroad, especially to work abroad. So-called economic migration, this facet of migration displays global division of labor and power relations.

In general, economic migration takes place in direction from relatively lower income countries to higher income countries. Of course, there are global elites who choose to move abroad in search for promising job markets, but still overwhelming majority are temporary, non-status workers whose rights are very limited (Choudry & Hlatshwayo, 2016). In their study, Choudry and Hlatshwayo (2016) claims that labor migration is one of the by-products of capitalist globalization, which comes with liberalization and deregulation while increasing the mobility of capital. It is indeed a question worth asking, if increased global mobility brings more freedom or dehumanization. Marxist scholars contend that capitalist economy demands cheaper labor force, in order to make greater surplus value. In other words, developed economies are supported by cheap labor of migrant workers (Choudry & Hlatshwayo, 2016, p. 3).

However, it does not only benefit larger economies, so-called 'labor receiving countries'. Some low- or middle-income countries promote labor migration and encourage their citizens to become migrant workers. One of the most wide-known labor exporting countries is the Philippines. Cohen (2006) shows how Philippine 'make a virtue out of necessity' with outbound labor migration. According to Cohen (2006, p. 163-169), 'culture of emigration' first came along in the Philippines when some other Asian nations emerged with economic success in 1980s. Since then, government of the Philippines has supported labor migration as a survival strategy, which brings money back home as a form of remittance and

also grows domestic business of labor migration recruiting agencies (Asis, 2006; Legrain, 2007, p. 161-165; Sills & Chowthi, 2008).

The mechanism of labor migration has been attempted by many scholars to be fully understood, but migrant workers' side of view is often put aside. Karpestam and Andersson (2013) introduce theories concerning initial decision made by migrants to move to the new country. Based on an assumption that human beings are rational decision-makers, neoclassical theorists gave a simple explanation for labor migration: people choose to migrate when the expected income in a receiving country is higher than the income in a sending country, and the risk of unemployment lower.

However, neoclassicalism's analysis that workers move only for higher wage and lower unemployment risk faced challenge with segmented/dual labor market theory afterwards (Karpestam and Andersson, 2013). According to dual market theory, labor market is divided into two sectors, primary and secondary sectors (similar example can be 'white collar / blue collar job segregation'). Primary sector of labor market guarantees employees of relatively stable job position, high salary, and high returns to education. On the other hand, secondary sector needs low-skilled employees who can endure physical labor and low wage. Segmented labor market theory claims that the rise of migrant workers in developed capitalist societies is due to unfulfilled need of secondary sector, as few local populations want to take part in these jobs.

This change in the flow of migration economic theory shows that decision to migrate is not utterly independent choice of individuals, but rather in connection with the structure of labor market that demands migrant workers who can work for secondary sectors in richer countries. It also indicates limited social mobility for migrant workers, even in countries that accept and welcome immigrants, such as the U.S. Alarcon (2017) writes that almost 60% of Hispanic migrant population in the U.S. is earning less than national average income. Thus, it shows that economic fear of local population about losing their jobs to immigrants is rather groundless (Legrain, 2007, p. 66-83).

But again, we need to understand the complexity and avoid making distorted images of migrant workers. Migrants are not villains nor mere victims (Barber, 2002). Social status of being migrants can "make them vulnerable to various forms of exploitation, harassment and even violence. Yet, the manner in which they seek control over such conditions, their strategic

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negotiation with such odds, is not often discussed" (Barber, 2002, p.46). As an attempt to seek control over their conditions, migrant workers negotiate their priorities, major life decisions and family plans before and after they migrate.

As one of the tools to explore different choices and possibilities, education can help migrant workers grow strategic power over their situation. So far, however, scholarly evaluations of the roles of education in providing inclusive environment for migrant population have overwhelmingly focused on refugee and immigrant children's education (McPherson, 2014; Tjaden, & Hunkler, 2017; Nawarat, 2017). Comparatively few studies examine adult migrant workers' education and trainings in host countries (Hannah, 2008; Yuniarto, 2019; Liu, 2013). In this research, therefore, migrant worker's educational experiences in receiving countries will be discussed.

1.2 Purpose of the study

Purpose of this research is to give thorough understanding of migrants' educational experiences in receiving country, through using empowerment as a tool to evaluate how migrant education can bring upon actual changes in migrant's mindset and action, and their social participation. In addition, this study aims to fill the knowledge gap of adult migrant workers' education, which has been neglected while previous studies on migrant education highly focused on refugee, migrant youth and second generation of migrant families' education and integration.

1.3 Background information

While designing the research, various places were considered as a research site. Norway, South Korea, or EU countries were easily reachable options as being a master's student in Norway and having South Korean nationality. However, reading about Southeast

Asian migrant workers in other Asian countries, for instance, Hong Kong, Singapore, and Taiwan, and their bilateral/regional relationships were also particularly intriguing. Having a chance to stay in Taiwan as a part of TEEP(Taiwan Experience Education Program)@Asia Plus internship program also gave enough reason to choose foreign workers in Taiwan as eligible research objects. Eventually, Filipino workers in Taiwan, who can speak fluent English, and therefore communicate without interpretation were chosen as particular participants for the study. Following parts will introduce background information of Taiwan as a host country of migrant workers and Filipino workers working abroad.

1.3.1 Taiwan as a labor receiving country

Figure 1. Map of East and Southeast Asia (Source: Finlayson, 2019)

Southeast Asian migrants in Taiwan

National Statistics (2019) announced that the number of immigrants residing in Taiwan in total are 972,043, whereas National Immigration Agency (2019) stated that the total number of foreign residents in Taiwan is 758,583. Among the immigrants, most of the people are coming from mainland China, Hong Kong and Macau, and Southeast Asia.

Because of 'One China policy', usage of same language and cultural, external similarities, however, some statistics exclude Chinese migrants from international migrant population. Therefore, it is justifiable to claim that SE Asian migrants are the main population of Taiwan's immigrants. Table 1 shows detailed number of SE Asian migrant population in Taiwan. There is high degree of attention to SE Asian migrants in Taiwanese context, in news media and academic papers. Yang & Cole (2016) suggests simplified overview of SE Asian migrant population in Taiwan, which says that migrant laborers coming from SE Asia are one of every 40 people in Taiwan, and one in every 10 students are children of this new immigrants.

Table 1. SE Asian migrant population in Taiwan (Source: National Immigration Agency, 2019)

Nationality	Number of Male migrants	Number of Female migrants	Total migrant population in Taiwan
Indonesia	65,819	185,463	251,282
Vietnam	133,903	89,922	223,825
The Philippines	57,550	89,870	147,420
Thailand	51,063	13,592	64,655
Malaysia	10,783	10,517	21,300
Total	319,118	389,364	708,482

Historically, Taiwan has accepted large number of migrants from neighboring Southeast Asian countries. Tsay (2015) argues that this flow of human migration was due to economic desire of people and nations. In late 1980s, when labor-intensive industry was booming in Taiwan, there was labor shortage in physical, low-skilled manpower for public construction projects (Kuan & Kuan, 2019). Taiwanese government decided to introduce foreign workers from neighboring SE Asian countries, and authorized migrant workers in 1992 (Kuan & Kuan, 2019; Tsay, 2015). Since then, SE Asian migrants gradually grew in number in Taiwan. Taiwan is often said to have constructive relationship with SE Asian

countries, considering that Taiwanese government adopted New Southbound Policy in 2016 in order to be more engaged in the region and increase trade with SE Asian countries (Huang, 2018).

Huang (2018) claims this effort of Taiwan is due to several reasons, which are Mainland China's oppression towards Taiwan's external relations, the country's desire for regional economic participation, and SE Asia's rapid economic growth. However, Tsay (2015) applies World Systems Theory to analyze the relationship between Taiwan and SE Asia in more critical viewpoint. Labeling Taiwan as a semi-peripheral nation, Tsay (2015) argues that Southeast Asian countries, especially four of them (Indonesia, the Philippines, Thailand and Vietnam) are peripheral nations who ought to attend to the wants of Taiwan. Consequently, SE Asian migrants in Taiwan have limited labor market choices and mostly end up earning less money than the local population.

This study will be focusing on Taiwan (Republic of China, henceforth Taiwan) as a labor migration receiving country, and target sample population of overseas Filipino workers (henceforth OFWs) in Taiwan. There are large number of OFWs in Taiwan mainly working in low-income and labor-intensive industries, including manufacturing, household caretaking and fishery industry (Sills & Chowthi, 2008).

1.3.2 The Philippines as a labor sending country

Figure 2. Map of the Philippines and Taiwan (Source: Raindeocampo, 2019)

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Labor migration has been a mixed blessing to the country. Sending approximately 2.3 million Overseas Filipino Workers (OFW) to almost every country in the world, Philippines became a representative labor sending country (Casco, 2013; Casco, 2014; Amrith, 2017, p. 2). Migration has been a way of life since large-scale labor migration first started in the 1970s (Asis, 2006). What the country faced in the 1970s was growing number of population while small number of decent jobs in domestic market that can never hire enough people who are seeking for jobs. The government then promoted overseas employment and directly recruited and matched workers with overseas jobs. In 1976, it moved on to private agencies to recruit and place workers, but the government still took some roles, for example, giving license to the agencies (Asis, 2006).

Table 2. Age and Sex of Overseas Filipino Workers: 2018 (Source: Philippine Statistics Authority, 2019)

Number of overseas Filipino workers (in thousands)	2,299
Sex	100.0
Male	44.2
Female	55.8
Age Group	
Both Sexes	100.0
15 - 24	5.3
25 - 29	20.0
30 - 34	23.7
35 - 39	19.2
40 - 44	14.3
45 and over	17.5
Male	100.0
15 - 24	5.3
25 - 29	16.9
30 - 34	22.0
35 - 39	19.3
40 - 44	15.3
45 and over	21.2
Female	100.0
15 - 24	5.4
25 - 29	22.4
30 - 34	25.1
35 - 39	19.2
40 - 44	13.4
45 and over	14.5

Table 2 shows the demographics of Filipino migrant workers overseas. Unlike other Southeast Asian countries, Filipino workers show balanced sex and age ratio when it comes to working overseas. According to a recent survey, largest number of OFWs work in elementary occupations (37.1%), followed by service and sales (18.8%), plant and machine operation/assembly (13.8%), professional jobs and technicians (Philippine Statistics Authority,

2020). The destinations for OFWs are also diverse, but main destinations are located in the Middle East and East Asian region. Saudi Arabia (24.3%) and United Arab Emirates (15.7%) being top two countries employing OFWs, Kuwait and Qatar are two of the following destinations in the Middle East (Philippine Statistics Authority, 2018). In East and Southeast Asia, Singapore, Hong Kong and Taiwan are employing largest number of OFWs (POEA, 2017).

Overseas contract workers from the Philippines are often called as 'modern-day heroes (*bagong bayani*)' at their home (Amrith, 2017). Glick-Schiller, Basch & Blanc-Szanton (1992, p. 4) gave an example of President Marcos' speech, at which he encouraged OFWs to regularly visit their homes with up to two *Balikbayan* (home comers) boxes duty-free per year. By giving this special favor, government of the Philippines promoted homecoming of "heroes and heroines of the Philippines" during holidays with their earnings. This example shows that the government is deeply engaged in system of contracting overseas labor, and so is the country's economy. Transnational labor migration is officially sanctioned and regulated through the state officials (Glick-Schiller, Basch & Blanc-Szanton, 1992, p. 4).

With the support and regulation state government offers, OFW has gained its own "brand name" of migrant labor (O'Neil, 2004). Although some think temporary labor migration is common but disgraceful practice, the government has continuously put effort to bring prosperity to the business. Major characteristics of OFWs are that they are very well educated at their departure, relatively fluent in English, and self-assertive (Amrith, 2017, p. 3; OECD, 2017). Government of the Philippines, knowing many strong points of its workers, use these points in promoting overseas employment of its workers. Therefore, it adopts employment-driven strategy in bilateral and regional trade negotiations (O'Neil, 2004). To secure high-quality "brand name" of Filipino workers abroad, the government prohibits the workers from using unofficial channels to migrate, such as unlicensed recruiter, or overstaying a visa. It has been successful since the strategy meets the needs of partner nations. Host countries, for example, countries in the Middle East, has appreciated Filipino governments' policy that aims at encouraging temporary labor migration rather than permanent settlement (O'Neil, 2004).

Filipino migrant workers represent a major socioeconomic sector in the Philippines by sending remittances and contributing to the country's GDP (Casco, 2013). In 2019, the amount of remittance in the Philippines was 35 billion U.S. dollars (World Bank, 2020). As

shown in Figure 3, following India, China, and Mexico, the Philippines ranked fourth in top remittance recipient countries (World Bank, 2019). According to the World Bank (2020), remittances take up to 9.9 per cent of the country's GDP, and the amount shows growing trend.
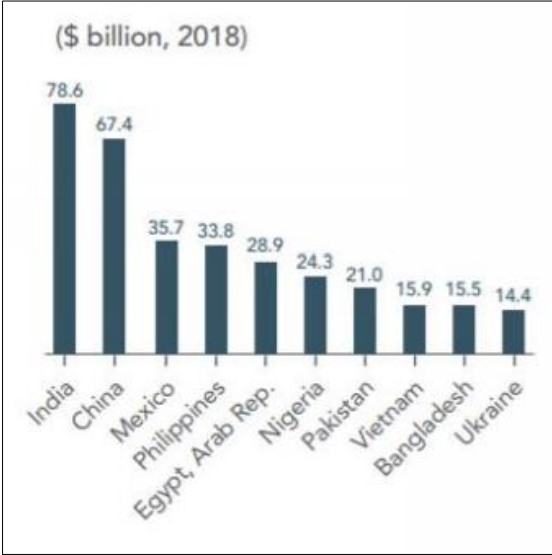
Figure 3. Top Remittance Recipients in 2018 (Source: World Bank, 2019)
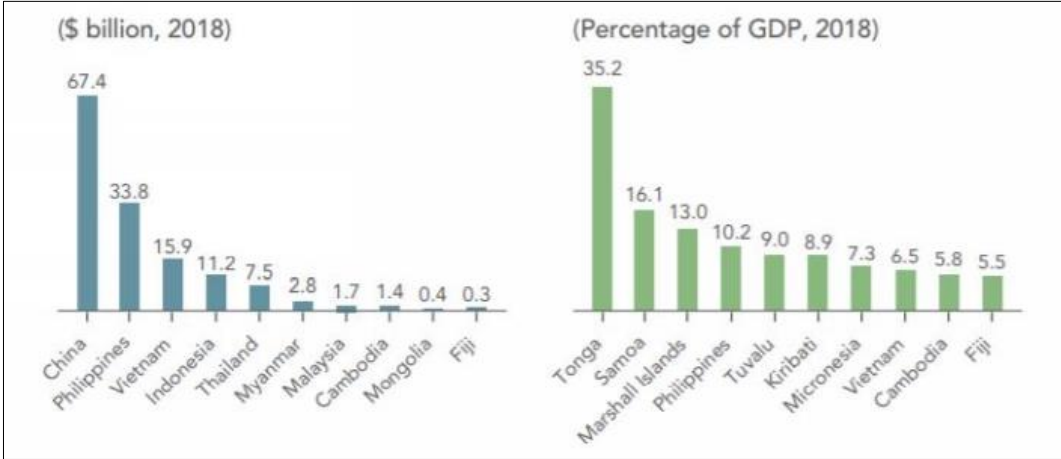
Figure 4. Top Remittance Recipients in the East Asia and Pacific Region in 2018 (Source: World Bank, 2019)

Figure 4 also shows how much the economy and society of the Philippines are relying heavily on OFWs' work and devotion from overseas. Although the country is benefitting as a whole through migration of its nationals to work abroad, Asis (2006) criticized that the

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Philippines has failed to develop and strengthen national plans and systems while becoming so successful of labor export. This is also in line with the findings of OECD (2017), which showed that 11% of emigrants were unemployed before they had left the Philippines, whereas the global average rate of unemployment before departure was 5%. It indicates that one of the most important determinants of economic migration is unemployment, when it comes to the Philippines. Choudry & Hlatshwayo (2016, p. 9) pointed out a major drawback of remittance-reliant economy, saying that it is a way of alleviating state responsibility and burdening it to individual workers, instead of providing social safety net for unemployed or underemployed workers in their society.

1.3.3 Limitations and Human rights issues of migrant workers

Migration has played a significant role in both Taiwan and the Philippines. It has been a vehicle for the development for decades, and it is a shared priority of both countries to ensure the rights and well-being of workers (Norton, 2008). But rather, both countries actively engaged in the export and import of migrant labor force, and only shed light on it as a profitable commodity (Wolfgram, 2012). In the meantime, there are raising voices of migrant workers about their mistreats in the workplace and hardship to be integrated into Taiwanese society. Amrith (2017, p. 2) argues that "(t)hey are either celebrated for their heroic sacrifices, or disparaged as necessary yet undesirable presences in a number of countries to which they migrate". Kuan & Kuan (2018, p. 11) also supports this argument by saying that majority of the workers are still outsiders of the society. Migrant workers suffer from isolation and lack of resources to feel secure at their new homes. Although Filipino workers are generally known for high level of education in their homeland and English proficiency, most of the OFWs in Taiwan remain as temporary, low-income workers who can be easily replaced with other migrant workers. Ofreneo & Samonte (2005, p. 7-8) made a list of deep-rooted problems migrant workers face in different stages of their migration:

« *a) Pre-employment/deployment*

• *High cost of placement fees*
• *Lack of information on policies of host country*

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• Lack of preparation of migrant workers and families

• Illegal recruitment/deployment/departure

• Lack of domestic economic/employment opportunities

• Limited job options

b) On-site

• Abusive and exploitative work conditions

• Contract substitution

• Inadequate protective mechanisms

• Inadequate compliance monitoring

• Limited on-site services/assistance to overseas workers

• Ill-attended health needs

• Rampant trafficking of women

• Social and cultural adaptation problems

• Incidence of violence

• Inadequate preparation for interracial marriages

• Limited support services/system for women in interracial marriages

• Lack of welfare and other officials to attend to migrant worker needs '

• Lack of support or cooperation from government of host country

c) Post-employment/return

• Lack of opportunity to absorb returning migrant workers

• Lack of savings

• Inability to manage income

• Broken families

• Reintegration problem of women migrant workers »

With regard to the listed problems, there are raising voices of criticism about human rights violation and discrimination towards SE Asian migrants in Taiwan. According to Tsai & Hsiao (2006), NGOs for human rights protection of migrant workers emerged after series of reports on migrant workers' severe working conditions. Those NGOs provide shelters for

migrants, provide education and speak for migrants against systematic restrictions. Nevertheless, large number of female migrants from SE Asian countries comes through marriage intermediation by brokers and work as caretakers and household helpers in Taiwan (Tseng, 2015). Societal expectation regarding to the practice makes it particularly hard for female workers to get educational opportunities and participate in social activities.

In addition, migrant workers' prior education and their background knowledge are not recognized in their receiving countries. Sometimes, even when they are better educated than the local population, foreign workers have hard times getting jobs that match their expectations (Mancinelli, Mazzanti, Piva, & Ponti, 2010). Mancinelli et al. (2010) compared level of education and job position between migrant population and native-born population in Italy. From the study, researchers found that the percentage of people who received higher education was somewhat similar between the migrants and locals (11.1% and 15.1% respectively), but more than 75% of migrants were employed as blue-collar workers, whereas 34.7% of locals were working as blue-collar laborers (Mancinelli et al., 2010). It shows that pre-immigrant educational levels are not well recognized in receiving countries, and also asserts the importance of migrant education provided in the receiving countries to overcome unfair division of labor among locals and migrants. Mancinelli et al. (2010) argues that the mismatch of level of education and their employability in so-called white-collar jobs is due to employers' stereotypical beliefs about migrant workers.

Moreover, there has been a lot of discussions and concerns regarding the system of brokerage. OFWs in Taiwan are obliged to find work through brokerage firms before they come. Guest worker activists in Taiwan claim that employment contracts from their countries of origin often provide misleading or false information about their working conditions (Tierney, 2007, p. 221). False information includes salary, extra benefits, place of employment, and the nature and skill of the job. However, it is hard for the workers to express their complaints, because the system of closed work permit ties migrant workers to one job under single boss (Choudry & Hlatshwayo, 2016, p. 4).

Brokers in both countries, in this case, the Philippines and Taiwan, economically take advantage of migrant workers in the name of different fees. Estimated monthly income of migrant factory workers in Taiwan was from TWD 19,643 to TWD 25,440 in 2014, but Taiwan-based brokers were charging them TWD 150,000 as a placement fee in 2000 (Kuan & Kuan, 2018, p. 1; Tierney, 2007, p. 221). To take inflation during the period of 2000-2014

into account, Kuan & Kuan (2018, p. 1) claims that migrant workers needed to spend their first 18-month salary to pay all the fees to migrant agents and as other migration-related expenses. These excessive fees put migrant workers in a vulnerable position because it makes them live without any extra money for a while. Moreover, as many migrant workers are in debt when they leave their homes, they are somehow forced to bear harsh working conditions to repay their loans (Asis, 2006).

1.4 Summary

To sum up, migrant workers continue to go through exploitation and oppression, and their struggles highlight how system of capitalist societies exploits workers by their unstable immigration status and social relations of class, gender and race around the globe (Choudry & Hlatshwayo, 2016, p. 2). On the other hand, it somehow implies the key role migrant workers are playing in a global power struggle. According to Taiwan and the Philippines' labor migration history and practice elaborated through different authors, migrant workers are a vital, yet disregarded part of global social and political force (Choudry & Hlatshwayo, 2016, p. 2). In this study, different scopes and dimensions of labor migration has been introduced and will further be considered in order to picture the reality without biased view. Although individual migrant workers' view will be prioritized to understand their perspective and situation, brokerage system and global social structure, as well as policies and societal factors around migrant workers will also be counted as essential influence that outlines individual workers' lives.

The role of education can be discussed when migrant workers' complexity and self-authority is understood properly. According to Amrith (2017, p. 4), who wrote about OFWs' situation working in other countries,

> *"both the tone of celebration and tone of self-pity in the narratives about Filipino migrants neglect complex layers of the migrant experience. These binary narratives also overlook the sheer range of migrants who might hold very different aspirations and priorities"*.

Migrant workers are individuals in society who hold different aspirations and choices, possibilities, and make effort to overcome oppression and limitations that they face. Education can be one of their strategic negotiation to seek control over their conditions. In the next chapter, literature about migrant workers' choices and experience of education in host countries will be introduced and reviewed.

2 Literature Review

Literature for the thesis has mainly been searched on Oria, library search engine of the University of Oslo, and Google scholar. Some of the books that are not available online were borrowed at Humanities and Social Sciences Library in Georg Sverdrups hus at University of Oslo. Main keywords for the search include "migrant education", "migrant worker education", and "migrant worker training programs".

2.1 Migration and Education

Education being a part of basic human rights and fundamental institution of nation states, has a complex and multi-layered relationship with international migration. OECD published a paper concerning the relationship of migration and education in the Philippines. OECD (2017) defined education as a mean to foster national development and growth. Using 'human capital' perspective to analyze, OECD viewed international migration as a way of building human capital stocks and improving educational outcomes. However, the term, 'brain drain' also appeared in OECD's report as a negative side of emigration in the Philippines, especially the situation of highly educated individuals going abroad to take up low-skilled jobs. In addition, it turned out that few accumulate more education while working abroad. Statistics in the study showed that less than one out of ten migrant workers, both current (9%) and returned (6%), had received education abroad (OECD, 2017, p. 141-142). Although these shortcomings might seem problematic, OECD put more light on positive impact of emigration in education. Since the remittances OFWs send back to their homes contribute to revitalizing economic investment in education, school attendance of young people and enrollment to private schools, household expenditure for education rised altogether (OECD, 2017).

2.2 Migrant workers and their education in host countries

To narrow down the focus to more relevant topic to this research, educational experience of migrant workers and previous literature on it will be discussed in the following part of literature review. As mentioned above, OECD (2017) used 'human capital' perspective to analyze how migration and education affect each other. Even though OECD gave a tiny space in its writing for migrants' educational chances in host countries, there certainly was a point that it wanted to shed light on. OECD (2017, p. 141) claimed that "[o]ne of the potential benefits of international migration is the acquisition of new knowledge and skills by migrants in destination countries. Return migrants who bring these skills back home can contribute to human capital accumulation in the origin country".

There are two points to criticize such analysis of OECD (2017)'s. First of all, there is a possible danger of dehumanization of migrant workers. In statistics and their description, OECD (2017) excessively focused on return migrants among all types of migrants. The term 'brain drain', for instance, reflects the way OECD view Filipino nationals living abroad as well; It indicates that the ones living and working abroad is considered a 'loss' to a country and when they finally come back home, they 'bring back' their earnings and learnings to the country. It is exactly the way we view capital, not human beings. Flow and interaction of humans are much more complex, flexible and creative than flow of capital. Although physically abroad, migrant workers can communicate and share what they learned with their family and friends at home, thanks to the internet and networking services. Likewise, not only return migrants can contribute to their home countries' education. Secondly, OECD (2017)'s standpoint emphasizes nation as a unit of analysis. Thus, individual migrant workers' experience and opinions are often neglected. There are so much more than mere 'human capital accumulation' on the topic of migrant workers' education, which will be elaborated soon after. In the worst-case scenario, it will deepen the gap between policy-level and classroom-level (practice) education if individuals' experience in education is considered unimportant and only 'nation state as a whole' is concerned.

In contrast to OECD (2017), Hannah (2008)'s writing embraced diverse and complex nature of migrant education. It includes wide range of possible topics and instances related to

the main theme. In order to do so, setting definition of terms by comparing similar and relevant ones is a significant process before making in-depth analysis. In her writing, 'immigrant (migrant)' and 'refugee' are compared to clearly distinguish the two. People often confuse the two words and misuse them, which can cause confusion and misunderstanding. First, let me clarify the definition of terms.

2.2.1 Migrant and refugee

Sometimes, 'immigrant(migrant)' is considered as a broader term that includes 'refugee'. In this research, however, immigrant(migrant) and refugee will be differentiated, and in order to clarify meaning of terms, 'migrant' will mostly be used to refer to a group of people who migrate with their own will, with what Hannah (2008) called, "the migration decision". Refugee, however, refers to a group of people who were forced to flee from persecution and to seek asylum in other countries (Hannah, 2008). For refugees, return is not an option, whereas migrants have more options in planning for the future. Migrants can settle down in a host country, move to another country, or return to their home country. Motivation for migration also includes several reasons, such as economic (work), social (international marriage), and educational reasons (study abroad). Their legal status and social circumstance, including plans and intensions for the future, have huge impact on their educational experiences.

2.2.2 The Right to Education

In fact, academic literature has had stronger focus on the schooling and enhancing the educational performance of second generation of migrant population and refugee youth. Since they are usually born or raised in the destination country from young age, the countries consider them as their native citizens and try to make embracive educational environment within public education system. The children and youth's integration into compulsory

schooling system and their access to education is known as basic human rights internationally. However, host countries are overlooking the social effect of providing education for migrant workers, and the human rights of adult migrants to be educated for better adjustment to their destination country. In this social context, adult migrants are prone to discrimination towards their ethnic identity, lower quality of life stemming from low wage and poor working condition, as well as groundless prejudice about them. The struggle of migrant workers can be shown in the human rights protest of migrant workers in different host countries and migrant workers' human rights violation in harsh working conditions. Therefore, the aim of their education should be raising self-confidence, making sustainable livelihood and ultimately, becoming self-reliant (Hannah, 2008).

Hannah (2008) stated that education plays a crucial role in the field of international migration. Education and training make integration process of migrants easier, and also contributes in empowering migrants and refugees (Hannah, 2008). Nonetheless, education should not bear too much responsibility that seems to be behind its role and control. For example, policy makers have a tendency to blame education when the problem actually is their poor employment or housing policies. Furthermore, regarding migrants residing in host countries, national laws and policies of migrants' residency and citizenship can determine primary access to education and training (Hannah, 2008). It is thus important to understand both the potential and limit of the role of migrant workers education.

One of the key findings from previous and prospective researches on this topic, therefore, is 'what worked' and 'what did not (work)'. To make more relevant and effective classes for migrant workers, most studies propose suggestions and things that needs to be done to improve in their findings. Hannah (2008)'s findings also included advice for education for migrants. Firstly, Hannah claimed that language is a single most important factor to the integration of migrants. Language learning opens up for even more educational opportunities, and chances in labor market. Thus, many countries and institutions use language proficiency as a key scale to evaluate how well a person (migrant) is integrated into society (Hannah, 2008). In addition, being able to use host country's language is closely linked to migrants' sense of belonging. To make better language courses for migrant workers, Hannah (2008) asserted that appropriate initial diagnosis of participants' level of literacy is necessary. Because every migrant has different level of literacy in their mother tongue,

educational and occupational background, and goals to achieve in the host country, language education should be able to meet their specific needs (Hannah, 2008, p. 44).

The roles and responsibilities of educational providers are also vital part of migrant's education. To maximize the benefits of education, the institutions and the staffs should have sensitivity towards migrants and their circumstances, hence giving appropriate guidance and support migrant workers need (Hannah, 2008).

2.3 Literature based on specific groups of migrant workers

Three selected literatures on education of specific groups of migrant workers will be discussed together. To start with, background information and embedded circumstance of each study will be introduced. Social context of each research can affect the findings and conclusion of the studies, bringing different interpretation to seemingly similar type of educational practice. Three selected literatures are; Zielińska, 2013; Yuniarto, 2019; and Jang, Choi, Lee, & Go, 2019. Zielińska (2013)'s study is based on Polish migrants in Iceland, Yuniarto (2019) wrote on Indonesian migrant workers in Taiwan, and Jang et al. (2019) gave a research on Filipino workers in South Korea.

While both Yuniarto (2019) and Jang et al. (2019) (, and Hannah (2008) as well) expressed their positive understanding of language education in host countries as most researchers did, Zielińska (2013) critically reviewed national language courses for migrant workers in Iceland. To begin with, Polish migrants initially came to work in Iceland as fixed-term contract workers. Most of the workers, before 2006, were guaranteed job positions, while female migrants worked as cleaners and male migrants worked at construction sites in most cases (Zielińska, 2013). After financial crisis in Iceland, many of Polish migrant workers became unemployed. From then on, naturally, the demand of Icelandic language proficiency from migrant workers has risen among local employers (Zielińska, 2013). In such context, Zielińska brought in a critical lens to analyze power relations and the effect of language learning for Polish migrants in Iceland. Zielińska (2013) agreed on widespread merit of

language education for adult migrants, such as better job opportunities and communication with local people. Besides, Zielińska (2013, p. 121) raised some questions that are rarely asked; « *Do migrants, especially temporary ones, have any use for local knowledge? Can education for migrants focus on building their relationship to places, making them feel 'at home' rather than strangers? Is focusing educational content on issues related to a particular place empowering or, rather, oppressive?* »

2.3.1 Reflection of power in migrant education

Reading the questions above, some might wonder how education can be 'oppressive'. Educational oppression is a well-developed topic of Freire (1970) and following scholars of critical pedagogy. Freire brought up a critical framework which claims education is either oppression or liberation. Zielińska, borrowing and comprehending Freire's framework in her(/his) way, raised a question about the role of language education in revealing power of the national language and citizenship. Zielińska (2013, p. 131), therefore, claimed that language education for migrant workers in Iceland shows imbalance of power by attempting to integrate workers into single linguistic community. Although language courses may not be forced or obligatory, it reflects subtle forms of power (Zielińska, 2013). Linguistic community based on single dominant language, in this case, Icelandic, is a result of political domination reproduced by social institutions, especially through education. It shows the power local citizens obtain over migrant population by setting 'only legitimate language' and making it almost like a 'moral' to learn it (Zielińska, 2013). One interviewee from Zielińska(2013, p. 130)'s research gave an answer that describes complex feelings on social expectation towards migrant workers to learn Icelandic.

"*They all speak English here, so they are rather open. Of course, there are also these stubborn ones who don't speak it because they don't want to ... But it doesn't surprise me ... well, it is us who dragged ourselves here, nobody forced us ... of course, they invited us, they really did! Oh, how they tempted us to come here! But they are at home here. It would be strange if they couldn't use only their language if they felt like it. That's life ... It's us who should adapt*".

The interviewee accepted that local people can feel reluctant to speak a foreign language (English) in their own country, and that migrants are only guests in locals' point of view (Zielińska, 2013, p. 131). In the meantime, the interviewee also contended that the host country (Iceland) invited migrant workers to come, due to shortage of manpower. Zielińska (2013) made her(/his) core claim here. The situation in Iceland, which makes migrant workers learn the 'local language (Icelandic)', and defining it as 'natural', is the exercise of Bourdieu (1991)'s symbolic power. As such, the society establishes linguistic legitimacy and issues 'the authority to speak' to the ones who can speak the language. This phenomenon can result in discriminatory social hierarchy based on one's national language competency.

Zielińska (2013)'s critical interpretation of migrant worker's language education partially stems from the characteristic of Icelandic. Since Iceland is a remote island country, Icelandic language is very local. Thus, learning Icelandic, in temporary migrant workers' view, can be less beneficial than learning global language or universal skills. Moreover, some respondents complained that daily conversation and other practical reasons to study Icelandic are seemingly meaningless since they do not have anyone to talk to in Icelandic (Zielińska, 2013). Sometimes, their co-workers are also migrants like themselves, and some also mentioned that they could do daily things in English or in Polish (Zielińska, 2013, p. 128). It, again, shows that considering particular social environment of migrant workers is significant when analyzing the effect of migrant workers' education.

Zielińska gave a valuable inquiry for future researchers about a dilemma migrant workers' education possibly holds. Most of the times, education is viewed as a master key that can always empower the lives of workers and bring positive effect on society. Nevertheless, education is embedded in global and local social structure where power struggle happens. It is, therefore, important to keep in mind that dis-empowerment or reckless assimilation can happen as a result of migrant education. Paying keen attention to migrant workers' voices and experience as well as their social and political surroundings will deepen the understanding of migrant worker's education.

2.3.2 Practices of migrant workers' education

Before proceeding onto shared topics to discuss among selected literature, Yuniarto (2019) and Jang et al. (2019)'s research and its background will be briefly explained. Yuniarto wrote on Indonesian migrant workers in Taipei, Taiwan. Putting special stress on VET (vocational training program) and community-based learning, Yuniarto gave detailed description of educational programs and activities offered by different education providers. Besides, Jang et al. (2019)'s topic of research is transnational financial education for Filipino workers residing in South Korea (henceforth Korea). OFWs in Korea are EPS (Employment permit system) workers, which means that they are temporary workers whose length of stay is limited. EPS workers have to go back to the Philippines when their granted time in Korea is over. They are banned from permanent settlement. The restriction on them is very similar to Indonesian workers in Taiwan, who are prohibited from obtaining permanent visas or naturalization (Yuiarto, 2019). Their family members, of course, are refrained from joining them to stay in host countries.

Yuniarto (2019) believed that migrant worker education, especially VET and community learning, helps capacity building of migrant workers. According to Yuniarto (2019), VET programs for migrant workers are mainly provided by government and NGOs, and aim to improve efficiency of the labor market. In other words, VET focuses on preparing the workers to meet overseas employers' requirements (Yuniarto, 2019). Migrant workers' view is not well-reflected into VET programs, thus failing to meet migrant's need. Another shortcoming of VET programs is that they are lacking of monitoring and evaluation process (Yuniarto, 2019). Lacking of the two can hinder improvement and decrease effectiveness of the programs.

On the other hand, Yuniarto (2019) referred to community learning as a type of education offered by migrant associations or religious groups that promotes migrant workers' social inclusion and cross-cultural understanding. It includes practical subjects as skills, computer, and English. Unlike education provided by governmental institutions and private training academies, those informal educational activities forge solidarity among the workers of same nationality and gives them sense of freedom (Yuniarto, 2019). In addition, community learning spaces and Indonesian entrepreneurs in Taiwan provide diverse social services that migrant workers need to overcome difficulties they face during the stay. The comparison of VET and community-based learning from Yuniarto's writing shows that

different types of education and providers of education can bring distinctive characteristic of each program.

Jang et al. (2019), however, dealt with financial education programs for migrant workers in Korea, which aims to build financial literacy among Filipino EPS workers. While OFWs come to Korea for work, the rest of their families, most of the times, remain in their hometowns. They then become so-called 'transnational families'. Living apart from their families makes financial management of OFWs' earnings especially difficult because strong family bond is an important part of the Philippines' culture. OFWs struggle between meeting their families' financial goals and the reality of high living cost in Korea, along with their lack of knowledge and low trust in Korean banking system. Thus, Jang et al. (2019) looked for a way that education can bring financial empowerment among the workers, and secure financial sustainability of their families.

2.3.3 Future Orientation

All three of selected literature, Zielińska (2013), Jang et al. (2019), and Yuniarto (2019), dealt with the notion of time. Time of the past, present time, and plans for the future affected and changed migrant workers' educational experiences. Zielińska (2013, p. 134) wrote; *"[i]t is also interesting to consider how often the participants talked about time – about spending or wasting it. They treated time as a resource that could be exchanged for knowledge... Time seems to be, therefore, a very productive and complex lens by which to look at adult education for migrants"*.

Some respondents from Zielińska (2013)'s study related learning to their biological age. They claimed that they cannot learn as effectively as they could before. In addition to biological time, Biographical time played a key role in migrants' educational decision-making.

Migrant workers, unless they change their professions and visa types accordingly, get to spend limited amount of time in their host countries. Their limited, yet changeable length of stay and other external factors regarding their future plans influence learning. An

expression Zielińska (2013, p. 133) used— ″*how learning is embedded in migrants' future*

plans ″— shows that migrant workers make educational decision upon their blueprint of

future.

However, it appears that life of migrant workers is very often unpredictable. Their

plans change frequently, and makes it harder for themselves to put time and effort in learning

the language of host countries (Zielińska, 2013). In the same vein, Yuniarto (2019) mentioned

that lacking of concrete plans for the future is one of the main constraints that limits

Indonesian migrant workers educational participation in Taiwan. When asked about their

plans, migrant workers tended to give a vague and ambiguous answer. The uncertainty of

future affects their financial management and participation in education as well. According to

an interviewee of Yuniarto (2019, p. 126),

″*... in fact, the Indonesian migrant doesn't have a well-managed calculation on future*

planning; they [just] collect money, but they don't think seriously about their future plans as

to what they would use their savings, and will instead consider this when they are home ″.

Planning ahead is a major issue faced by migrant workers when their employment in host

countries end (Yuniarto, 2019). During the contract, migrant workers use their income

without well-managed financial strategy. Jang et al. (2019) asserted that the goal of financial

education of migrant workers should be encouraging better financial management. In doing so,

educational programs should connect migrant workers' past (pre-departure), present (working

overseas), and the future (post-return or otherwise). An Officer of Indonesian government, in

Yuniarto (2019)'s research, said that the purpose of training programs government offer for

migrant workers is to give workers the ability to seek for alternative livelihoods at home.

Different factors concerning the education of migrant workers include their social

background, previous educational experiences, and working conditions (Jang et al., 2019;

Yuniarto, 2019; Zielińska, p. 133). Migrant workers, especially female workers who work as

hospital nurses or domestic care givers, showed low rate of educational participation due to

the nature of their occupations, which provide on-demand services without regular time-off

(Yuniarto, 2019).

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In order to promote participation of migrant workers in educational programs, first of all, practicality of the learning should be guaranteed. Since migrant workers are working full-time and do not want their time to be wasted, educational programs will have higher demand if they are connected with further employability and opportunities. Secondly, rather than 'one size fits all', the subject and level of migrant education should be diversified. To do so, different educational institutions can work together. Not only NGOs and governmental offices of home and host countries, local schools or universities can offer professional training programs to help workers cultivate new skills (Yuniarto, 2019, p. 121). There is an example of local NGO and high school's cooperation in Taiwan, which Yuniarto (2019, p. 122) elaborated;

"The Global Workers' Upskill Centre, which is a joint collaboration between Global Workers' Organization (GWO) and KaiNan High School of Commerce and Industry, started to offer training in e-commerce and home baking every Sunday for migrant workers to expand their personal skills and improve employment opportunities. After 10 weeks of training, they will receive a certificate for completing the training, GWO spokesmen added ".

Such collaboration for migrant worker's education will eventually prompt networking of different stakeholders of education and guarantee better quality of the programs.

2.4 Summary

To sum up, previous literature on migrant worker's education interpreted and analyzed the effect of education in different ways. While OECD (2017) applied transnational and economic view on migrant's education, it opened up the room for more critical perspective that changed the focus to migrant workers' experiences. Although there are different factors affecting migrants' education, such as legal status of migrant workers, socio-cultural circumstance, working conditions, and so on, most researchers advocated migrant workers' right to be educated for their protection and empowerment in the society. Researchers also shared their findings on 'what worked' and 'what did not' as practical suggestions for improving migrant workers' education. Many of them pointed out 'future orientation' as a key

element in workers' educational experiences. Unstable status in host countries and vague outline of future hampered migrant workers' participation in education. Zielińska (2013)'s writing on Polish migrant workers' language education in Iceland, however, gave a hint on a dilemma education of migrant worker might have. Education can serve as a tool to empower migrant workers in a positive way, or to suppress and dis-empower them. It is important to notice that external factors, including national policies, working contract, and visa, can affect the limit and potential of education. Accordingly, in this study, I want to find out to what degree education can affect migrant workers' lives, communities, and society. In doing so, the dilemma of migrant workers' education, whether it empowers or suppresses, will be discussed in the workers' viewpoint.

2.5 Research Questions

How do Filipino workers (OFWs) in Taiwan view and describe the impact of educational programs on themselves? Empowering or oppressive?

- (1) How does OFWs' educational experience in Taiwan affect them on a personal level?

- (2) How does OFWs' educational experience in Taiwan affect them on a relational level?

- (3) How does OFWs' educational experience in Taiwan affect them on a collective level?

3 Analytical Framework

In order to answer the research questions, I tried to find a concept or framework that best suits to render the dilemma of migrant workers' education. The dilemma can be expressed in different ways, such as «liberation vs. oppression» as Freire (1970) did, or «enhancement of capabilities vs. capability deprivation» by Sen (1999). However, I chose to use empowerment because I believe it is the best way to bridge individual, relational, and collective level of the impact of migrant worker's education. As it includes the word 'power' in itself, empowerment implies power relation in societies that shows how groups of people are positioned in their social embeddings (Huis, Hansen, Otten, & Lensink, 2017). At the same time, empowerment emphasizes personal agency of individuals who are the agents of choices and change (Huis et al., 2017). Freire (1970)'s critical pedagogy and Sen (1999)'s capability approach constitute a big part of theoretical basis of empowerment, so the terms and concepts will still appear in the following parts. In this chapter, notion of empowerment and how it can be applied to this research will be discussed.

3.1 Notion of Empowerment

To begin with, academic discourse of the term, empowerment will be introduced. The notion of empowerment has been defined and developed as a conceptual framework by many scholars. Central meaning of empowerment agreed by scholars is that it raises desire to act and change the surroundings that had been disempowering the person (Day, 1999; Rowlands, 1995; Stromquist, 1995; Stromquist, 2002). Bauman elaborates on this in one of his writings; *"[W]idespread consent, 'empowerment' ... is achieved when people acquire the ability to control, or at least significantly influence, the personal, political, economic and social forces by which their life trajectory would be otherwise buffeted; in other words, to be 'empowered' means to be able to make choices and act effectively on the choices made, and that in turn*

signifies the capacity to influence the range of available choices and the social settings in which choices are made and pursued" (Bauman, 2005, p. 23).

From the quote above, we can find three main aspects of empowerment. One is 'the ability to control', another is 'capacity to make choices and act upon them' and the other is 'capability to influence social settings'. When it comes to the ability to control, Hansen (2015) puts it in another way, while considering how to measure personal, psychological empowerment. One of the indicator Hansen (2015)'s research included was 'a strong personal control belief', which is a trust in oneself of having control over outcomes in life. To obtain such belief, one should gain knowledge to change the perception about self and the surrounding social environment (Lazo, 1995). People of oppressed group usually have limited willingness and ability to solve problems in their lives (Stromquist, 1995). Thus, empowerment should be a process of gaining control in one's personal life.

Secondly, making choices and acting upon them is an essential part of defining empowerment. Kabeer (1999) defined power as 'ability to choose', and argued that disempowerment means to deny one's ability to exercise choice. When a person is empowered, it implies wider range of options available for her(him), as well as opening up the possibility of alternatives in life (Kabeer, 1999, p. 437; Lazo, 1995). And Stromquist (2014) asserted that empowerment through education goes beyond consciousness-raising. After learning about reality, empowered individual should be able to act upon it. It is what Lazo (1995) called bargaining power, which is power to generate choices and negotiate among the choices. Being able to 'act' upon personal choices widens up the scope of one's empowerment, into the level of close relationships. One can start to influence close group of people and relatively small community when her(his) choices are followed by subsequent actions.

Lastly, empowerment accompanies capability to influence social settings (Bauman, 2005). Empowerment, in its emancipatory meaning, begins from influencing one's personal agency to acting for human rights and justice in the society (Stromquist, 1995; Stromquist, 2014). In an attempt to create desirable social conditions, empowerment generates motivation for changing disempowering environment through collective action. Stromquist (2014) underlined this facet of empowerment, saying that only little change will occur if new knowledge and skills acquired from education are not accompanied with further social organization and political actions.

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3.1.1 Migrant workers' empowerment

Historically, the term, empowerment, was used for advocating democratic rights for the people of color in 1960's, and for women's movement in 1970's (Stromquist, 1995). It used to be a slogan for women's advancement in society for a long time, and asserted the importance of women's education and supportive political will to sustain positive changes in society (Aksornkool, 1995). Now it has gained wider usage among extensive academic field of education, as well as migrant studies. Although most studies on the notion of empowerment mentioned that it can be applied to different marginalized groups, it would be helpful to indicate specific purpose and aim of migrant worker's education in order to understand what it means to empower migrant workers through education. Disempowering social conditions of migrant workers, as elaborated in the Background information part, should be considered as we look through following examples.

Migrant Workers Affairs, an NGO, defined migrant worker's empowerment strategy as "[e]nhancing their capability to deal with their own economic, social and cultural problems while in the receiving countries" (Ofreneo & Samonte, 2005, p.19). This definition, in a way, emphasized personal level of empowerment as highlighting one's capability development. Besides, Kuan & Kuan (2018, p.13) argued that education should expand and connect migrant workers' lives to more people and more places. The authors also expected higher confidence and sense of autonomy as a result of the broadened spectrum of migrant workers' lives. Connecting their lives with wider level of society implies that empowerment does not only remain at personal level, and affect their lives at different levels. Therefore, desirable outcome of migrant worker's empowerment should enable the workers of self-protection, as well as the ability to have influence in broader society. Lazo (1995) stated that empowerment of migrant workers in societal level includes reduction of their vulnerability and exploitability, elevation of socio-economic status, and easier access to social services and resources.

Based on the notion of empowerment and migrant worker's empowerment we discussed so far, next parts of this chapter will introduce Stromquist (2015)'s comparison of formal and non-formal education regarding empowerment, and present concrete analytical framework for this research.

3.2 Formal and Non-formal Education

Stromquist (2002; 2015) claimed that formal and non-formal education display significant differences in relation to empowerment. They are also in line with the dilemma of migrant worker's education, the phenomenon this research wants to find out about. The comparison of the two derived from Stromquist (2015)'s argument that most successful instances of empowerment occurred through non-formal education. In her viewpoint, formal education reflects perspective of oppressor, thus reproduces hegemonic power and dominant order of the society (Stromquist, 2015). Main contents of formal education are reading, math, and science, what most schools universally teach as basic subjects. Academic standard of achievement is narrowly linked to these conventional subjects (Stromquist, 2015). The nature of formal education, therefore, does not encourage social change. On the contrary, non-formal education generally teaches life skills. On top of that, non-formal education offers spaces for developing supportive relationships (Stromquist, 2015). Considering her statement above, we can infer that such characteristics of non-formal education provide empowerment-friendly educational environment.

3.3 Analytical Framework

Following part of analytical framework will introduce Rowlands (1995)'s three levels of empowerment and Stromquist's four dimensions of empowerment. As combining the two together, I attempted to make a concrete framework that can be applied to this research. Combination of the two enabled the author to bring about the indicators falling under each type of empowerment. I chose to use Rowlands and Stromquist's models because both of them intended to make a precise and deliberate definition of empowerment against multiple definitions on it, which caused unclear use of the terminology (Rowlands, 1995; Stromquist, 2002).

Rowlands (1995) wrote on three levels of empowerment in the realm of development studies, but also claimed that empowerment can be applied to poor and marginalized people

in the society. Stromquist, on the other hand, introduced four dimensions of empowerment in the field of gender and education.

3.3.1 Stromquist's empowerment classification

Stromquist has developed and subdivided empowerment into four different dimensions. She claimed that they are all equally important, and none of them are sufficient by itself (Stromquist, 2002, p. 23). First, cognitive empowerment is a process of gaining critical understanding of reality through learning knowledge, such as one's legal rights and citizenship status (Stromquist, 1995; Stromquist, 2002). Secondly, psychological empowerment is best represented as psychological notion of self-worth, self-esteem, and confidence. The first two dimensions constitute internal empowerment. Third comes political empowerment, and it includes having sufficient political knowledge and awareness of power inequalities, and the capacity to organize and participate in political affairs (Stromquist, 2002). Lastly, economic empowerment is related to learning productive skills that leads a person to income-generating activities or direct increase of income (Stromquist, 1995). It has to entail the ability to generate independent income (Stromquist, 2002). Third and fourth dimensions, political and economic dimensions, belong to collective empowerment.

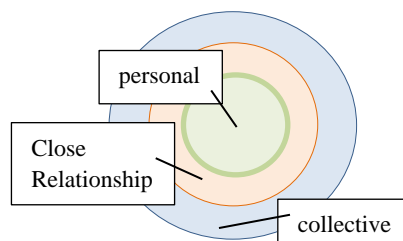### 3.3.2 Rowlands's three levels of empowerment

Figure 5. Rowlands (1995)'s three levels of empowerment

Rowlands's three levels of empowerment consists of personal level, close relationships level, and collective level. Firstly, for examining personal level of empowerment, Rowlands (1995) emphasized learning about personal history and focusing on one's experience. In doing so, researcher can find out clues about participants' self-esteem and confidence, which reflects personal level of empowerment. Secondly, close relationship as a second level of empowerment includes one's ability to influence and make decision in relatively small, close groups of people. It also contains network building with people who are directly involved, and can offer support with each other (Rowlands, 1995). Lastly, collective level of empowerment shows individual's ability to have extensive impact on societal level.

3.3.3 Combining Stromquist and Rowlands

Table 3. Classification of Stromquist's typology guided by Rowlands (1995)'s levels of empowerment and development of indicators for each level of empowerment

Three levels of Empowerment (Rowlands, 1995)	Stromquist's Empowerment classification	Indicators
Personal	Cognitive Psychological	knowledge self-esteem, confidence
Close relationships (Relational)	Socio-cultural[1]	social network
Collective	Economic Political	job-related skill, income social participation & inclusion

As can be seen from Table 3, this study combines Stromquist's classification of four dimensions of empowerment with Rowlands's three levels of empowerment to generate adequate indicator for each level of empowerment, which will be used for interview questions

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[1] Socio-cultural empowerment is not from Stromquist's classification. In order to match Rowlands' second level of empowerment (Close relationships), I made up the term with reference to numerous researches on educational empowerment.

and data analysis. The reason for using Rowlands's levels of empowerment is to better capture and view how educational experience of migrant workers affect their lives from micro-, meso-, to macro level. Stromquist's typology matched with Rowlands's allows the explanation of empowerment process in greater detail. Each dimension of empowerment leads to the indicators that comes under the levels of empowerment.

Among the second column of Table 3, 'Socio-cultural empowerment' is a term made upon Stromquist (1995)'s emphasis on interpersonal relations in community level. She stressed that empowerment can also come from participating in small, cohesive groups, through gaining social trust and building networks (Stromquist, 1995, p. 18).

Each indicator on the third column of Table 3 were developed by the author. While drawn from extensive reading on empowerment (Kabeer, 1999; Kabeer, 2012; Rowlands, 1995; Sen, 1999; Stromquist, 1995; Stromquist, 2015), special social condition of migrant workers was taken into account. The following shows definition of each indicator, which will be used for making interview guide and analyzing the findings afterwards.

<1. Personal level of empowerment **-** 1. 1. Cognitive empowerment>

·○ **1. 1. 1. Knowledge**

- Information or understanding of a subject

<1. Personal level of empowerment - 1. 2. Psychological empowerment>

·○ **1. 2. 1. Self-esteem**

- Positive view on oneself, belief in worth and value one has. It includes feeling good about oneself, and high self-esteem helps to cope effectively with challenges (Heatherton, & Wyland, 2003).

·○ **1. 2. 2. Confidence**

- Belief in one's own ability to make desirable things happen in one's life. Personal belief of one's own capable ability.

<2. Relational level of empowerment **-** 2.1. Socio-cultural empowerment>

·○ **2.1.1. Social network**

- Building social bond between people of close group(s). It includes widening up one's social boundary by joining new groups of people, or tightening social ties with people who the person already knew.

<3. Collective level of empowerment **-** 3. 1. Economic empowerment>

·○ **3. 1. 1. Job-related skill**

- Set of skill(s) that can be related to making higher achievement in one's current job, or acquisition of future job.

·○ **3. 1. 2. Income**

- The amount of money one can earn through economic activities, for example, providing one's manpower in the job market, or running a business.

<3. Collective level of empowerment **-** 3. 2. Political empowerment>

·○ **3. 2. 1. Social participation & inclusion**

- Capability to participate in social and political affairs, and the sense of being part of the larger social context.

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3.4 Assumption

Based on the theory, my initial assumption for the comparison between three levels of empowerment was that OFWs in Taiwan will find educational programs empowering in personal and close-relationships levels, but not so in collective level. This assumption was made under the reality that migrant workers are not fully integrated and that their rights are limited in receiving country. Thus, I assume it will be harder for OFWs to get empowered at a collective (political and economic) level through their educational experience in Taiwan.

4 Methodology

Walter (2010) claimed that a research is designed and conducted through methodology. Three components of methodology are theoretical framework, method, and stand point (Walter, 2010). When it comes to this research, theoretical framework of empowerment has been presented in the chapter of analytical framework, and this chapter will mostly focus on giving details on the research design and method used in this study. Author's stand point, however, is showed throughout the whole thesis, including this chapter. To understand the author's decision regarding research design, method, data collection and analysis in this chapter, it will be helpful for the readers to note that this research has been designed and conducted by a master's student who do not have much prior knowledge and experience about Filipino migrant workers' educational experience in Taiwan.

4.1 Research Design

Qualitative research design is used for this research. There are variety of research designs, but the big distinction between quantitative and qualitative design shows why I decided to use qualitative design.

To start with, quantitative design is commonly believed to be stemming from the research tradition of natural science (Bryman, 2016). Tradition of natural science believes that reality is something concrete 'out there'. Their understanding of knowledge is, therefore, something that is pre-established, and researchers have to observe regularities of the natural or social law and generalize their findings.

On the other hand, the tradition of qualitative research is closely linked with how people define reality in the field of social science (Bryman, 2016). Reality, from the perspective of social science, is something that comes from within. Thus, qualitative research

applies individual perspective to capture social reality, which may differ depending on one's social embeddings and own interpretation (Bryman, 2016). I chose to use qualitative design for this research because it aims to look at the effect of migrant workers' education in the viewpoint of OFWs in Taiwan.

4.1.1 Qualitative Research

The findings of this research will provide thick and rich description on the social phenomena, in this case, migrant worker's educational experience regarding three levels of empowerment. Unlike quantitative research in social science that tests hypothesis and draws social principles upon the result, qualitative research values finding meanings attached to people's experience with words rather than numbers (Bryman, 2016). This human aspect of qualitative research enables meaningful findings even with relatively small number of participants.

4.2 Data collection and methods

Given the goals of this study, the most appropriate data collection method was semi-structured interview with OFWs in Taiwan, which entailed few participant observations in the educational programs for migrant workers.

4.2.1 Data collection period

Data was collected from September to November 2019 in Taichung (臺中), Taiwan. Since I went to Taiwan as a part of TEEP@Asia Plus internship program, I stayed in a student

dormitory at National Chi Nan University (NCNU) in Nantou, a county located in the central part of Taiwan.

Figure 6. Municipalities of Taiwan (Source: Istanbul-city-guide., n.d.)

I usually spent weekdays at the university, but on weekends and whenever I had free time, I took a bus that goes to the city of Taichung to meet informants who could possibly introduce me to OFWs working in the area around Taichung. Taichung is the second biggest city of Taiwan, and has second largest number of migrant workers in Taiwan. Above all, Taichung is one of three cities in Taiwan with MECO office, a governmental office serving for Filipino citizens abroad. OFWs, especially because of their vulnerable position in Taiwanese society, had to be approached carefully with the help of informants. Gaining access to OFWs and educational programs for them were a very important part of data collection due to the characteristic of qualitative research, which emphasizes gaining trust from participants (Harding, 2018). To hear their true stories, building rapport before conducting interviews was required. Therefore, it was critical to have informants who already know well or gained trust among OFWs, since I was also a first-timer in Taiwanese society who does not know how to speak Mandarin or Tagalog.

Before I arrived in Taiwan, I made a list of six main stakeholders for migrant worker education in Taichung. They were:

1. migrant workers (in my case, Filipino migrant workers)

2. NGOs working for migrant's right

3. local government (Taichung city government's labor bureau)	
4. Representative offices of the Philippines	
5. Religious group (catholic churches)	
6. labor migration brokerage companies	

I found these stakeholders while browsing on the internet for relevant information about Filipino migrant workers in Taichung. Due to lack of local language proficiency, I could not get in touch with local government of Taiwan and brokerage companies. However, I managed to get in touch with a local NGO and MECO Taichung, governmental office of the Philippines. It was through social media that we contacted each other. In addition, I also found out that most people of the Philippines are devout catholic, and that there are famous churches in Taichung for having many Filipino congregations.

Shortly after I arrived in Taiwan, I started to meet the informants that I contacted beforehand, and also got help from the university to meet researchers and students who shared their insight on my research and gave thoughtful advice on how to conduct a research about migrant workers in Taiwan. Table 4 shows groups and people I contacted in order to gain access to educational programs for OFWs.

Table 4. Informants in city of Taichung and research procedure (written on 2019.09.19)

OFW-related informants (group/individual)	Educational programs	Interviews
SEAT (social platform)	None. And main visitors are Indonesian migrant workers.	N/A
1095 (NGO)	Mental health, Yoga and Mandarin classes. But main visitors are Indonesian migrant workers.	Program coordinator (Annie) will contact if there's any OFWs from previous classes visiting NGO again.
Tiwa -Taichung (NGO)	Labor right lecture, cooking class, and Mandarin classes. But main visitors are Indonesian migrant workers.	N/A
Father Joy (catholic churches in Taichung and Tan Zi)	Skills training in Ugnayan center in Tan zi (In connection with OWWA)	Available on Saturday

MECO (governmental office of the Philippines)	Mandarin classes	Planned to visit the classes. 09/29 and 10/27
OWWA (governmental office of the Philippines)	Basic skill training in Ugnayan center in Tan zi (In connection with Fr Joy)	Visited the classes on 09/15. Making appointment with participants in the classes.
Migrant Welfare Center (governmental branch of Taiwan)	Mandarin classes	Visited the class on 09/15. Making appointment with participants in the class.

NGOs and social platform in Taichung were offering programs mainly for Indonesian workers. Since Indonesian workers are larger in number than OFWs and relatively under-educated at the arrival, local NGOs in Taiwan seemed to be focusing on their advancement. When it comes to catholic church, there was a famous figure in Taichung among Filipino migrants, Father Joy (hereafter Fr Joy). Whenever I talked with OFWs on the streets of Taichung, they asked me if I met Fr Joy. He is an American-Filipino priest who established *Ugnayan* (means 'connection, association, relationship, joint' in Tagalog) center. Ugnayan center is a place for worship, shelter, and activities including skill training programs run by OWWA.

I finally gained access to educational programs for OFWs after visiting MECO Taichung office and International migrant workers living care service center. With generous help and guidance of public officers in MECO (see Appendix Ⅱ for the research request), I was allowed to visit every class they offer to OFWs. Visiting MECO was planned ahead because I contacted Mr. Carl (MECO officer) before coming to Taiwan, but it was a big surprise to come across International migrant workers living care service center in the corner of ASEAN square (complex mall with a lot of migrant worker visitors). When I visited the center, there was a Taiwanese officer who could not understand English, so we communicated using mobile translation app. He introduced me to some workers at Filipino restaurants in the mall and drove me to a Mandarin class for OFWs. The class was provided by Taichung city government, and I got an opportunity to introduce myself in front of the class. Eventually, I was able to draw a map of educational programs offered for OFWs in Taichung.

The classes for OFWs were as follow:

1. Taichung city Mandarin class

It was a basic level Mandarin class offered by Taichung city government (see Appendix V, 4). Second batch of students were taking this program from August to October 2019. There were approximately 20-25 students in the class. There was only one class for Filipino students (separate classes were also provided for Vietnamese and Indonesian workers), and the class was on every Sunday, from 11am to 4pm. Teacher of the program was a university student from Indonesia. The class was free of charge.

2. Providence University Mandarin
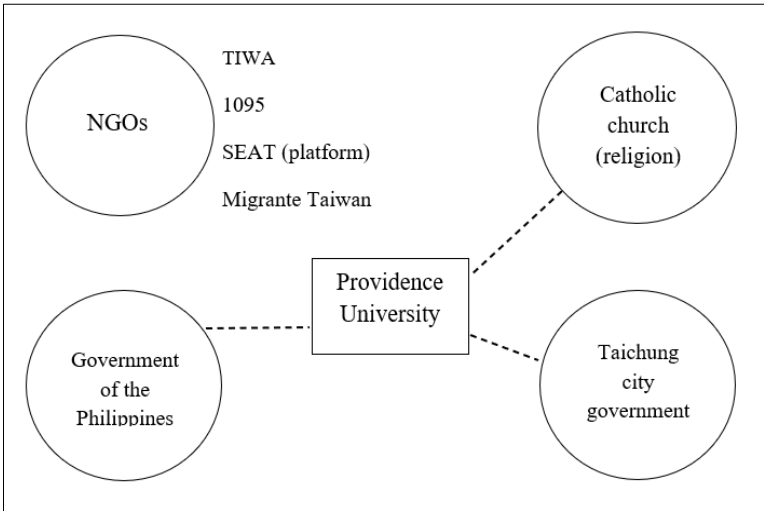
Figure 7. Cooperation of different stakeholders to provide Mandarin class

As Figure 7 shows, this course was designed and provided in relation with different stakeholders. It was a part of project 'MECOnnect' (see Appendix V, 3), a project by the governmental office of the Philippines to promote participation of other institutions in providing OFWs beneficial programs. The program took place at Providence University, a higher education institute of catholic foundation located in Taichung. There were two classes for OFWs, which were beginner (for those who learn Mandarin for the first time) level and basic-intermediate level (for those who already have some prior knowledge). Opening ceremony of the second batch of students was held on September 29th (Sunday), 2019. The program lasted until early December. For the second batch, 40 students were divided into two levels of classes upon their choices. One of the reasons for Providence University to provide this program for OFWs is their catholic background. Teachers of this program were Taiwanese students who majored in teaching Mandarin at Providence University.

Interesting fact is that Providence University was already running Mandarin classes for foreigners at that time (with tuition fee). However, these two classes were free of charge, and students just needed to pay deposit and got them back after taking all classes.

3. OWWA basic skill programs in Ugnayan center

It was a set of basic skill classes offered by OWWA (see Appendix V, 2). There were wide range of classes, from computer class to massage therapy and hair treatment. The class was free of charge for members of OWWA (see Appendix V, 1), and took place in Taichung Ugnayan center. Whenever a new set of classes were held, it was announced in their social media page, and OFWs were enrolled on first-come, first-served basis. The classes were mostly short-term, such as 3 to 5 sessions. It was also every Sunday that the classes were held, and teachers were OFWs or Filipinos (/Filipinas) who settled down in Taiwan.

4.2.2 Semi-structured Interview

Overall research design of this study contains method of semi-structured interview and participatory observation. As Bryman (2016) claimed, qualitative research attempts to find meanings that are attached to people's experience. It requires listening to their stories, as well as merging theory into the context surrounding people's lives. Therefore, I decided to use semi-structured interview as a main method for this research. I wanted to have overarching framework of empowerment that penetrates the interview questions, while keeping flexibility and openness so as to allow myself to adjust questions depending on different situations, and for the participants to intervene or step in to the flow of interview as story-tellers (Bryman, 2016).

I generated a part of interview questions from the indicators of each level of empowerment as below (see Appendix Ⅲ for the full interview guide):

1. Personal level – 'Self-esteem'

: One's own idea about oneself, believing in worth and value one has. High self-esteem helps to cope effectively with challenges (Heatherton & Wyland, 2003).

-**What was some of the biggest challenges that you faced when you first came?**

-**How have you overcome (or failed to overcome) the challenge? How has it affected your feelings about yourself?**

-**What was the role of migrant education program in overcoming (or failing to overcome) the difficulty?**

-**Has joining the program(s) made you feel worse or better about yourself? How and why?**

2. Personal level – 'Confidence'

: Belief in one's own ability to make desirable things happen in one's life.

-**What are the plans for your future?**

-**Do you think you can manage to follow the plans?**

-**Do you think any migrant educational program you attended might help you accomplish them?**

-**Has the participation in the class(es) made you better cope with the life problems in Taiwan?**

3. Personal level – 'Knowledge'

- **What are the new things that you learned through migrant education programs?**

- **Was there any incident the new knowledge you learned was useful in your daily life?**

- **Was the new knowledge useful at work?**

4. Close relationships level – 'Social network'

- **What kind of social groups are you joining here?**

- **How did you become a member of it(them)?**

- **Have you gotten any help or given any help from/to a person you know from the class?**

- **Do you feel like attending to the class has widened your social boundary?**

- **Do you talk and interact with more people than before?**

5. Collective level – 'Job-related skill'

- **Did you learn new skills you can use at your work?**

- **(If yes,) How did your boss or co-workers reacted to your change?**

- **Do you think you can get a new job from the skills you learned from the class?**

6. Collective level – 'Income'

- **In your opinion, what was the skills taught in the class that can be linked to generating more income?**

- **Do you think there is a link between joining educational programs and income?**

- **How do you think your participation in the class will affect your future income?**

7. Collective level – 'Social participation & Inclusion'

-What is your opinion about migrant workers' participation in Taiwanese society?

-Do you think migrant workers as part of Taiwanese society, or do you feel migrant workers are still strangers apart from the society?

-Has joining the class affected your participation in community life and your participation in Taiwanese society?

On average, three to four questions fell under each indicator. After making the first draft of interview guide, I continued to modify the questions and indicators to fit them better with OFWs' situations in Taiwan. After I arrived in Taiwan, I met Ronnie, a student from the Philippines, and asked him for reviewing the interview questions. He gave useful comments on the interview guide so that I can clarify the questions and conduct interview in an appropriate manner.

Table 5. Timetable of the semi-structured interviews

	Interview date and time	Note
1	September 20, 2019 5pm	Group interview
2	September 21, 2019 1.30pm	Individual interview
3	September 22, 2019 4pm	Group interview
4	October 19, 2019 10.30am	Group interview
5	October 20, 2019 5pm	Individual interview (no audio recording)
6	October 23, 2019 6.45pm	Individual interview
7	October 25, 2019 10am	Individual interview (on the phone)
8	October 27, 2019 2.30pm	Group interview

As shown on Table 5, 8 sessions of semi-structured interviews were conducted, and there were 15 participants in the interviews in total. Four of the interviews were one on one interview, whereas the other half of the interviews were group interviews. My initial plan was to conduct individual interviews, but I found out that some of the participants felt nervous to be in the interview alone. Thus, to prioritize in making confortable atmosphere for the participants, I opened up for group interviews where there is only one interviewer (the researcher) with two or more interviewees.

Each interview lasted for 50~80 minutes, and was conducted only in English. OFWs in general were very fluent, at least able to express themselves in English. The location of the interviews included quiet cafés in Taichung and Douliu, empty classroom in Ugnayan center, and also Taichung city Mandarin classroom after their graduation ceremony. The interviews were recorded after getting letter of consent signed by the participants (see Appendix I for the consent form). There was one participant who refused to be recorded, so I took notes during the interview. In addition, there was one interview conducted over the phone. Because the participants were working during the weekdays and taking classes on the weekends, it was hard for them to find time to take part in the interview. I understood that it was a hard decision for them to participate in the interview and tried to provide as much convenience as possible.

4.2.3 Participatory Observation

To gain natural and holistic view on the educational programs and their empowering effect on personal, relational, and collective level, I conducted participatory observations in some of the classes. Harding (2018, p. 18) said "[u]nderstanding the perspectives of respondents is often the key aim of qualitative researcher". I believe a researcher must put herself in participants' position in order to see things through the eyes of participants. Nevertheless, participatory observation in this research serves as a secondary method to help researcher understand OFWs' educational experience better.

I joined opening of the new batch of OWWA skill programs, and the first day of Mandarin classes at Providence University. I took part in the beginner level class at the university because I was also a first-time learner of Mandarin. I was taking a Mandarin course at NCNU, the university that I was staying at that time, so I could very much relate myself to the students in the beginner's class. I participated in the class at Providence University twice. Furthermore, after I introduced myself in front of the class, students of Taichung Mandarin class invited me to their graduation ceremony. We shared food and got to know each other in person and became friends after the event. Besides, I joined Mandarin class for migrant workers at 1095 Culture Studio (NGO). Although there were only Indonesian migrant

workers in the class, it gave me deeper insight on the relation of three levels of empowerment and educational providers, as well as purpose and content of migrant workers' education.

4.2.4 Other ways of data collection

Aside from semi-structured interview and participatory observation, additional information was collected throughout the fieldwork period. First of all, I met people from local and global NGOs. Local NGOs in Taichung, 1095 Culture Studio and TIWA (Taiwan International Workers' Association) were visited, and we had conversations on migrant workers' education and policies limiting migrant workers' rights. In addition, international organization for OFWs' rights, Migrante International had branches in Taiwan, and I got to meet Gilda from Migrante Taipei who came to visit Taichung for letting OFWs know about their rights (see Appendix V, 4). She was a president of Taipei branch, working as a domestic caregiver for years in Taiwan. She let me visit a shelter for OFWs in danger and we also had a talk on migrant workers' education and rights. Secondly, I met public officers from both countries of the Philippines and Taiwan. As mentioned above, I got to meet officers in MECO, POLO, and OWWA with help of Mr. Carl. They thankfully spared some time for me to ask questions including their purpose of providing educational programs and let me visit the classes with them. On the other hand, it was very difficult to get in touch with Taichung city's public officers. I attempted several times to reach them on the phone and via email, but all the effort was in vain. However, at the end of November, I finally got a chance to meet Taichung city government officer working in foreign labor bureau with a help of Kenzi, a local researcher and lecturer. Three of us had a conversation on OFWs' education and Taichung city's purpose of educating them, and Kenzi helped me to communicate with the officer.

Except for NGOs and government officers, I met and talked with teachers from the programs, and occasionally went to Tanzi catholic church, South Taichung catholic church, Taichung train station and ASEAN square to meet OFWs. Moreover, I sent questions via email and Line (a messenger app) to some people who does not have enough time to meet me in person. One of them is Fr Joy, and he sent me short answers for the questions I sent him through Line. The questions were about the purpose of him to establish Ugnayan center and provide skills programs for OFWs. Another person was Ms. Yuan, who sent me the answers

on behalf of Taichung city government labour bureau (see Appendix Ⅳ for the question sheet). We exchanged emails, and it was also at the very end of the fieldwork period that I got her contact. A staff member at SEAT, a communication and interaction platform at ASEAN square, helped me to get in touch with her.

During data collection period, I realized how important it is to have informants who can introduce you to your participants, especially in case you are not familiar with the field or the country. Additionally, I want to stress the importance of social media as a tool to facilitate data collection process. Most of the informants were contacted through Facebook, and I used Facebook and Line to keep in touch with participants even before and after the interviews. It made it easier for me to ask follow-up questions if I had any, and keep getting news from the participants about their educational updates and life events.

Before moving on to the next part, I want to remind the readers that the main method of this research was semi-structured interview, and that data from participatory observation and the rest will be part of final discussion.

4.3 Sampling of participants

So-called snowball sampling was used in this research. In order to look for OFWs with recent educational experience in Taiwan, it was a priority to find educational programs for OFWs first. OFWs I occasionally encountered in churches and different places of Taichung told me that they did not have any educational experience in Taiwan, which implies low educational participation rate. Therefore, I decided to contact education providers first, and got access to educational programs. I introduced myself and the research to OFWs in the classes, asking for their participation in semi-structured interview if they are willing to. Some participants contacted me through social media (with the contact detail I gave them), and I made appointments with those who showed interest in joining the interviews.

4.4 Ethical Considerations

In respect of ethical concerns, this research has gotten approval from NSD, Norwegian Centre for Research Data regarding data collection and data processing procedure. Measures were taken to ensure the protection of participants' personal data before, during, and after the interviews.

First of all, interview questions with regard to collective level of empowerment, especially political empowerment, has gone through frequent changes. To consider the danger of revealing participants' political orientation or activities, I avoided using direct words, for example, protest or political opinion, and changed the indicator from 'collective action' to 'social participation and inclusion'.

Secondly, every participant took part in the interview upon their choice of voluntary participation. No harm, threat or disadvantage were given to OFWs who decided not to participate. After getting access to educational programs, I was not accompanied by public officers, so no one felt forced to participate in this research. On the interviews, I handed out the consent form (see Appendix Ⅰ) as a hard copy to each participant and read orally through all the details about how their personal data will be treated. To avoid deception, transparency was always the priority when giving the details to the participants. Participants were free to ask any questions if they needed, and I provided contact detail to ensure them that they could contact me any time if they wanted to change something or feel uncomfortable about anything. They could withdraw anytime, even after the interviews. Participants signed on the consent form if they agreed to proceed the interview. Interviews were recorded (except for one) using recording device borrowed from Department of Education at University of Oslo. I had downloaded Diktafon mobile application as a backup. Participants' names were changed into random names they chose before the interview to keep their personal information anonymous.

Finally, sensitive topics, such as politics and story about violation of the law were deleted to protect the participants after transcribing the interview.

4.5 Data Analysis Procedure

I transcribed interviews and made notes of additional data that I collected during the field work. Since the purpose of qualitative research is to find meanings from people's experience, I tried to keep an open mind about what each participant was trying to convey from their answers while I was analyzing the data. Individual and social background of the participants were taken into consideration to prevent myself from jumping to the conclusion, and the transcriptions were analyzed using the framework of three levels of empowerment. In the upcoming chapter of findings, my analysis of semi-structured interview data will be presented.

5   Findings

In findings, signs of empowerment through migrant workers' educational experiences will be highlighted. This is based on interview data collected during field work.

5.1   Basic information of participants

Among 15 interview participants (7 female and 8 male), majority were factory workers, two were domestic caregiver, one was working as a translator and one was a nurse aide. Table 6 shows the basic information of participants and Table 7 gives detail about participants' educational background and their working language in Taiwan.

Table 6. Basic information of interview participants (based on field work conducted in September to November 2019)

Name (randomly chosen by participants)	Occupation	Sex	Has worked in Taiwan for (...) years
Abby	Domestic caregiver	Female	9
Andoy	Factory worker	Male	9
Angelo	Factory worker	Male	3
Anna	Factory worker	Female	2
Danielle	Domestic caregiver	Female	3
Jay	Factory worker	Male	4
John	Factory worker	Male	7
Keziah	Translator	Female	12
Kristian	Factory worker	Male	2
Lea	Nurse Aide	Female	11
Luis	Factory worker	Male	6
Mary	Factory worker	Female	12

Precious	Factory worker	Female	9
Seth	Factory worker	Male	9
Wa Paul	Factory worker	Male	6

Table 7. Interview participants' level of education and language usage at work (based on field work conducted in September to November 2019)

Participant	Level of education (Philippines)	Language used at work (Taiwan)
Abby	University (leave of absence)	Mandarin, English, Sign language
Andoy	Highschool graduate +	Sign language
Angelo	University graduate	Mandarin, English, Sign language
Anna	University (leave of absence)	English
Danielle	University (leave of absence)	Mandarin, English
Jay	University graduate	Mandarin, English
John	Highschool graduate +	Mandarin, English, Tagalog
Keziah	University (leave of absence)	Mandarin
Kristian	University graduate	English
Lea	University graduate	Mandarin
Luis	University graduate	Sign language
Mary	University (leave of absence)	Sign language
Precious	Highschool graduate +	Mandarin, English
Seth	University (leave of absence)	Mandarin, English
Wa Paul	Highschool graduate +	Sign language

Table 7 indicates that OFWs in Taiwan have obtained high level of education back home. All of the interview participants had completed high school education and above. This shows that their choices of jobs in Taiwan are in fact downward choices in social, structural ladder, considering their input in education in the Philippines. 'Highschool graduate +' in the table will be elaborated later on, which implies extra vocational education was taken among high school graduates.

In Table 6, column of 'Has worked in Taiwan for (…) years' shows imbalance of the years spent in Taiwan among the workers who chose to participate in educational programs. Among 15 participants, 5 were relatively new comers, ranging between 2 to 4 working years in Taiwan, and 10 participants have reached over 6 years, which is half of the period migrant guest workers are allowed to stay in Taiwan for (--12 years, but 14 years for the workers in care profession). In later part, where interviews and the narratives of participants are going to be presented, further analysis of this information will follow.

During the interviews, participants were asked what language they use at work. Regardless of the number of years they spent working in Taiwan, mix of language use were observed, especially including high proportion of sign language (body language) usage. Almost none of the participants answered that they learned proper Mandarin before they come to Taiwan, so the only language they could use to work in Taiwan was English when they first arrived. Some of the workers used Tagalog (native language of the Philippines) when they work with Filipino co-workers, but when they interact with Taiwanese co-workers or supervisors at workplace, they had to communicate through sign language or poor, basic-level Mandarin. Some may claim that high English proficiency and level of education of Filipino workers give OFWs certain advantage over other migrant workers. However, for majority of the times, it is also true that neither their English competency nor their educational backgrounds are fully acknowledged by Taiwanese employers.

Table 8. Details on participants' education after high school graduation (based on field work conducted in September to November 2019)

Participant	Education in detail (Philippines)
Abby	Second year in Accounting Technology (university)
Andoy	3-month vocational education in Computer and Data
Angelo	Bachelor of Mechanical Engineering – 5 years
Anna	Second year in Elementary Education, teaching science (university)
Danielle	Second year in Science and Public Administration (university)
Jay	Bachelor of Information Technology – 4 years
John	Vocational education in Electronic and Computer Technology
Keziah	Undergraduate of Education and Teaching Science (university)
Kristian	Bachelor of Science and Computer Engineering – 5 years
Lea	Bachelor of Science and Nursing – 4 years
Luis	Bachelor of Electronics – 4 years
Mary	Second year in Education (university)
Precious	2-year vocational education in Computer Science
Seth	Drop out of university (Computer Science) & vocational education in Building Wiring and Industrial Electronics
Wa Paul	6-month vocational education in Information and Communication Technology

As mentioned earlier, OFWs generally obtained high level of education. Table 8 gives details on participants' educational background, which shows high school education was completed by all of them, and additional education, whether vocational or higher education, were pursued by all. 5 of the participants, Andoy, John, Precious, Wa Paul, and Seth (he dropped out of college before going to vocational institute) have completed vocational education after they graduated from high school. Another 5, Angelo, Jay, Kristian, Lea, and Luis, completed their higher education which took 4 to 5 years, and the rest of the participants enrolled and entered in the university, but started to work abroad while they were still university students.

5.2 Educational courses for OFWs in Taichung

Participants took part in various educational programs in Taichung. Although some of them had to travel to Taichung from their workplaces located in Yunlin (Anna, Keziah, and Mary) or Miaoli County (Jay), their education took place in the city of Taichung. Three main educational courses provided for OFWs were:

1. Taichung Mandarin

Basic Mandarin course by Taichung city government (hereafter referred to as 'Taichung Mandarin'),

2. Providence University Mandarin

Mandarin courses for OFWs at Providence University in collaboration with MECO, government of the Philippines' representative office (hereafter referred to as 'Providence University Mandarin'), and

3. OWWA basic skill programs

basic skill programs at Ugnayan center, a catholic organization, provided in cooperation with OWWA, governmental branch of the Philippines to protect OFWs' rights (hereafter referred to as 'OWWA basic skill programs').

Table 9 is listing educational programs that each participant had joined in Taiwan at the time of the interview. Three main programs above take up the vast majority of the list, except for Keziah's participation in Douliu Mandarin program and Luis's participation in Mandarin class at the Providence University that was not specially for Filipino migrant workers.

Table 9. Interview participants' participation in educational programs in Taiwan (based on data collected during the interviews- September to November 2019)

Participant	Education in detail (Taiwan)
Abby	**Taichung Mandarin**
Andoy	**Taichung Mandarin**, OWWA (bread-baking, cake-making, massage, computer, photography)
Angelo	**Providence University Mandarin**, OWWA (Mandarin, barista)
Anna	**Providence University Mandarin**
Danielle	**Taichung Mandarin**
Jay	**Providence University Mandarin**
John	- Taichung Mandarin, OWWA (Mandarin, massage, barista, bread-baking)
Keziah	- Taichung Mandarin, Douliu Mandarin
Kristian	**Taichung Mandarin**, OWWA (massage)
Lea	**Taichung Mandarin**, OWWA (massage, barista, hair-cutting, makeup, facial massage)
Luis	**Taichung Mandarin**, Providence University Mandarin, Providence Mandarin – advanced (tuition fee)
Mary	**OWWA** (barista, bread-baking, hair and makeup, skin care, massage, **hair-cutting**)
Precious	**Taichung Mandarin**, OWWA (soap and bath making)
Seth	- Taichung Mandarin, OWWA (massage, barista, hair-cutting, Mandarin)
Wa Paul	**Taichung Mandarin**

∗ Bold letters show the course each participant was taking at the moment.

∗ John, Keziah, and Seth were not taking any educational course when interviewed.

5.3 Living and working in Taichung as OFW

Taichung, the research site of this study is a city located in mid-west Taiwan with a characteristic of holding several industrial zones where a lot of Southeast Asian migrant workers are hired. Taichung has ranked second among the cities in Taiwan at hosting foreign migrant workers following Taoyuan. Total number of migrant workers in Taichung is 106,489 based on a data collected at the end of September 2019, including 79,020 factory workers (74.21%) and 27,469 caretakers (25.79%) (Statistical data provided by Taichung city government). Following Vietnamese and Indonesian, Filipino migrant workers took up to 18.18% of the migrant workers' population in Taichung (19,361), which includes 81.4% of factory workers and 18.6% of workers in care profession. This shows that majority of OFWs in Taichung are factory workers, including workers in semicon or textile companies working as machine operators in production or assembly lines.

5.3.1 Training before coming to Taiwan

Journey of OFWs begins as they choose to work abroad for different purposes and aspirations. While still in the Philippines, before they go to the foreign land, they take training courses relevant to their new jobs. However, the trainings are rather short-term crash courses, often not so closely related to reality in the host country. Interview with Abby and Danielle, domestic caregivers in Taichung, gave picture of their training course before departure:

> Interviewer: Actually, your education back in the Philippines is not closely connected to what you are working on right now, so how did you get to learn all these duties in your job, like when you first came? Was there any training?

> Abby: Before we come here, we had training in the Philippines. So, we pay for the training, the basics, we will stay in the training firm, maybe for 15 days, taking care of babies, taking care of elders, how to clean the house,

> Danielle: (interrupts) table setting, like that.

> Interviewer: How about after coming to Taiwan?

Danielle: It's different. It's really different from our training. Because we have table settings in our trainings, but here, no. No table setting. (laughs)

Abby mentioned later in the interview that she also took Mandarin training in the Philippines to come to work as a caregiver in Taiwan, but it was only for 6 days. The course was mainly focused on memorizing Zhu-yin alphabets. Interview participants in other professions, however, answered they did not have any language learning before coming to Taiwan. Considering that caregivers have to live in employers' houses and interact with Taiwanese families all the time, pre-departure education for domestic caregivers may be more actively promoted than others. Despite the short-term trainings in Philippines, on-the-job trainings after they come to Taiwan seems necessary because, as Danielle said, every household (workplace, for workers in other professions) has different expectations and duties for the employee. Moreover, pre-departure 6-day language course is too short to learn to communicate with the employer, which in case, should be prioritized than learning the alphabets.

5.3.2 Language as the biggest obstacle for OFWs

When asked the biggest obstacles they faced when they first arrived in Taiwan, most of the participants answered language barrier. Foreign workers, including OFWs, first come to work in Taiwan without much background knowledge in Mandarin. They could learn skills needed for work from their co-workers every day at their workplaces, but struggled to actually communicate with their Taiwanese co-workers and employers. Some of OFWs were lucky enough to have Filipino co-workers who could help them out, but that does not mean they did not encounter any inconvenience in daily lives, and at work. Jay shared his story:

Interviewer: What was the biggest difficulty or challenge living and working in Taiwan?

Jay: At first, it was language barrier. Because I never spoke Mandarin, even a single word. I didn't know any Mandarin before I came here. Using my second language, English, I had to adapt to their country. I am obliged to learn Mandarin for them to understand me, and to understand my work as well. And... if I don't study Mandarin, I'm not going to understand what they're trying to say. And the job description they

have given to me, you know? I could not follow the procedure. It was written in Mandarin. English is not their native language. Knowing that Taiwanese people... they're not… umm, maybe it depends upon company. When I first came here in Taiwan, my company, uhm… I actually learned from my fellow Filipinos here. Who knows how to speak Mandarin, who spent quite some years working here. So, I learned some Mandarin from my fellow Filipinos. And at the same time, as the years go by, I learned Mandarin as ..., you know.

OFWs shared similar experiences when it comes to their first encounter with Taiwan and the communication problems. Keziah is now a translator coordinator in a Taiwanese company, but she used to work as a domestic caregiver for 6 years in Taiwan in the past. She recalled her memory:

Keziah: Before..., my first job in Taiwan was very difficult. Because I don't know how to speak Mandarin and my employer don't know how to speak English! So, very difficult. Every day when I'm taking a rest, I was crying and crying. Very difficult. Because if we go to one place where we don't understand the language, oh, it's very difficult, really.

Interviewer: Then, how did you communicate with your employer back then?

Keziah: Sign language! (laughs)

To be able to learn the work and communicate with others, language is a crucial part of being foreign workers. For most of the workers who just came to the country, however, understanding a new language is extra burden on top of their new working environment and homesickness. Participants working at factories shared their stories about unfair expectation of Taiwanese employers regarding language:

Precious: I'll tell you a story. It's 2008, on my 8th month, my supervisor told me that if I cannot speak Mandarin, I will have to go home to the Philippines. So, I was forced to learn to speak.

Wa Paul's experience coincide with Precious's story on unreasonable request upon migrant workers to speak Mandarin:

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Wa Paul: The Taiwanese, they expect us (to speak Mandarin). They're angry if you don't understand.

Some employers of caregivers even expect their employees to be multi-lingual at work. Especially if they have children at home, Taiwanese employers wanted their Filipina caregivers to speak and teach English to children, whereas talking to the elderly in Mandarin. Danielle recalled her employer's expectation to speak and understand Mandarin and learn the language while working full-time:

Danielle: At the first time, it was actually hard because I needed to adjust to two different people. The children and the elderly that I was taking care of before. Because the parents of the kids, because I'm living with them, they want me to talk to their kids in English. But! My boss wants me to talk in Chinese (Mandarin) because I'm taking care of his mother. But what about the grandchildren? They want me to talk to them in English. So, it's hard.

Nonetheless, although Taiwanese employers want migrant workers to understand and speak Mandarin, they do not offer adequate language learning programs to migrant workers. It is migrant workers' job to find education by themselves and to study. One of the participants, Mary, had been working in Taiwan for 12 years under the same employer. Her work place was in Yunlin, and it took 2 hours for her to come to Taichung. Since most of the classes for OFWs and migrant workers took place in big cities like Taichung, she had been spending her day-offs to join OWWA basic skill programs. However, she never managed to join Mandarin course, and her communication with her employer had only been through sign language and gestures for 12 years:

Mary: We learn by ourselves. Especially me, until now I don't understand, I don't speak Taiwanese (Mandarin and/or local language in Taiwan). I communicate with my boss only with actions, you know.

This shows that learning new language is not an easy task for migrant workers. Taiwanese employers tend to casually ask OFWs to speak and understand fluent Mandarin, but in fact, many OFWs fail to learn Mandarin no matter how long they work and stay in Taiwan.

5.3.3 Making decision to take part in educational program

15 interview participants in this research had one commonality that they share. They found educational programs for migrant workers in Taichung and enrolled in the courses. They took at least one or more courses of their interest. The content of the courses varies between basic skill teaching and Mandarin, the language used in Taiwan, but their motivation of learning mainly fell into three different categories.

1) Learning for a better future

Some participants hoped education could help them overcome the limitations as being foreign guest workers in Taiwan. Blue-collar migrant workers have limit of 12 years to stay in Taiwan (14 years in care profession). Precious and Andoy said that their motivation of participating in education in Taiwan was for their future goals:

> Precious: I want to be a teacher. I want to change my position from machine operator to a teacher because I want to stay in Taiwan. I want to live in Taiwan.

> Andoy: I think I choose to spend my day off at class because I can get additional knowledge because... I didn't graduate college in the Philippines. So, I am taking my time here, learning new skills that can help me with the future. That's why I study here.

2) Learning to communicate

Communication is indeed a big barrier for migrant workers. Working and living abroad for a living, Luis said his work life became so much better thanks to Mandarin classes he joined:

> Luis: For me, it's a big, big, big help because in my work, my coworkers can't speak even a single word in English. Even a single word of 'Thank you'.

3) Learning as a hobby or leisure activity

On the other hand, some of the participants answered that joining classes is a way of how they choose to spend their time on day-offs. They viewed education as an activity that they enjoy.

It could be a plus in their skills, but they did not find a strong relationship between the classes and their future plans.

> Lea: Yes. For me, I don't really need it (to learn Mandarin). But it's just for fun. For me, it's just for fun, you know. Passing my time.

5.4 Empowerment

This research was conducted based on the notion and theoretical framework of empowerment. Empowerment is widely used term in migrant workers' rights movement, especially local and global NGOs in Taiwanese context. However, it is often vague in meaning because of its frequent usage and insufficient elucidation of what it actually aims at. In this part, interview data will be analyzed in accordance with the analytical framework of empowerment, which includes three levels of empowerment- personal, close relationships and collective-, under which lies five different types of empowerment and indicators to help look for the signs of empowerment in the interviews.

5.4.1 Personal level of empowerment

People can feel or experience empowerment in different scope. When it happens within oneself, it is personal level of empowerment. Types of empowerment included in personal level are 1) cognitive and 2) psychological empowerment. Cognitive empowerment is related to knowledge one obtained that gives power over their life and choices. Psychological empowerment, on the other hand, is about how one feels or thinks about oneself.

1) Cognitive Empowerment

Indicator for cognitive empowerment is knowledge. By answering kinds of knowledge they gained through the classes, some participants were showing signs of their personal empowerment while others did not:

> John: Yeah, you get some more knowledge. You learn all the basics in OWWA. Like the barista, before, you don't know how to make the coffee, and the tea, hot tea or the cold tea, like that. When I was learning, the teacher taught us.

John gives comparison of the past and the present by listing things he learned in barista basic skill program as an example.

> Seth: In the Mandarin class, I learned the language, and for me, in OWWA, I studied hair cutting. Now I can cut hair. And massage, now you can massage. You can use these in the future. Because you learn new skills and your knowledge is getting wider.

Seth connected his knowledge with practice, and indicated wider capability of himself now and in the future. Later he described how he utilized new skills:

> Seth: The hair cutting, it's very useful. I cut the hair of my coworkers. I only need a pair of scissors and a paper. And the massage, any time you go outside, you can bring the oil.

Seth mentioned that he can practice his skills with people around him. Mary also said knowledge is what she can share with others, implying knowledge can also be used as a tool to tighten the bond in social relationships:

> Mary: I gained so much knowledge. Every lesson I take here is new for me. And maybe also I can… I learn something good, and I can share also to others. Share what you learned.

2) Psychological Empowerment

Psychological empowerment includes self-esteem and confidence as indicators. They show higher respect and belief in oneself as a result of the empowering effect. Most of the participants gave positive answer when it comes to their feeling towards themselves while joining the programs:

Precious: Satisfying. It's challenging, but at the end of the day you kind of feel 'Oh my goodness, I did it.' Really, it makes me happy, it makes me satisfied, it makes me feel great.

Precious shared her feeling of accomplishment in the learning process. Lea found herself surprised by learning to write new characters:

Lea: 'I can do this?' Yeah, because not all the foreigners can write that (Chinese character).

Visible improvement of their skills made OFWs feel better about themselves:

Seth: For me, it was boost of my confidence. Confidence to… maybe talk to other people. You won't be scared if somebody talk to you in Mandarin.

In case of Mary, she was having bad relationship with her coworkers. As a way to give herself time to be on her own, she came to Taichung to join Sunday mass and OWWA skill classes:

Mary: It's like.., I find my other self. I think I improve. These programs of OWWA made me now different. So, it's not about hardships, you know, it changes me. It's not about the hardships and struggles with workers from my work. It makes me something new. Something like icing. This learnings of, the programs of OWWA, it's the icing on my hardship.

3) Empowerment affected by other factors

Although some answers clearly pointed at their educational experience as primary source of personal level of empowerment, there still remains some outer factors that needs to be discussed.

Issue of certificate

Seth: It's a boost of my confidence.

Keziah: Me too. I feel more confident because I have a certificate. (laughs)

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In this answer, Keziah mentioned that she felt confident due to the certificate she had gotten from completing Taichung Mandarin class. Mr. Carl, officer in MECO Taichung, elaborated on the meaning attached to certificate:

> Mr. Carl: The certificate... We Filipinos are very, uhm..., those certificates are very important to us. We have this kind of interpretation that we have this certificate, that proves that you are eligible. That's why. Despite that she (Keziah) knows how to speak Mandarin (already), she still gets enrolled to this program. Of course, to enhance and to gain the certificate so that you can show you attended this program.

Keziah, in fact, learned Mandarin from the kids while she was working as a caregiver in the past. She already became fluent in speaking, so the class was too basic for her. Major reason for her to join the class was to get the certificate as an official document that proves her language competence. Therefore, it is debatable whether to view certificate a part of education or aside from learning. Another participant, Andoy mentioned certificate as an important tool for getting permanent job in Taiwan.

> Andoy: I just want to nourish what I learned here. After 12 years, foreign workers here can only be here for 12 years, right? Uh, maybe if I want to extend, or I want to still work here, my certificate will help me, or if I take the Chinese exam, maybe I can somehow manage to work here more. That's my plan for now.

Spending time on learning

Sometimes, going to the class itself gives better feeling for OFWs. Sunday is usually their day off, so malls, streets, and train stations get full of migrant workers who are enjoying their free time. Participants, however, chose to study instead. Thus, sometimes it is about time management and choice of activity that concerns. Angelo described how he felt to be productive spending time on learning:

> Angelo: Enhanced ability to talk in Mandarin makes me feel confident. And when I spend time on going to the class, I feel productive and satisfied.

Except for caregivers, almost every OFW stays in dormitory provided by their employer. On average, 4 to 8 people share the room, so they are lacking of personal spaces. In

addition to it, most OFWs work night shift as Taiwanese workers avoid it. It gives picture of what it is like to be a migrant worker. Anna elaborates on it:

Interviewer: Before you go to the class, what did you mostly spend your time with?

Anna: Only in the dorm, only dorm. When my friends asked me to go outside, I would accompany them. Because I felt sad and lonely in the dormitory. All I do there is to sleep. Sleep, work, and sleep, work. It's so tiring.

Interviewer: So, do you think you feel less lonely than before?

Anna: Yes, because we talk a lot on video call, and I have some activities that I can have some fun with.

Interviewer: What kind of activities?

Anna: Like, attending the class every Sunday. Feeling excited every Sunday. 'Oh, I have to go there, I have my plans on Sunday', that's why, that's all. (laughs)

To sum up, in most of the interviews, participants gave positive answer on personal level of empowerment through their educational experience in Taiwan. They learned new knowledge from the classes, which led them to cognitive empowerment, and answered that their confidence and self-esteem had been boosted. Few of them, however, answered that they did not gain any new knowledge from the class since the classes are very basic. Keziah, for example, said that her motivation and purpose of taking Taichung Mandarin class were in getting the certificate. She did not learn anything new because her level of Mandarin was already fluent. Moreover, some of the participants mentioned their psychological empowerment based on their time spent on learning. It is relatable to the motivation of some OFWs in educational participation, which was mentioned as 'learning as a hobby or leisure activity' in the earlier part of this chapter. In their cases, it is unclear if psychological empowerment is coming from their learning process or time spent in the courses. Nonetheless, participants reported feeling higher self-esteem and stronger confidence by taking the classes for OFWs.

5.4.2 Empowerment in close relationships

Empowerment in close relationship is socio-cultural empowerment that includes relationship between family, friends, co-workers, and people who interact with OFWs on daily basis. How education empowers OFWs in their close relationships can be found in their social network, affiliation and relationships OFWs have.

(1) Socio-cultural Empowerment

Indicator for socio-cultural empowerment is social network. If the educational programs provide relational empowerment, it will widen and strengthen the social network of OFWs. It is, therefore, important to know about the people OFWs socialize with, and how they create and keep the social networks. There are groups of people OFWs usually interact with, and the primary group is their families back home. OFWs actively use social media to keep in touch with their family. Participation in education can facilitate conversation with their family:

> Abby: I post it on my personal account, so they know that I study. They're like "Oh, you are studying Mandarin. It's good." And they'll ask me, "Oh, when you come back to the Philippines, can you teach me?" (laughs)

At work, it is also welcomed that they chose to study on their day off:

> Seth: Yes, my Taiwanese coworkers and my supervisor, they're happy. "Good. Continue it." And my family, they are very happy. They know that it's good for me. And it also benefits them.

"And it also benefits 'them'." Seth referred to both his family and people at work. In fact, among interview participants who were already joining programs, no one said their employer or supervisor did not like them learning, even with changing their shifts to adjust class schedule from time to time. There are two possibilities, one is only the ones who have learning-favorable employers could join the programs, and the other is that most of Taiwanese employers like educational participation of their employees.

Meanwhile, OFWs get to meet new people from the class. Abby, caregiver, contrasts her Sunday spent with employer's family and spent in class with other OFWs:

Abby: Yeah, it's different. And I can go out every Sunday. (laughs) Before, I will just stay in the home. Although my employer will let me join when they'll eat out together, when they go to the mall, it's different when you are bonding with same Filipino friends than every day with your employer. It's different.

For Angelo, on the contrary, it is giving up on another social group that he could join unless going to the class:

Angelo: I used to join church choir. I started joining the choir after 6 months I came to Taiwan. But, nowadays, I don't have much time because of the class that I am joining, so I can't attend the choir practice.

Because OFWs are working full-time, they do not have much free time to do everything they want on their day-offs. Angelo's case shows that due to limited time, he had to make a decision that stopped him from joining religious social network. For him, it could be dis-empowering to prioritize education and give up on attending choir practice in the aspect of socio-cultural empowerment.

Abby and Danielle met in the class. They became very close to each other and hang out with each other often. However, in the interview, they showed difficulty socializing with Taiwanese people.

Interviewer: Who are the group of people that you see, meet, have fun together or communicate the most in Taiwan?

Abby: My friends. Her (points at Danielle), and my other friends outside. So, they will call me every night.

Danielle: Just us. Because I don't have any Taiwanese friends. Oh, there are some. Jie-jie (older sister). She's the wife of my Ge-ge (older brother), my brother. That's it.

Abby: Oh, if you mean Taiwanese friends, I don't have Taiwanese friends. (laughs) I mean, my Filipino friends that are working here in Taiwan, so…

Danielle: (interrupts) Of course, your boss, also!

Abby: My boss? Yeah. Every day. (laughs)

Danielle: Every day.

Abby: Because we're living in the same house.

In another interview, Seth shared his experience. Making social network with Taiwanese people, for OFWs, was very limited to their workmates. Although they attend Mandarin classes, improved language skill did not lead OFWs to make social relationships with Taiwanese outside their work:

Interviewer: How about your relationship with Taiwanese people? Do you talk to them more or do you meet them more (after learning Mandarin)?

Seth: Coworkers, we talk more, but we don't always go out together. Just inside the work.

Keziah: For me, I go out many times with Taiwanese friends.

Interviewer: Do you think it's related to the class or not, like you going out with your friends?

Keziah: Not related to the class.

Seth: Also, not related to the class.

To sum up, educational experience of the participants helped them to keep and strengthen the bond with close group of people. Especially people who were already close with them, such as their families, co-workers, and employers, showed positive interest in their educational participation, which facilitated communication between them. However, in most cases, education of OFWs did not result in creation of new social groups. Some of them kept good relationship with their classmates, but most of them did not have enough time to meet regularly due to their different workplaces and working times. Making friends outside of work was a challenge for OFWs, especially Taiwanese friends. In addition, some of the participants said that their participation in learning had negative relationship with their participation in social gatherings. They had to sacrifice their social relationships in order to devote their day-

offs in learning. It shows that education can be dis-empowering in close relationships if it does not have any goal in offering chances and spaces for social networking.

5.4.3 Collective level of empowerment

Empowerment contains 'power' in itself. Starting from individual experience, empowerment has to place personal stories into societal structure that shows power imbalance between different agents. Collective level of empowerment highlights issues in larger scope, including economic and political type of empowerment, with indicators of income, job-related skill, and social participation & inclusion.

(1) Economic Empowerment

Since OFWs are bonded with their contracts with Taiwanese employers, most of the participants gave negative answer to their economic empowerment in Taiwanese society. Few of them, for example, Precious and Andoy said they wanted to change their jobs to stay in Taiwan for longer, so learning could help them get new jobs. Others, who wish to go back to the Philippines, said Mandarin skill will be a big advantage in getting jobs at home due to flourishing BPO industry in the Philippines:

> Luis: Because in the Philippines, if you have a certificate, you can use it in the Philippines. When you go back to the Philippines and don't go to another country, for example, you can be a translator. It's big money, a lot of money. Because China nowaday is like America. It's growing bigger and bigger.

Luis stressed the advantage of learning Mandarin. Due to growing economy of China and high demand of workers with Mandarin proficiency, learning Mandarin while working in Taiwan can be a chance to advance their employability in the Philippines. In addition to learning the language, those who took OWWA basic skill programs mentioned having small businesses in the Philippines in the future.

In contrast, the signs of economic empowerment were hard to find when it comes to OFWs' situation in Taiwan. It is highly connected to political reasons, such as restrictions based on visa and contract:

> Interviewer: Going to the class in general, do you think it can be led to earning higher income? or do you think learning is not that related to generation of more income?
>
> Abby: Maybe, in the Philippines, maybe it can (help). But not here.
>
> Danielle: Not here.
>
> Abby: Because we have fixed salary. And we are not allowed to have part-time jobs. That's what we have in our contract. In Taiwan, we have limitations.

Jay also pointed it out:

> Jay: You cannot actually, you cannot put up a business here in Taiwan, because you're still in a contract. Like my case, my contract is renewed every three years, but aside from that, here in Taiwan, we have migrant workers who have different type of visa who can easily find a work, or apply for work here in Taiwan. Me, in my case, I could only apply for the job when I was in the Philippines. So, you cannot put up any business in Taiwan or you…, like vacation, it's all limited. Your privileges, benefits, even the salary, yeah. There is a huge difference between Taiwanese people's salary and the Filipinos'. As well as Indonesian, as well as Vietnamese and Thailander.
>
> Interviewer: So, even though you learn Mandarin and, let's assume, you can speak perfect Mandarin in the future, you will still have those limitations, you think?
>
> Jay: Even I can speak fluent Mandarin, if I finish the 12 years, I have to go back to the Philippines.

(2) Political Empowerment

Participation and inclusion in the society are the indicators for political empowerment. Although most of the participants showed weak linkage between education and their

participation in Taiwanese society, Anna's answer implies that learning the language can be a starting point in social participation:

> Interviewer: Do you think you can do a lot of things in Taiwanese society? If you want to, do you think you can participate in Taiwan society?

> Anna: If that time comes, I think it will be when I can speak fluent Mandarin. It's so hard to join them when I don't know how to speak and comprehend them. So, I study so that I can join them if the time comes. It's my first step, study their language.

On the other hand, most participants gave positive answer to their inclusion in Taiwanese society. However, many of them also mentioned that it was not particularly related to the class. They work, they live, they pay tax in the society, so for OFWs, those were the basic ground for their inclusion in the society:

> Interviewer: So, do you think your participation and connection to Taiwanese society have been enhanced by joining the class? Or maybe it's not really about the class, it's more about your hard work?

> Seth: Not really the class. It's about how you treat other people. How you treat them and how they treat you. Because if they see that you work hard, and you like them, they will give it back to you. Mandarin is a plus. I think so. But, not really. Because they're going to appreciate it if you work hard.

To sum up, participants' answers implied weak linkage between their educational experience and collective level of empowerment. When it comes to economic empowerment, most of them mentioned possibility of earning higher income using the skills they learned, but did not present any concrete plans for how to make it work. It stems from obscure outlook of migrant worker's future, which, in fact, is also related to insecure position of them in host countries. Although empowerment develops in bottom-up process, from personal level to societal level, many scholars underscore top-down implementation of law and policy regarding visa, citizenship, and legal status that bridge individual change with institutional change (Huis et al., 2017; Kabeer, 2012). It is in line with what Abby called 'limitations' in her interview. Excessive economic and political constraints on migrant workers, including

OFWs in Taiwan, are serious impediment of educational empowerment in collective level. Few participants wanted to change their jobs in Taiwan, but they could not get helpful information or guidance during the programs.

It was hard to find relationship of OFWs' educational participation and political empowerment in Taiwan. Some participants held skeptical view on their social participation and inclusion, while others thought they are (, and can be) a part of Taiwanese society. Most of them found the ground of social participation and inclusion in their hard work and contribution to Taiwanese economy, not in their educational experiences. Let me share a part of the conversation during the interview about OFW's political empowerment:

> Wa Paul: Yes, yes, of course. Because we pay tax (bursts out of laughter). And we work hard.

> Andoy: I think so, too. Maybe we can be a part. Because we can help them, too. We can help Taiwanese the same way as they can. Maybe we just have to learn more here. Then, we can somehow manage to help.

> Kristian: Because we need each other.

> Wa Paul: Taiwanese and Filipinos, we use each other. We need each other.

6   Discussion and Conclusion

In this chapter, the dilemma regarding OFWs' educational experience in Taiwan will be discussed at three different levels. After revisiting three levels of empowerment, different standpoint of stakeholders, such as government of Taiwan and the Philippines, NGOs, and Catholic church, will be described in order to show wider scope of social environment OFWs' education in Taiwan is situated in. It will lead our discussion to the next step, suggestions for future education programs. Critical reflection on reliability and validity issue, and limitation of this research will be followed afterwards. Finally, conclusion of this research will be derived from discussion and previous chapters.

6.1 Revisiting three levels of empowerment

The main purpose of this research is to deepen our understanding of migrant workers' educational experiences in receiving country by using empowerment as a tool to investigate the extent to which migrant workers' education can bring upon actual changes. Conducting a case study of OFWs in Taiwan, I attempted to see how the workers view their educational experience and the influence of it at three levels. The three levels, personal, relational, and collective, are different scales where the dilemma of migrant workers' education is played out.

6.1.1 Personal level of empowerment

In terms of personal level, empowerment happens within cognitive and psychological aspect of OFWs' lives. Most participants of the interviews viewed their educational

experience empowering at personal level, yet showing uncertainty of their future. Abby's answer described this discrepancy:

Interviewer: Why did you choose to come to the class here?

Abby: Maybe I can use it after working here. Because my third contract is almost over. So, maybe I can choose to stay in the Philippines or stay here. So, I can have choices.

From her answer, we can see that participation in education gave her alternative option to choose from. OFWs renew their contracts every three years, and she wanted to take part in Mandarin class not to limit herself to stay in Taiwan. In that sense, it implies personal empowerment based on new knowledge from the class which also goes with one's ability to make better choices in life.

On the other hand, she was quite hesitant about her provisional future plan of going back. It was also the case for other participants. Participants viewed learning as an asset that might benefit them in the future, but their instability hindered them from keeping faith and confidence in believing so. Likewise, personal empowerment they experienced during the classes will last only for a short period of time unless it leads them to higher levels of empowerment that give them power to act and change their surroundings.

6.1.2 Relational level of empowerment

Three levels of empowerment are closely linked with each other. As a bridge that connects personal level and collective, empowerment in close relationships has great potential to influence the lives of migrant workers. Most migrant workers come as strangers when they first arrive at the host countries. Even though they keep in touch with their friends and families back home, it is difficult for them to work and live in a country where no one knows them. Participants' social boundaries, therefore, were relatively limited to work-related group of people and fellow OFWs. Kristian gave an example of how educational experience can influence social network:

Kristian: Our teacher here, he always gives us assignments. For my Taiwanese coworkers, I sometimes ask for their help.

Interviewer: Do you think that improved your relationship with your coworkers?

Kristian: Yes. Because I talk to them more.

Educational experience of the participants facilitated communication among groups of people they already knew. It has tightened the bond of OFWs' existing social networks. Nonetheless, education did not lead them to have new groups of people they can interact with, except for their classmates.

This finding asserts the need for providing a friendly, and receptive social space for migrant workers. Friendship and social networking can affect migrants' lives in many ways. When it comes to empowerment, it is related to psychological and political dimensions as well as socio-cultural dimension of empowerment. Migrant workers' education must expand its aim to provide socio-cultural space where the workers can easily access and learn new things from each other. It is also in line with non-formal education, where education does not only happen inside classrooms, from teacher to students.

6.1.3 Collective level of empowerment

In findings, participants showed some signs of economic empowerment, especially when it comes to learning job-related skills. Income, however, has not changed due to education because OFWs get fixed salaries in Taiwan. This stresses the significance of political empowerment. Although it was hard to find relationship between participants' educational experiences and political empowerment, empowerment is a bottom-up process, so the personal and relational level of empowerment can affect collective level later on. It might take time and additional effort to produce consciousness among policy makers to make embracive environment for migrant workers. Education can offer opportunity for migrant workers to practice participation in relatively small groups with collective agenda, which can encourage their social participation and inclusion in host countries.

6.1.4 Different stakeholders' view on migrant worker's education and empowerment

The following paragraphs revisit the dilemma of migrant workers' education with findings from semi-structured interviews and participatory observations. Stakeholders of OFWs' education in Taiwan had different purposes and aspirations of providing migrant workers' education.

To start with, Taichung city government's purpose in providing Mandarin classes for migrant workers will be presented. Lea and Precious saw their purpose as below:

> Lea: Yeah, Taichung city government. I think their purpose is just to help the migrant workers to deal with Taiwanese employers. Easier, you know. Because sometimes 'language' is the barriers.
>
> Precious: It makes the employee and employer relationship easier.

In fact, Lea and Precious accurately pointed out the main purpose of Taichung city government. Their purpose was to make communication of migrant employees and local employers easier. In findings, however, we discovered some forms of pressure or unfair expectation upon OFWs to learn Mandarin. If so, should we argue Mandarin education is oppression on OFWs? It can be, but I want to avoid overgeneralization because Mandarin is a global language rather than local. Many participants considered it as a benefit to be able to learn the language.

To come back to Taichung city governments' viewpoint, what they concerned the most about migrant workers' education was violation of the labor law by having side jobs using the skills they learned from the class. Taichung city government only provided Mandarin programs for that reason. Thus, classes they provided for migrant workers were run by few local officers on a tight budget. Nevertheless, migrant workers are part of Taiwanese culture. Education will make them more responsible, respected, and helpful members of the society. Let me take Lea as an example. She took OWWA's basic massage course. As being a nurse-aide at a hospital, she meets Taiwanese patients every day. She told me a series of stories of her patients being happy with her quality service and massage skills from the class.

On the other hand, government of the Philippines and Catholic churches provided education for OFWs' better life back home. They especially aimed at empowering OFWs economically. Fr Joy used different expressions such as 'A better future for their family', 'To help them get out of the cycle of poverty', and 'Improving lives by improving work opportunities'. Their educational provision emphasized future consideration – giving alternatives in lives. However, they had a tendency of overlooking some OFWs' aspiration to stay longer or settle down in Taiwan, simply assuming that they are all going back. Consequently, their programs concerned less about OFWs' empowerment in Taiwanese context. It may result in narrowing OFWs' choices, disempowering them to consider return of every student and prepare them for their lives back in the Philippines.

6.2 Suggestions for future programs

In this part of the discussion, five practical suggestions for future migrant workers' educational programs will be introduced. The suggestions are relevant to eliminating obstacles to migrant workers' educational participation and improving quality of the education, which may foster empowerment through education.

1.   Proper promotion of the programs

During the interviews, I met several participants who had been working in Taiwan for a long time without knowing about the programs. Mary talked about this in detail:

Interviewer: So, when did you first know about the OWWA programs?

Mary: It's only..., in this contract. It's only this last contract that I joined the first class. I think last year June. So, I've heard of this program before, but I don't know how. I want to learn something new, you know? But how? (…) From my own knowledge, most of us are not aware of the programs of OWWA, of their benefits. We are not aware. It's just for me, only this contract (that I got to know about the programs). Only in this last contract!

When interviewed, Mary had lived in Taiwan for 12 years. The same goes for Abby, Precious, and Lea, who had lived in Taiwan for 9, 9, and 11 years respectively:

> Interviewer: When was the first time you decided to go to the classes in Taiwan? Is this your first time?

> Abby: Yes, it's my first time. First time in 9 years (laughs).

> Interviewer: Do you remember the very first class that you have participated in?

> Precious: Last year, I think the last year, that was the soap making.

> Lea: Same for me. Last year.

According to the answers above, educational programs for OFWs are not widely known by OFWs. This calls for proper promotion of the programs, including advertising the programs to newcomers at their orientations.

2.   Larger number of classes

However, promotion of the programs would be meaningless without enough classes. Mr. Carl, an officer who was in charge of recruiting students, expressed difficulty having small number of classes and seats compared to the number of OFWs who want to join the programs:

> Mr. Carl: There's a baking class opening now. When I post it on social media, they have to send me some registration on my email. I post it, like 12 in the midnight. And 8 a.m., you know how many participants asking to be enrolled? Already 60. I only need 25.

In fact, the number of classes is far from enough to accommodate prospective students.

3.   Classes for advanced levels

Educational programs for OFWs in Taichung were offering only basic level of Mandarin and practical skills. Therefore, if OFWs wanted subsequent education, they had to pay for private institute or academy like Luis did at Providence University. It not only

imposes economic burden on OFWs, but also fails at fulfilling the purpose of educational providers. As a matter of fact, basic level of Mandarin is not enough to speak and understand local employers. In addition, basic level of skill requires practice and technical upgrade to develop into successful business.

4.   Relevant content for migrant workers

Fourth suggestion is to include contents that can be relevant to migrant workers, especially in language courses. When comparing educational programs in Taiwan, government and NGOs' Mandarin programs were different with regard to contents. Governmental classes used ordinary Mandarin textbook that can be found in any book store, so the contents were not very relevant to OFWs. In contrast, NGOs were teaching contents that are related to migrant workers' lives, for example, how to express symptoms and pronounce body parts when going to the hospital. Their way of teaching involved participation of students. They had a role-play where the teacher is a doctor and students are patients, and practiced the words and expressions they learned in the class.

5.   Monitoring and evaluation system

Finally, the programs were missing systematic monitoring of students and appropriate evaluation of the courses. To enhance the quality of classes they offer, educational providers should receive feedbacks from the teachers and students. In case of the programs government offers, they can keep track of the students to examine long-term effect of the education on migrant workers' lives.

6.3 Reliability and Validity

Checking reliability and validity is a significant process in order to ensure the quality of a research. Dictionary definition of reliability is the extent to which the outcome of a research will get consistent result over repeated test, and validity is the degree to which a

study is measuring what it claims to measure (Noble, & Smith, 2015, p. 35). Many scholars argue that the concepts of reliability and validity should be modified to be applied in qualitative research, therefore present various interpretations of the ways to ensure a qualitative research is reliable and valid (Golafshani, 2003). Hence, I will attempt to elaborate on some key factors of reliability and validity that can prove the quality of this research.

6.3.1 Reliability

A reliable research should be trustworthy and transparent (Golafshani, 2003). To ensure reliability of this research, I kept consistency within each step of the research and shared the progress with readers. I presented clear and transparent description of the research's initial outline, inviting the readers to follow my thought process in every decision I made. Through the development of data collection methods and providing of findings, I tried to keep things in accordance with the analytical framework of empowerment (Noble & Smith, 2015, p. 35).

6.3.2 Validity

There are several sub-concepts of validity. Among them, internal validity and external validity are two very important types of validity, which concern logical process within the research and transferability of the research to a wider context (Thor, 2008). When it comes to internal validity, Thor (2008, p. 227) elaborated on;

"*Designs which do not rule out alternative casual interpretations leave to the researcher (and the reader) the job to consider what alternative interpretations are possible and to evaluate the likelihood of those alternatives. (…) The fundamental issue is to evaluate alternative possibilities before presenting any result of the research in terms of causal interpretations*".

In the findings of this research, alternative factors affecting empowerment of migrant workers have been ruled out, for instance, the issue of certificate and OFWs' time spent on learning. It was possible due to additional questions asked in the interviews to confirm whether the signs of oppression or empowerment is deriving from participants' educational experiences or elsewhere.

Moreover, external validity is related to the weakness of this research. It presents findings that are context-bound. It is unlikely that a study of same phenomenon in another context will bring the same result (Thor, 2008). However, throughout the thesis, I tried to give rich detail of the context and thick description of my findings, while introducing studies in different contexts in the chapter of literature review.

Lastly, in the chapter of analytical framework, I combined Rowlands and Stromquist's theory to ensure the validity of theoretical concept of empowerment.

A qualitative researcher should be conscious of personal bias and keep reflecting on her (his) own perspectives (Noble & Smith, 2015). I had a public presentation about my research during the field work period in Taiwan (see Appendix V, 7) in front of students, professors, researchers in relevant fields, and people from local NGOs. Getting feedbacks from them helped me to be cautious of my obstinacy and be more down-to-earth and honest with this research.

6.4 Limitations of the study

A limitation of this study is in relation to the external validity as mentioned earlier. Since the result of this research is highly context-driven, one can not generalize findings of this study. The number of participants of semi-structured interview is 15, which is a small number of people to represent the whole population of OFWs in Taichung, or in a larger context, in Taiwan.

Besides, among the stakeholders of migrant workers' education in Taichung, I did not get in touch with brokerage companies. I expected to include their views on migrant workers'

education in the discussion part, but 3-month was indeed a short period of time to contact local companies with poor level of Mandarin. I hope future studies on migrant workers' education can include brokerage firms to show their perspective on the topic.

Finally, this research only focused on capturing the dilemma of migrant workers' education in formal education. However, Stromquist (2015) argued that most successful instances of empowerment may occur through non-formal education. Three educational programs dealt with in this study, Taichung Mandarin, Providence University Mandarin, and OWWA basic skill programs, are fornal education regarding the fact that they happened in intentional and structured manner rather than natural and flexible ways.

6.5 Conclusion

In conclusion, this research attempted to look at the dilemma of migrant workers' education through the experience of Filipino migrant workers in Taiwan. The dilemma started from posing a question to a common belief that education always brings positive influence in people's lives. « *Is education an infallible remedy?* » Taking a step forward from the question, critical pedagogist revealed reflection of power in education. It was where my research question started from, with special interest in adult migrants' education and inclusion in host countries.

There are three features of this study that differentiates it from the previous literature. First of all, in the first two chapters, I looked into international labor migration in both global and local scope, therefore, allowed the readers to understand the phenomenon in a wider context. Secondly, the notion and theory of empowerment have been used to capture the influence of education at three different levels. Furthermore, this research focused on OFWs' educational experience and their own reflection on it.

Now it is time to answer the question I proposed throughout the study- *Can education empower?*- Yes, but not necessarily so. Based on the findings of this research, education is not all about empowerment. The impact and role of education does not go beyond global power structure and local policies that suppress migrant workers.

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Appendix Ⅰ

<* **Research Consent form>**

Are you interested in taking part in the research project

"Overseas Filipino Migrant workers and their educational experience in Taiwan"?

Hello!

This is an inquiry about participation in a research project where the main purpose is to understand migrant workers' educational experiences in a receiving country. In this letter I will give you information about the purpose of the project and what your participation will involve.

Purpose of the project
This is a master's thesis research at the Department of Education at University of Oslo, Norway.

The research is an attempt to answer the question about, 'how the participation in migrant education programs has empowered Filipino migrant workers.' The purpose of this research is to use 'empowerment' as a tool to evaluate how migrant education can bring upon actual changes in migrant's mindset and action, and society.

Who is responsible for the research project?
<< Department of Education, Faculty of Educational Science at University of Oslo >> is the institution responsible for the project.

I am Jimin Song, a master's student in Comparative and International Education. My academic supervisor is professor Lene Buchert.

Why are you being asked to participate?
I am trying to have as much contact as possible with Filipino migrant workers and migrant education organizers in Taiwan.

Preferably who lives or works around the city of Taichung, and who has participated in any educational program for migrant workers will be asked for the participation in this research.

I am looking for someone between the age of 20 – 70.

If you haven't met me in person, I might have gotten your contact detail from local Manila office or MECO center.

What does participation involve for you?
If you chose to take part in the project, this will involve that you be in an interview. It will take about 1 hour. The interview includes questions about your personal experience and reflection on migrant educational programs in Taiwan. You will also be asked questions about political and psychological empowerment. Your answers will be audio-recorded.

Participation is voluntary
Participation in the project is voluntary. If you chose to participate, you can withdraw your consent at any time without giving a reason. All information about you will then be made anonymous. There will be no negative consequences for you if you chose not to participate or later decide to withdraw.

Your personal privacy – how I will store and use your personal data
I will only use your personal data for the purpose(s) specified in this information letter. I will process your personal data confidentially and in accordance with data protection legislation (the General Data Protection Regulation and Personal Data Act).

- Only two persons; the master's student (-Jimin Song) and supervisor (-prof. Lene Buchert) have access to the personal data.
- Data that I collected from the interview will be securely stored in Nettskjema, University of Oslo's research data server. I will replace your name and contact details with a code. The list of names, contact details and respective codes will be stored separately from the rest of the collected data. For transcribing the interview, I will use 'f4 & f5 transcript' program.
- Participants will not be recognizable in publications, but occupation can be published alongside the answers for interview questions.

What will happen to your personal data at the end of the research project?
The project is scheduled to end on 25th of June, 2020. Any recordings or personal data remaining will be deleted at the end of the project.

Your rights
So long as you can be identified in the collected data, you have the right to:

- access the personal data that is being processed about you
- request that your personal data is deleted
- request that incorrect personal data about you is corrected/rectified
- receive a copy of your personal data (data portability), and
- send a complaint to the Data Protection Officer or The Norwegian Data Protection Authority regarding the processing of your personal data

What gives us the right to process your personal data?
We will process your personal data based on your consent.

Based on an agreement with the Department of Education at University of Oslo, NSD – The Norwegian Centre for Research Data AS has assessed that the processing of personal data in this project is in accordance with data protection legislation.

Where can I find out more?
If you have questions about the project, or want to exercise your rights, contact:

- Department of Education at University of Oslo via
  Prof. Lene Buchert   Jimin Song

  Email: lene.buchert@iped.uio.no   Email: gm1219@naver.com
    Phone: +47---------   Phone: 0984 ------

- Data Protection Officer for the institution responsible for the project— Maren Magnus Voll, by email: (personvernombud@uio.no)
- NSD – The Norwegian Centre for Research Data AS, by email: (personverntjenester@nsd.no) or by telephone: +47 -- -- -- --.

Yours sincerely,

Jimin Song

Consent form

I have received and understood information about the project 'migrant workers' educational experience and empowerment' and have been given the opportunity to ask questions. I give consent:

☐ to participate in an interview

I give consent for my personal data to be processed until the end date of the project, approx. 25th of June, 2020.

(Signed by participant, date)

Appendix Ⅱ

< Research Request form to MECO Taichung >

September 05, 2019

Atty. Sergio T. Eulogio
Director-MECO Taichung Extension Office

Atty. Fidel A. Macauyag
Labor Attache- MECO Taichung Extension Office

Ms. Rosario C. Burayag
Welfare Officer- MECO Taichung Extension Office

Mr. Carlito T. Marquez Jr.
ATN Officer- MECO Taichung Extension Office

Sir/Madam,

I am Jimin Song, a masteral student taking up Comparative and International Education at University of Oslo in Norway. As a requirement to the course we need to conduct a research study. I've seen your programs post on the facebook page conducting this "PROJECT MECONNECT" and providing skills training for the Filipino OFWs and I find it very interesting project that could contribute to my research.

The research is an attempt to answer the question about, 'how the participation in migrant education programs has empowered Filipino migrant workers.' The purpose of this research is to use 'empowerment' as a tool to evaluate how migrant education can bring upon actual changes in migrant's mindset and action, and society.

In this connection, may I request for your guidance and assistance in conducting my study by giving questionnaires, interviews, and visits to centers for OFWs.

Respectfully yours,

JIMIN SONG
Student-University of Oslo, Norway

αᄀ Jimin Song 송지민   05-09-2019

Appendix Ⅲ

< Research Information and Interview guide >

Interview with Filipino migrant workers on educational experiences in Taiwan

Jimin Song (master's student)

Comparative and International Education, University of Oslo

Email : gm1219@naver.com

Phone no. : 0984------

<u>Topic of the project</u>

Topic of this master's thesis research deals with a broader theme of international migration, especially on labor migration. Also called as economic migration, this facet of migration displays global division of labor and power relations.

From this broader perspective, the research narrows down to the time, location, and specific research object that best fits researcher's interest and field of Comparative and International Education. The specified time for collecting research data is from September to November 2019. Research site is Taiwan, two cities will be in comparison, including Taichung. Research object is the educational experience of Filipino migrant workers in Taiwan.

The reason for choosing to conduct a research about Filipino migrant workers in Taiwan is that both countries, the Philippines and Taiwan, are well-known migrant sending/ receiving country and the governments actively engage in the migration process. In the meantime, there are still reports about mistreatment of migrant workers in the workplace and

hardship to be integrated into Taiwanese society. While both countries get benefits from the labor migration trade, individual migrant workers suffer from isolation and lack of resources to feel secure at their new home.

It leads the research topic to the education of migrant workers. Although Filipino migrant workers generally are known for high level of education in their homeland and English proficiency, most of them in Taiwan remain as temporary, low-income workers who can easily be replaced with other migrant workers. In this paper, I want to discuss about migrant education (in Taiwan)'s aim, role, changes it has (or has not) brought upon in migrant workers' lives, and critical suggestions for future.

Purpose of the study

Purpose of this research is to give thorough understanding of migrants' educational experiences in receiving country, through using empowerment as a tool to evaluate how migrant education can bring upon actual changes in migrant's mindset and action, and society. In addition, this study aims to fill the knowledge gap of adult migrant worker's education, which has been neglected while previous studies on migrant education highly focused on migrant youth and second generation of migrant families' education and integration.

Research Questions

◆ How do Filipino migrant workers view and experience migrant education programs in

Taiwan?

(◈ How do different aspects of migrant education programs affect possible changes they can

bring in migrant workers' lives?)

Interview Guide

       I will conduct semi-structured interviews with OFWs and educational program organizers in Taiwan. The research site will be relatively large cities in Taiwan, mainly focusing on Taichung and Taipei. Each session of interview will take around an hour, dealing with individual participants' experience in migrant education in Taiwan. The questions will be designed to ask how empowering the educational experience was for OFWs, and what difference was made by program structure, content, and the provider.

Interview questions were developed based on the theoretical framework of empowerment.

Three levels of Empowerment (Rowlands, 1995)	Stromquist's Empowerment classification	Indicators
Personal	Psychological, cognitive	Self-esteem, confidence, knowledge
Close relationships	Socio-cultural	Affiliation, social network
Collective	Economic, political	Income, job-related skill, collective action

< Interview guide for interviewing Filipino migrant workers working in Taiwan >

    0. Background information

- Name :   (random name participant chose)

- Level of Education :

- When did you first arrive in Taiwan?

- How long have you been working in Taiwan?

- In which sector are you currently working in?

- What is your working language?

    1. Educational experience in Taiwan

- When is the first time you participated in migrant education program in Taiwan?

- What was the class about?

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- Who was organizing it (government or NGO)? Was it compulsory or voluntary participation?

(If voluntary, what was your motivation? How did you get to know about it?)

- Did you have to pay for the program?

- How long was the period of the program? (how often did you go there?)

- Are there any other programs you have been participated so far?

Educational program

* subject or topic :

* provider / organizer :

* motivation :

* fee :

* duration of the class :

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2. 'Self-esteem'

- What was some of the biggest challenges that you faced when you first came?

- How have you overcome(or failed to overcome) the challenge? How has it affected your feelings about yourself?

- What was the role of migrant education program in overcoming(or failing to overcome) the difficulty?

- Has joining the program(s) made you feel worse or better about yourself? How and why?

3. 'Confidence'

- What are the plans for your future?

- Do you think you can manage to follow the plans?

- Do you think any migrant educational program you attended might help you accomplish them?

- Has the participation in the class(es) made you better cope with the life problems in Taiwan?

4. 'Knowledge'

- What are the new things that you learned through migrant education programs?

- Was there any incident the new knowledge you have learned was useful in your daily life?

- Was the knowledge useful at work?

    5. 'Affiliation'

- How many people around you (friends, family, boss, etc) knows that you joined the programs?

- What are their response? Were they supportive and encouraging or the opposite or indifferent?

- How do you keep in touch with your family?

- Who are the group of people you meet or talk to the most in Taiwan?

- (OFWs, migrant workers from other countries, or Taiwanese?)

- How did you meet them?

    6. 'Social network'

- Have you gotten any help or given any help from/to a person you know from the class?

- (money, illness, etc)

- Do you feel like attending to the class has made you talke and see with more people than before?

- What kind of social groups are you joining here? (inside the class, outside the class)

- How did you become a member of it(them)? Is it related to the programs you joined?

- How about your relationship with Taiwanese? Do you have any Taiwanese people you got to know from joining the class?

    7. 'Income'

- In your opinion, what are the skills taught in the class that can be linked to generating more income?

- Do you think there is a link between joining educational program(s) and income?

- How do you think your participation in the program(s) will affect your future income?

    8. 'Job-related skill'

- From the program(s), did you learn new skills you can use at your work?

- (If yes,)How did your boss or co-workers reacted to your change?

  Do you think it affected renewal of your work contract?

- Do you think you can get a new job from the skills you learned from the class(es)?

9. 'Collective action'

- What is your opinion about migrant workers' participation in Taiwanese society?

- Do you think migrant workers as part of Taiwanese society, or do you feel migrant workers are strangers who are apart from the society?

- Has joining the class affected your participation in community life and your participation in Taiwanese society?

Appendix IV

< Questions sent to Taichung city government via email >

< Questions to send to Labor Affair Bureau of Taichung City Government >

To whom it may concern,

   ✓ **Information about the research :**

Questions below are asked for a research for master's thesis at the Department of Education at University of Oslo, Norway.

<< Department of Education, Faculty of Educational Science at University of Oslo >> is the institution responsible for the project.

I am Jimin Song, a master's student in a major of 'Comparative and International Education'.

Contact detail : gm1219@naver.com / 0984 --- ---

The research is an attempt to answer the question about, 'how the participation in migrant education programs has empowered Filipino migrant workers.' The purpose of this research is to use 'empowerment' as a tool to evaluate how migrant education can bring upon actual changes in migrant's mindset and action, and society. The research site is Taichung city, and the data collection period is from September 1st to November 30th of 2019.

   ✓ **List of questions :**

1. Statistics of migrant workers in city of Taichung

- Among migrant worker population in Taichung, how many are coming from the Philippines? Do you have statistics on which jobs migrant workers are having, and their gender in your database?

- Is there any special characteristic of migrant worker population from the Philippines in Taichung? (job/ gender/ governmental relationship/ brokerage system, etc.)

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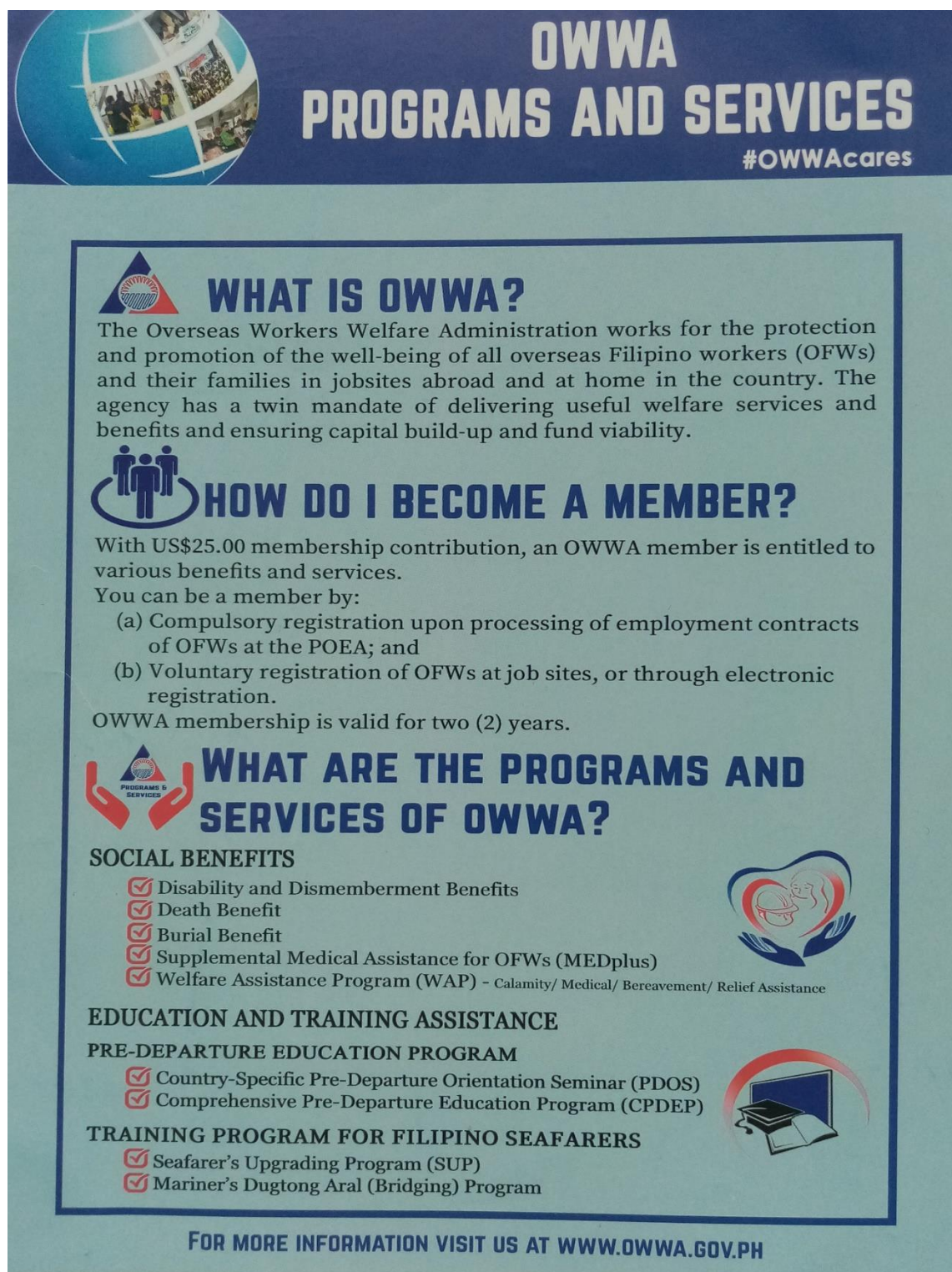
2. Migrant worker 's education and social integration

- What kind of educational courses are provided by Taichung City government to migrant workers?

- What is the purpose of each course?

- How do you recruit teachers for the programs?

- How do you recruit students (migrant) for the programs?

- Which method do you use to promote the programs to migrant workers?

- Are there other projects for migrant workers' integration into Taichung's society?

- What are future plans for migrant workers' better integration into Taichung's society?

Appendix Ⅴ

< Relevant photos taken during the fieldwork >

1. Brochure of OWWA's programs and services

OWWA PROGRAMS AND SERVICES
#OWWAcares

SCHOLARSHIPS FOR DEPENDENTS
- ☑ Education for Development Scholarship Program (EDSP)
- ☑ OFW Dependent Scholarship Program (OFWDSP)
- ☑ Education and Livelihood Assistance Program (ELAP)

SHORT-TERM TRAINING PROGRAMS FOR OFWs
- ☑ Skills-for-Employment Scholarship Program(SESP)
- ☑ Information Technology (IT) Training Program

WORKERS WELFARE ASSISTANCE PROGRAM
- ☑ On-Site Assistance and Services
  - Assistance on OFWs' whereabouts
  - Psycho-social counseling
  - Mediation/conciliation with employer
  - Airport assistance
  - Hospital/prison/work camp visitations
  - Legal assistance to OFWs who wish to pursue labor/welfare case against their employer in the host country
- ☑ In-Country
  - Post-repatriation assistance
  - Counseling, referral, and other concerns

SOCIAL SERVICES AND FAMILY WELFARE SERVICES
- ☑ Repatriation Program
  - Bringing back of distressed OFWs and human remains.
  - Emergency repatriation is carried out in the event of any political unrest or natural calamities.
  - Workers are accorded with:
    - airport assistance
    - temporary shelter at the OWWA Halfway Home
    - psycho-social counseling
    - transport services and fares for their onward travel to their respective provinces

REINTEGRATION PROGRAM
- ☑ Reintegration Preparedness (on-site)
- ☑ Reintegration (in-country)
- ☑ Balik Pinas Balik Hanapbuhay Program
- ☑ OFW-Enterprise Development and Loan Program (EDLP)

Where to contact MECO LABOR Center (OWWA Programs and Services) information.

➤ Please visit Facebook pages: **POLO OWWA** Taichung, Taiwan - *For OWWA Trainings*
POLO OWWA Taichung OWWA - *For Welfare Concerns*

➤ Contactnumbers: 📞 **Landline:** 04-2322-8835 / 04-2322-8836 **Local #15**
Fax : 04-2322-2889

FOR MORE INFORMATION VISIT US AT WWW.OWWA.GOV.PH

2. An example of OWWA's social media promotion of the classes

FREE TRAINING COURSES FOR OFWs

MGA KAILANGAN PARA MAKASALI SA TRAINING:
1. Para sa indibidwal na aplikasyon, **i-private message** ang mga sumusunod:
    a. KUMPLETONG PANGALAN
    b. ARC Number
    c. TELEPHONE NUMBER
    d. TRAINING NA GUSTONG SALIHAN
2. Kung sakaling grupo o maramihan ang aplikasyon, kailangan pa rin ipadala ang mga sumusunod na detalye sa itaas;
3. OFWs na may English Facebook name lamang ang tatanggaping aplikasyon; at
4. Aktibong miyembro ng OWWA bago mag umpisa ang training. Kung lagpas dalawang (2) taon na nakapagbayad ng OWWA Membership Fee, kailangan ng magrenew sa MECO-Taichung Labor Center (office hours) / UGNAYAN Training Center tuwing lingo, 10:00 am – 2:00 pm lamang.

Kurso	Ilang sessions	Iskedyul		Saan	Dagdag Impormasyon
		Petsa	Oras		
Basic Skin Care	2 Sundays	October 13 and 27	10:00 am to 2:00 pm	UGNAYAN Training Center 4th floor	Limited slots only
Basic Massage (for MALE participants)	4 Sundays	October 13, 27, November 3 and 10	10:00 am to 2:00 pm	UGNAYAN Training Center ground floor	
Soap-making	1 Sunday	October 13 at October 27	10:00 am to 2:00 pm	UGNAYAN Training Center 4th floor	Reposted

PAALALA: Maghintay lamang ng aming opisyal na kumpirmasyon kung kasali sa training schedule.

3. Social media promotion of Providence University Mandarin program

4. A leaflet of Taichung Mandarin class attached on the wall of ASEAN square

5. A booklet of TIWA

1989年台灣開放引進「外籍勞工」，不僅嚴重衝擊本地勞動力市場，也開啟台灣社會與來自東南亞國家的勞動者直接且多層面的接觸經驗。而以「管理」為主要考量的外籍勞工引進制度，包含高額仲介費、不得自由轉換雇主、同工不同酬等等設計，已嚴重剝奪勞動者的基本人權，成為二十一世紀的新奴工制度。

In 1989, Taiwan began the importation of "foreign labor." This not only dealt a blow to the domestic labor market, it was also the start of multiple levels of interaction between Taiwanese society and workers from Southeast Asian countries. The system of "management" of foreign workers, including high brokers' fees, no freedom to switch employers, different pay scales for the same work, etc., oppresses the basic human rights of workers. It has become a new slave labor system in the twenty-first century.

另一方面，被當成廉價勞動力使用的移工，也成為台灣失業率上升的代罪羔羊，倍受社會污名與排斥。一個缺乏勞動人權與平等勞動價格的移工政策，不僅剝削移工也嚴重傷害本地勞工權益。

Migrant workers, who are being used as cheap labor, are also being scapegoated for the rising unemployment rates in Taiwan. They are being demonized and discriminated against. A migrant labor policy which does not guarantee workers' human rights or equitable payment not only oppresses migrant workers, it also erodes the basic working rights of local workers.

以經濟發展為主軸的台灣社會，並沒有從人權角度，公平地對待這些來自經濟發展相對較為落後的東南亞國家的勞動者；而另一群以婚姻形式留在台灣的移工(即外籍配偶)，也因為異國文化差異、婚姻與家庭角色的期待，同樣面臨著艱困的處境。

Taiwanese society, which pivots around economic development, does not consider the perspective of human rights or equality when dealing with workers who come from less economically developed countries. Another group of migrant workers, those who enter Taiwan through marriage (the "foreign spouses"), also face difficulties due to cultural differences and different expectations regarding marriage and family obligations.

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從台灣勞工運動的脈絡出發，體認所有勞動者利害皆相關，一群勞工運動組織者於1999年10月成立台灣國際勞工協會（Taiwan International Workers' Association），是全國第一個以移工為服務對象的本地民間組織，關懷對象包含移工與外籍配偶。協會成員來自社會進步人士、勞工組織工作者以及本地工會幹部，除了發展本地勞動者與移工的勞動經驗交流之外，也積極倡議移工權益，發展移工自主組織，近年來分別協助成立菲律賓勞工團結組織（KASAPI）及印尼在台勞工聯盟（IPIT）；同時，有鑑於台灣社會充斥的種族/階級隔閡與偏見，積極辦理文化活動，以轉化台灣社會對於外籍勞動者的認識，進而實踐尊重、包容與平等的社會公義。

Recognizing that the struggles of different groups of workers are inter-related, a group of labor organizers with long experience in the Taiwanese labor movement established the Taiwan International Workers' Association (TIWA) in October 1999. TIWA is the first NGO in the country organized by Taiwanese citizens and dedicated to serving migrant workers. The community we serve includes migrant workers and foreign spouses. TIWA's members are progressive social activists, labor organizers, and local union officers. Aside from developing the exchange of labor experiences between migrant and local workers, TIWA actively campaigns for workers' rights and helps migrant workers to empower themselves and establish their own organizations. Over the past few years, we have supported the establishment of the KApulungan ng SAmahang PIlipino (KASAPI) and the Ikatan Pekerja Indonesia Taiwan (IPIT). At the same time, seeing the prevalence of racial and class prejudice in Taiwanese society, we actively organize cultural activities, in order to transform Taiwanese society's image of foreign workers and promote mutual respect, tolerance, and social justice and equality.

2003年我們串連相關移工團體組成「家事服務法推動聯盟」，以民間立法方式主張家事服務業勞工應受勞動法律保障；2007年，家事服務法推動聯盟改名為「台灣移工聯盟」；是推動台灣移工運動最重要的力量。

In 2003, we gathered grassroots organizations concerned with migrant workers to form an umbrella organization, the "Promoting Alliance for the Household Services Act (PAHSA)." We advocate that domestic workers, including domestic helpers and healthcare workers who work in private homes, should have their labor rights protected by law. In 2007, the PAHSA changed its name to the "Migrants Empowerment Network in Taiwan (MENT)." The alliance is the most important force promoting the migrant workers' movement in Taiwan.

我們的宗旨
增進以婚姻或工作契約來台的移工與本地社群交流、改善移工及外配的勞動環境與社會處境、增進勞動階層的權益及福祉。

Our mission:
To promote interaction between local communities and migrant workers who have come to Taiwan either through marriage or on work contracts; to improve the work environment and social situation of migrant workers and foreign spouses; to advance the rights and welfare of the working class.

我們的服務
自助培力 發展組織：法律諮詢、勞資爭議協處、勞工教育、組織移工自主團體、移工庇護
文化交流 弱勢發聲：詩文/電影/歌舞交流、移工攝影與寫作、文化導覽、社區派對
政策辯論 行動倡議：
國會遊說、抗爭遊行、國際串聯

Our services:
Self-empowerment and organizational development：legal aid, negotiation of labor disputes, labor education, helping migrant workers organize their own groups, migrant workers' shelter
Cultural exchange and helping the voices of the weak to be heard：poetry/ film/ music and dance exchange, migrant workers' photography and writing workshops, cultural guidance, community festivals

Advocating for more just and equitable labor policies：lobbying the Legislative Yuan, protest marches, international networking

台灣國際勞工協會（TIWA）
地址：台北市104中山區中山北路3段53-6號3樓
電話：886-2-2595-6858
傳真：886-2-2595-6755
Website：http://www.tiwa.org.tw/
E-mail：tiwa@tiwa.org.tw

Taiwan International Workers' Association (TIWA)
Address: 3 Fl. No. 53-6, Sec. 3, Zhong Shan N. Rd., Zhong Shan District, Taipei City 104
Tel: 886-2-2595-6858
Fax: 886-2-2595-6755
Website：http://www.tiwa.org.tw/
E-mail：tiwa@tiwa.org.tw

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6. A side of business card of Migrante International - Taiwan

7. Photos taken during author's research presentation at SEAT (2019-11-16)