Women and Emiratisation in the UAE Workforce

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I, MONA HAMADE, confirm that *this dissertation is the result of my own work and includes nothing which is the outcome of work done in collaboration except where specifically indicated in the text.* Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

I also confirm that this thesis is below 80,000 words, in fulfilment of the requirements set by the degree committee for the Department of Geography at the University of Cambridge.

Abstract

The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) which was adopted in 1979, and the 1995 Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action have generated global and regional momentum in the advance of equal gender opportunities. This research explores the increased presence of women in higher education and their subsequent entry into the workforce in the United Arab Emirates. The government has attempted to reduce its citizens' dependency on public sector employment and promote opportunities in the private sector. Governmental efforts have included improving the education system, granting women access to education and introducing funding schemes to encourage employment initiatives. Yet, despite these efforts, unemployment across the UAE remains at a high level, with public sector favoured by Emirati nationals. The country's drive to nationalise the labour force reflects the necessity of utilising the capabilities of Emirati nationals, both men and women, to diversify the rentier state economy. Emiratisation is a national government strategy in the United Arab Emirates that aims to reduce the country's reliance on expatriate labour and increase the participation of nationals in the labour market, both in the public and private sectors. The research for this thesis begins by exploring the inadequacy of classical rentier state theory and examining Mathew Gray's theory of late rentierism within the context of the United Arab Emirates. It further builds on the late rentierism model with a particular focus on the role of women, education and youth participation. The methodological approach used in this research is primarily qualitative, including interviews with final year university students, and professionals in the banking sector of both sexes. These groups were chosen to highlight the practical implications of governmental Emiratisation policies aiming to increase job opportunities across the United Arab Emirates. To date, very little research has been conducted on the issues of gender, work life balance policies and new workforce trends in the UAE.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

> The Arab world needs to create 75-100 million jobs by 2020 in order to
> see any significant reduction in unemployment and absorb the number of
> young graduates entering the workforce each year (World Bank, 2004*b*).

The emergence of labour nationalisation strategies and an increase in the educational attainment of men and women in the Arab world has highlighted the potential advancement of women in the Arab region (UN, 2010). These strategies have substantially enhanced women's entry into the competitive labour market, although the rapid economic development and educational changes taking place in the United Arab Emirates (UAE) emphasise a new reality that demands additional research (Hausmann et al., 2013, 2014). The UAE has attempted to promote private sector employment, yet, all too often, attempts to address this issue "are conducted in isolation of career aspirations and job preferences of young people" (Bunglawla, 2011, pp.7). [1]

Low levels of gender equity and equality are a major socio-economic challenge for countries in the Middle East and North Africa (Hausmann et al., 2013, 2014). The Arab Human Development Report of 2002 highlighted the regional gender gap as one of three human development deficits. As argued by Stevenson, women suffer from "unequal citizenship and legal entitlements, a low share of political decision making and a low level of participation in the workforce" (Stevenson, 2008). Emerg-

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[1] Zameela Bunglawla's 2011 report 'Young, Educated and Dependent on the Public Sector' for the Brookings Institute, Doha Centre, assesses the aspirations of graduates in both Qatar and the United Arab Emirates.

ing markets like the UAE are thus faced with challenges such as creating jobs in non-energy related fields within an oil based economy (Madichie, 2010).[2]The GCC states have realised that workforce nationalisation is integral to attracting and maintaining nationals in the workplace across both the public and private sectors, taking into account that the nationalisation strategies need to be tailored to each GCC state (Randeree, 2009; Gray, 2011). Labour nationalisation policies in the Middle East have been largely affected by political instability and increased birth rates (Randeree, 2009; Gray, 2011). The Arab Gulf States present a unique case since their approach to labour nationalisation is mostly due to factors such as maintaining a knowledge based economy and lessening the dependence on expatriate workers; these will be further explored in the following sections of this chapter (Randeree, 2009; Gray, 2011). Arab Gulf countries have become reliant on migrant workers who amount to nearly "one third of the GCC population" (Randeree, 2009, pp. 1). This study's originality lies in its contribution to late rentierism theory and argues that an increase in educational attainment and women's contribution to the workforce are critical factors to the socio-economic development of GCC states. Consequently, education, inclusion of women in the workforce, and increased preference of nationals for private sector employment are significant factors in the successful approach of late rentierism. The developments of UAE labour nationalisation in the private sector, in particular across the banking sector, present an interesting case through which to explore the impact on women's labour force participation. This study contributes to existing literature on Emiratisation through its empirical contribution which focuses on work-life balance provisions and recommendations towards shaping the success of Emiratisation schemes in terms of influencing citizens' attitudes towards labour.

Many features of the UAE are unique since it is considered a rentier state where the benefits of oil have largely created a society dependent on the state for the allocation and distribution of resources (Beblawi and Luciani, 1987; Mahdavi, 1970). The implication of the state's direct involvement has therefore created a certain hierarchical relationship between individuals and state leaders, while the role of state

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[2]According to Madichie (2010), the term emerging markets is commonly used to describe business and market activity in industrialising or emerging regions of the world. These are classified as middle-income economies (differentiated by upper-and lower-middle-income economies, i.e. an annual income of US $3856-11905 and US $976-3855 per capita, respectively).

institutions has maintained a conservative society, affecting attempts at nationalising employment (Beblawi and Luciani, 1987; Gray, 2011). However, the UAE has embarked on Emiratisation, a labour nationalisation strategy; to provide UAE nationals with employment opportunities in both private and public sectors (Brooks, 2004). [3] Yet , despite the educational advancements for women and Emiratisation initiatives women are still largely perceived as unable to compete with men in emerging markets such as the UAE. Thus, it is important to understand the mechanisms in which Emiratisation can influence the hiring of nationals in the private sector.

Emiratisation strategies need to incorporate factors such as family values and Emirati culture in order to attract and retain women in the workforce (Brooks, 2004). Educational development is also required as an essential ingredient for eventually carrying out policies which aim to boost economic potential in non-oil related sectors. In 2014, the estimate of the UAE population (both nationals and non-nationals) was 7.89 million and the overall population sex ratio (male/female) was 2.26 per cent. According to statistics released by the Global Gender Gap Report in 2014, the labour force participation rate in the UAE for females and males stood at 47 per cent and 91 per cent respectively (Hausmann et al., 2014). This is indicative of a substantial overall gender employment gap, given that women and men are nearly equally represented in higher education within the UAE (UAE National Bureau of Statistics, 2012). These statistics highlight the potential impact of Emiratisation in creating job opportunities in the private sector and attracting both men and women across the UAE. The government of the UAE has modified its Emiratisation policies in recent decades. The following sections will define Emiratisation, the process of structural reforms, and provide a mapping of Emiratisation and the current challenges to its successful initiatives (Ali, 2010).

1.1 Definition of Emiratisation

The purpose of this thesis is contribute to the understanding the barriers to Emiratisation and its impact on attracting nationals to the private sector. The UAE shares educational attainment levels and similar employment challenges with other GCC states (Beblawi and Luciani, 1987; Randeree, 2009; Gray, 2011). However, compared

to other GCC states, the UAE's economic development is seen by the international community as the new economic model for GCC states , enhanced by Dubai's presence on the international scene (Beblawi and Luciani, 1987; Randeree, 2009; Gray, 2011). From the 1970s to the 1990s, the UAE's economic policies relating to resource wealth reflected the government's intention to invest in the country's economic and social infrastructure. Consequently, the government realised that its initial dependency on imported skills was essential to its economic development (Forstenlechner et al., 2012). To aid in the importation of labour, laws and regulations were enacted to cover the temporary workforce and define the UAE's resultant employment structure (Al-Waqfi and Forstenlechner, 2010; Forstenlechner et al., 2012; Abu Dhabi e-government, 2014).[4] During the 1970s, the availability of foreign employees willing to work oil fields for a cheap wage, was reflected in the labour laws, in the sense that no minimum wage was defined, no benefits were offered and no end of service compensation was envisioned (Forstenlechner et al., 2012; Abu Dhabi e-government, 2014). On the other hand, substantial incentives, such as generous pension schemes, shorter working hours and paid vacation were provided for nationals working in the public sector. As a consequence, nationals were led to view public sector employment as more rewarding than that offered in the private sector (Ali, 2010). In order to encourage Emiratisation, the government amended the labour law, and this will be further explained in the sections below.

The focus of this research is on the impact of the UAE's recent Emiratisation policies on men's and women's access to employment opportunities and its role in a more globalised late rentier state. This research addresses the key issues generated by late rentierism theory such as increased educational attainment and women's economic participation in the UAE workforce (Gray, 2011). This thesis will focus on a different aspect of Emiratisation through examining its impact on creating some form of agency for Emirati nationals and available work-life balance policies. Furthermore, it will contribute to limited but increasing studies on labour nationalisation strategies in the GCC states and Emiratisation by exploring the impact of Emiratisation and work-life balance policies on the female labour force, both in the public and private

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[4] http://uaelaborlaw.com/

sectors of the UAE.[5] Other research has emphasised a managerial perspective and the role of expatriates in the UAE such as in studies by Al-Waqfi and Forstenlechner (2010), Cerimagic (2010) and Fernandes and Awamleh (2006).

The perceptions that international managers have of Emirati nationals, and especially women, are influenced by cultural limitations and the perceived rights of women across the UAE (Al-Waqfi and Forstenlechner, 2010). According to Al-Waqfi and Forstenlechner (2010), although managers are aware of the highly competent pool of female applicants, they are also aware of the cultural constraints that prevent women from being as equally competitive as men. Additionally, scholarship on gender and labour markets has highlighted the intersection of political, cultural and economic policies (Figart et al., 2002; Al-Waqfi and Forstenlechner, 2010). This research aims to assess Emiratisation's promotion of Emirati nationals in the private sector workforce and argues that Emiratisation needs to situate work-life balance policies in order to retain female employees. The increased presence of women in higher education over the past decade has led more women to explore various employment initiatives and entrepreneurial schemes, taking into account the context of gender, religion, patriarchy and government regulations in the Middle East (Kandiyoti, 1996; Moghadam and Karshenas, 2005; Krause, 2009). In the next section, I will briefly outline the chapters of the thesis.

The first chapter provides a brief introduction to key features of the United Arab Emirates relevant to this research, the gender perceptions commonly associated with the UAE labour force and the rise of Emiratisation. The second chapter critically engages with Late Rentier State (LRS) theory within the gender and economic development context of the UAE. This theoretical chapter sheds light on women's negotiations as a result of Emiratisation in the labour market of the UAE. The third chapter presents the methodology used in this study. The fourth chapter sets out the themes that emerged from the empirical study conducted in the emirates of Dubai, Abu Dhabi and Sharjah between 2011/2012. Finally, the concluding chapter sum-

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[5]There have been previous studies that focused on migrant rights in the UAE such as Al-Maskari (2011) study on the mental health of migrant workers across the UAE, and the work of Osella and Osella (2011), and Suter (2005) who focused on labour migration in the Arab Gulf States. The International Labour Organisation's working papers are a main source for studying migrant worker rights across the UAE (for both men and women). For example: http://www.biblioteca.cij.gob.mx/Archivos/Materiales_de_consulta/Migracion/Articulos/ingles7.pdf

marises the main arguments discussed in this research and suggests future policy recommendations.

1.1.1 Women and Economic Participation

The special issue report " Women in the United Arab Emirates: A Portrait of Progress" from the Ministry of State for the Federal National Council (MFNCA) outlined the development process and challenges faced by Emirati women in 2008 (UAE Ministry of State, 2008). The report identified women as integral to the UAE's progress. Indeed, as Emirati society is exposed to various processes of globalisation, the government has developed a strategic vision directed towards women, with the aim of equipping them with the tools necessary to attain a more dynamic professional future. Furthermore, the strategy targets women across public services and the private sector to facilitate all possible career track options. The report also emphasised changes to the traditional role of women that has occurred over the last two generations in the UAE, and which has bridged the traditional and the modern without redefining the "society's national identity" (UAE Ministry of State, 2008, pp. 5). The empirical section will engage with students and bankers to offer a closer analysis of the impact of Emiratisation and the development of better career opportunities for Emirati women.

According to Ali (2012), a report issued by the UAE's National Bureau of Statistics in 2011 showed that unemployment among nationals reached 20.8 per cent in 2011 and 3.2 per cent among expatriates, while the overall unemployment rate for both nationals and expatriates was 4.6 per cent. Consequently, unemployment remains a major obstacle if the UAE's economy is to diversify. More jobs need to be created across various non-energy sectors to accommodate the high number of youth in higher education and specifically the increased presence of women in the workforce (Ali, 2012). As the data indicates, women are present in the traditional masculine university subjects and consequently jobs need to be available to them in the appropriate areas (Ali, 2012). Statistics released by women's organisations in the UAE show that women are present in both sectors, while women's organisations in the UAE such as the General Women's Union, the Dubai Women's Establishment

Table 1.1: MENA Women's Labour Force Participation Rates from a Global Perspective, 1980–85 and 2005– 2010[a]

	1980–1985	2005–2010
World	55.2	56.9
Latin America and Caribbean	39.6	54.6
East Asia and Pacific	69.6	69.3
South Asia	34.9	36.8
Sub-Saharan Africa	44.1	60.9
North America	61.5	69.1
Europe and Central Asia	58.5	61.4
MENA	22.1	27.9

Note: a. Per centage of female population aged 1564. Source: World Bank, World Development Indicators (Washington, DC: World Bank). `http://databank.worldbank.org/ddp/home.do?Step=12&id=4&CNO=2`, accessed April 2012.

and the Dubai Business Women's Council have highlighted the active participation of Emirati women in the economic and social life of the country (UAE Ministry of State, 2008; Dubai Women Establishment, 2012). According to the 2005 figures released by the UAE Business Women's Council, about 40 per cent of women work in the public sector, 18 per cent in the private sector, 29 per cent are representatives of various organisations, 7.6 per cent are self-employed, 7.3 per cent participate in partnership ventures, and 6 per cent work in business (UAE Ministry of State, 2008). From a global perspective, table 1.1 rates women's labour force participation rates, and these are very low compared to women's participation rate in Europe and North America. Yet, despite this positive increase in women's participation, the 2009 UAE labour force survey also shows that only 27.5 per cent were economically active at all. However, the different per centages offered by the 2008 MFNCA report and the 2009 labour survey show an overall increase in women's economic participation in the UAE despite the discrepancies in numbers.

The UAE Ministry of State (2008) report shows that Emirati women comprised over 40 per cent of all employees in education at this time, with at least 35 per cent working in the health sector and approximately 20 per cent in social affairs. Subsequently, universities such as the American University of Sharjah hosted university conferences and seminars to increase student awareness of women in education and in the workplace, targeting students enrolled in all the available major courses such

as medicine, engineering and media (AUS, 2010). Emiratisation can be seen as an example of a potential strategy advanced by the government to alter the perception of Emirati nationals' absence in the private sector. The government is focusing on economic growth which largely relies on a dynamic private sector and tackling employment issues (Gray, 2011). Since the rentier state has traditionally offered nationals secured employment in the public sector, the Emirati government has attempted to invest in human resources to increase job creation (Gray, 2011). The data gathered in this research aims to identify the challenges to Emiratisation and investment in work-life balance policies that will incentivise Emirati job seekers.

1.1.2   Women and Education

This section examines the potential implications of educational attainment in the UAE on the entry of women into the UAE's workforce. As described in the following quote from a personal interview with Dr. Jassem Al Ali, former Vice President of Zayed University, in 2012, the UAE environment is a Bedouin Muslim society and therefore very different from that encountered in the West.[6]

> We are still a bedouin Muslim society. We need to encourage more women to work in order to change this environment. For example, we have to be supportive of maternity leave; the government needs to encourage more women to work; and we have to bring this environment to them to attract them to working in the private sector.

Dr. Al Ali further stressed the success women have encountered in demonstrating their leadership potential, asserting that maintaining a high level of education will lead to the generation of ideas that is so vital to the economy.

The UAE constitution, Article 17, reinforces the importance of education:

> Education shall be a fundamental factor for the progress of society. It shall be compulsory in its primary stage and free of charge at all stages, within the Union. *(National Media Council, 2010)*

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[6]Personal interview with the author and Dr. Jassem Al Ali conducted in April 20, 2012 and held at Zayed University Khalifa Campus, Abu Dhabi, United Arab Emirates.

Table 1.2: Gendered Socio-Demographic Features, MENA, circa 2010

Country	Female tertiary enrollments, 2011	Proportion female teaching staff at tertiary level, 2011	Age at first marriage, 2010		Contraceptive prevalence, % married women aged 15-49, 2005-09	Total Fertility Rate 2005-2010
			Male	Female		
Algeria	34	38	33	29	61	2.4
Bahrain	n.a.	33	30	26	62	2.7
Egypt	32	n.a.	n.a.	23	60	2.9
Iran	49	19	26	24	79	1.8
Iraq	n.a.	n.a.	28	25	50	4.9
Israel	62	n.a.	29	26	n.a.	2.9
Jordan	38	24	29	25	59	3.3
Kuwait	n.a.	27	30	25	52	2.3
Lebanon	58	38	31	27	58	1.9
Libya	n.a.	n.a.	32	29	45	2.7
Morocco	13	17	31	26	63	2.4
Oman	29	30	26	22	32	2.5
Qatar	32	38	28	26	43	2.4
Saudi Arabia	37	35	27	25	24	3.0
Syria	n.a.	n.a.	29	25	58	3.1
Tunisia	34	42	30	27	60	2.0
Turkey	34	40	n.a.	23	73	2.2
UAE	n.a.	31	26	23	28	1.9
West Bank and Gaza	51	n.a.	27	23	50	4.7
Yemen	n.a.	17	25	22	28	5.5

Notes: n.a. means data not available.

Sources: Tertiary enrollment female: World Development Indicators http://data.worldbank.org/topic

The proportion of women instructors in higher education, World Economic Forum, Global Gender Gap Report 2011, http://www.weforum.org/reports/global-gender-gap-report-2011; Mean age at marriage: Statistical Indicators on Men and Women, United Nations, http://unstats.un.org/unsd/demographic/products/indwm/tab2b.htm. Contraception prevalence and TFR: UNDP, Human Development Report 2011, tab.4.

The 2008 MFNCA report suggested that 62 per cent of students enrolled in the UAE higher education system were women (UAE Ministry of State, 2008). Yet a 2008 Dubai School of Governance policy brief inquired about women's motivations for obtaining a higher degree, since, according to Assaad (2008), positive enrolment per centages had not led to an increase in women's participation in the Emirati labour force. As table 1.2 shows, the development indicators for the UAE strongly support the percentage of female teaching staff at tertiary level which is comparatively better than other GCC countries. Despite the overall finding of the report, there is still a gender gap deficit in most areas such as literacy and employment. To encourage the implementation of Emiratisation strategies, this research recognises the need to identify the multiple challenges involved in locating qualified Emiratis, not to mention enforcing quota targets. This research argues that an increase in educational attainment alone is not sufficient for a successful implementation of Emiratisation strategies. The focus of Emiratisation strategies on young UAE nationals has allowed them to become better equipped with the competitive skills needed for the workforce.

Thus, with regards to the narrowing of the gender gap, the UAE, and the Arab world more generally, are still lagging behind at the level of economic and political participation of women, raising concerns regarding the efficacy of UAE national employment policies. The empirical chapter in this analysis looks at the development of labour force nationalisation, Emiratisation, and the inclusion of Emirati women in the UAE workforce.

This research explores Emiratisation's effect on the transmission of families' attitudes towards female employment across the UAE. A 2007 United Nations Development Program (UNDP) report stated that the UAE had reached its educational attainment targets for that year (UNDP UAE, 2007). Women were seen to have reached a higher level of educational attainment than men because "of a strong desire to become financially independent and professionally successful"(UNDP UAE, 2007). Both male and female enrollment in primary, secondary and tertiary education increased in 2014, with the UAE currently ranking 83 out of 142 countries in the Global Gender Gap Report's Educational Attainment Index. The per centage of female enrollment in secondary and tertiary education was reported as 89 per cent and 91 per

Figure 1.1: Map of the UAE.

Source: CIA World Factbook [a]

[a] https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ae.html

cent, respectively; whereas, the male percentage was 82 per cent and 22 per cent, respectively (Hausmann et al., 2014). According to data published by UNICEF, Emirati women constitute 77 per cent of the total number of university students in the UAE. In 2010, this was considered as the highest per centage of women in higher education in the world (UNICEF, 2010).

1.2 United Arab Emirates Profile

This section will outline information on the gender gap in the UAE and explain the case selection process. It is important to gain a snapshot of both the traditional and modern nature of the UAE, and how it functions as a rentier state, in order to understand the tribal influence and the way capitalism has been embraced by its citizens (Rugh, 2007; Gray, 2011). In addition, this has impacted the political division of power and consequently the formulation of the state's economic policies (Rugh, 2007; Gray, 2011). Despite the traditional social role of Emirati citizens as a result of the overarching tribal influence, this section will also highlight newly available opportunities for citizens in order to understand the change in current workforce dynamics in the UAE. The UAE gained its independence from the British Empire on December 2, 1971 and is now composed of seven states: Abu Dhabi, Dubai, Sharjah, Ajman, Umm al Qaywan, Fujairah and Ras el Khaimah (Walker, 2007).[7] Thus, as the next section will show the division of powers is directly related to UAE's tribal

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[7]For a more detailed historical narrative, please refer to historians of the Arab Gulf States such as (Heard-Bey, 2005) and (Al Hakim, 1989).

divisions (Al Hakim, 1989).

1.2.1   Division of Powers

The UAE was historically home to a number of tribes that were dispersed across its territory such as the Bani Yas, Manasir and Dhawahirs. Nomadic tribes who also frequented Abu Dhabi territory included the Awamir, Afar, Manahil, Rashid, and Al Murrah. In addition, there were tribes present on the fringe of the Trucial Coast such as the Naim, Al Bu Shamis, Balush, Bani Qitab and Bani Ka'ab, with tribes of the northern area including the Sharqiyin, Al' Ali, Za'ab, Tanaij, Naqbiyin, Ghafal, Shihuh and Dhahuriyin (Heard-Bey, 1996). As a result of 'The General Treaty of Maritime Truce' of 1853, the seven principal trucial shaikhdoms were named the Trucial states.[8] Before acquiring independence, the British Empire reaped the economic benefits of the region while the tribal leaders were left with the administrative responsibilities (Hawley, 1970; Codrai, 1990; Heard-Bey, 1996). Traditional UAE culture remains largely centred on tribal interactions and the main religious tenets of Islam, however, the sudden 1970s discovery of oil and ensuing wealth of Dubai and Abu Dhabi, led to the formation of elite families who became socially and economically privileged as a result of the private ownership of crude oil and minerals (Heard-Bey, 1997). This has led to Dubai and Abu Dhabi becoming the two wealthiest emirates in comparison to the remaining five (Walker, 2007). I will now describe the importance of tribal features in understanding the political decision-making process across the UAE.

The geographic features and tribal nature of the UAE are significant factors in understanding the political representation that exists, that is, between the UAE government and its citizens, who are loosely affiliated with tribal leaders or senior family members (Hawley, 1970; Codrai, 1990; Heard-Bey, 1996). Although the tribal system is an abstract concept, as the UAE is a federation with an active government and judiciary system, the fear of a high percentage of expatriates, the development of a globalised Emirati society, and the emergence of a younger generation focused on

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[8]The pre-1971 name of the United Arab Emirates is attested from 1891, in reference to the 1835 maritime truce between Britain and the Arab sheiks of Oman. Please refer to: http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/197832/Exclusive-Agreement.

social media, has led the UAE to advance policies such as Emiratisation and thus embrace the changing nature of its society (Walker, 2007). The following sections will highlight the current division of power in the UAE government and introduction of Emiratisation, shedding light on the current available business opportunities for women in the UAE workforce. The state introduced policies which offer new opportunities that reflect the modernisation of the Emirati political system.

1.2.1.1 Tribal Ecosystem

The tribal ecosystem has long helped shape the UAE's cultural and social attitudes. Since most of the emirates' rulers are representative of the dominant tribe in each emirate, each emirate's policy is largely guided by the rulers' orientation. The UAE's key founder, Shaykh Zayid bin Sultan Al Nuhayyan, ruler of Abu Dhabi and UAE president, passed away on November 2, 2004, following which, in keeping with tradition, his first son, Shaykh Khalifa bin Zayid al-Nuhayyan, became the ruler of Abu Dhabi and was selected as UAE president by the Federal Supreme Council. This council is composed of leaders of all seven emirates. The ruler of Dubai, Shaykh Mohammad bin Rashid Al Maktum, has traditionally served as Vice President and Prime Minister of the UAE since the death of his elder brother, Shaykh Maktum bin Rashid Al Maktum in January 2006. The leaders of the other individual emirates are Dr. Sultan bin Muhammad Al Qassimi (Sharjah); Saud bin Saqr Al Qassimi, (Ras al-Khaymah, see below); Humaid bin Rashid Al Nuaimi (Ajman); Hamad bin Muhammad Al Sharqi (Fujayrah); and Saud bin Rashid Al-Mualla (Umm al-Qaywayn). Shaykh Saud of Umm al-Qaywayn was named leader of that emirate in January 2009 upon the death of his father, Shaykh Rashid Al-Mualla.[9]

1.2.1.2 Political System

The current political system of the United Arab Emirates is a federation of seven emirates: Abu Dhabi, Dubai, Sharjah, Ras Al Khaymah, Ajman, Al Fujeirah and Umm al Qaywan. The political structure is composed of: the Federal Supreme Council, the Federal Council of Ministers, and the Federal National Council. The Federal

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[9]The UAE Yearbook is widely appreciated for its comprehensive annual review of the fast-paced development in the Emirates. See: http://www.uaeyearbook.com/yearbook2010.php

Supreme Council is the highest constitutional authority in the UAE and holds the highest legislative and executive authority, generating general policies and approving federal legislation. The legislative branch is the unicameral Al-Majlis Al-Watani Al-Ittihadi, or Federal National Council (FNC).[10] Twenty of the FNC's 40 members are elected by 7000 notables, who are in turn chosen by local governments to represent various social groups and tribes. The other 20 are appointed by the Emirates' rulers to serve a two-year-term of office with the possibility of renewal. According to the constitution, the selection process of FNC members is left to the Emirates' discretion. Of the 40 members, the proportions from Abu Dhabi and Dubai are eight members each, Sharjah and Ra's al Khaymah have six members, and Ajman, Umm al Qaywan, and Al Fujairah have four members (UAE Interact, 2010). Elections in the Federal National Council reflect tribal and family associations in the UAE. There are a certain number of citizens from each emirate allowed to cast their vote for the FNC, which provides a limited advisory role in everyday legislation processes. The government's broadening of the number of citizens entitled to vote has been seen as narrowing the gap between the government and its citizens. However, despite this move, there still exists a lack of transparency in the procedures for how voters or candidates are selected (Al Arabiya News, 2012). In the most recent 2011 FNC elections, only one woman - Sheikha al-Ari of Umm al- Qaywan won a seat in the FNC, and the election turnout was just over 28 per cent of eligible Emirati citizens (Al Arabiya News, 2012).[11] A prime example of the importance of tribal association in the UAE is illustrated by the following quote from a member of the Tunaiji clan,who was interviewed by an Emirati newspaper speaking outside a polling station in Ras al-Khaimah, one of the less wealthy emirates: "I voted only for my brother to give him more chances to win," with a 37 year old man further elucidating : "A lot of people vote for the son of the clan" (unidentified Emirati male, 24 Sept 2011). Despite the government highlighting the basic rules of campaigning, the above statement highlights a lack of understanding of what the FNC assembly actually stands for in

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[10]The Federal National Council in the United Arab Emirates' recent election of 2011. Half of the 40 seats were contested by 468 candidates with only one woman winning a seat.http://www.arabianbusiness.com/one-woman-wins-office-in-uae-s-second-election-421904.html

[11]20 seats in the Federal National Council (FNC) were contested by 468 candidates, with 28 per cent of eligible voters casting their vote.

Figure 1.2: Division of Federal Structure in the UAE.
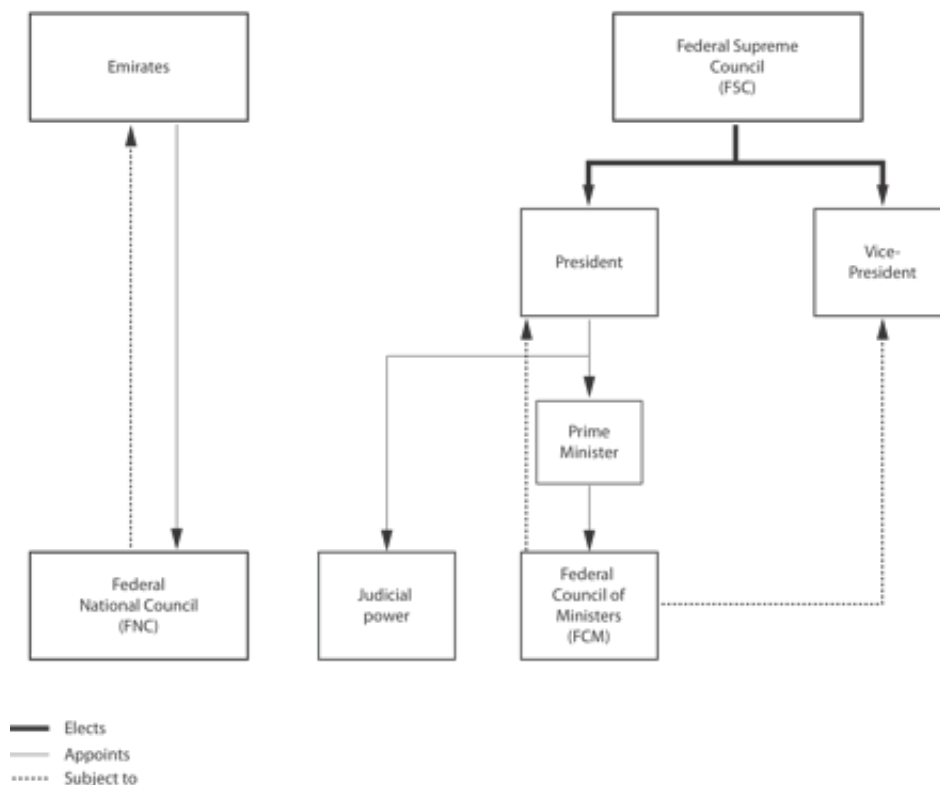
Source(Al Hakim, 1989)

the UAE, as well as uncertainty about its constitutional powers.

The UAE's dual court system is based on Sharia (Islamic law) courts and civil courts. The federal judiciary in the UAE comprises of the Federal Supreme Court, Federal First Instance Court, and Federal Appeal Court. The Federal Supreme Court consists of a president and a maximum number of five judges appointed by a decree issued by the President of the UAE and confirmed by the Federal Supreme Council. The Federal Supreme Court handles disputes between emirates among themselves or between emirates and the UAE federal government; conflicts of jurisdiction; and crimes directly affecting the interests of the UAE federation (Brown, 2001). There are two levels of judiciary in the UAE: federal and local (Brown, 2001). Each emirate can hold local judiciary courts, with the federal judiciary courts based in Dubai. Thus, the UAE judiciary falls into two categories, civil and Shari'ah (Brown, 2001).[12] The struc-

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[12]Article 104 of the UAE constitution states that the local judiciary in each of the seven emirates is responsible for judicial affairs that do not fall under the responsibility of the federal judicial authorities. For example, criminal, civil and commercial cases can be referred by the local judiciary to the jurisdiction of the federal judicial authorities.

ture of the courts further contributes to the understanding of the processes by which women can negotiate their political and economic rights. In the next section, I will highlight the relevant articles in UAE's labour law in relation to available maternity leave for Emirati women.

1.3   UAE's Labour Law (1980)

Since Emiratisation aims at introducing Emirati nationals to the private sector, the challenge of retaining female employees is directly related to the length of maternity leave and flexible work. Maternity leave is central to the relationship between (potential) motherhood, career aspirations and the state (Ghafar, 2014). State policies such as maternity leave and Emiratisation are the foci of this research and directly affect career aspirations of Emirati women, making them integral to my research as a whole. The formulation and implementation of policies such as maternity leave directly relate to the importance of incorporating gender into employment policies. These laws minimally address work-life balance policies in the UAE and have the potential to minimise the gender gap related to employment in the workforce. According to the UAE Labour Law (UAE, 2011), which is understood to have the same subject of interpretation in the public and private sectors, a woman is entitled to 45 days maternity leave:

Article 30

A female worker shall be entitled to maternity leave with full pay for a period of 45 days, including both pre- and post-natal periods, provided that she has completed not less than one year of continuous service with her employer. A female worker who has not completed the aforementioned period of service shall be entitled to maternity leave with half pay.

A female worker who has exhausted her maternity leave may be absent from work without pay for a maximum period of 100 consecutive or non-consecutive days if such absence is due to illness preventing her from resuming work. A medical certificate issued by a competent health authority confirming that the illness is a result of pregnancy or delivery shall document this.

Article 31

> Over the 18 months following childbirth, a female worker nursing her child shall, in addition to any prescribed rest period, be entitled to two additional breaks each day for this purpose, neither of which shall exceed half an hour. These two additional breaks shall be considered as part of the working hours and shall not entail any reduction of wage.(UAE, 2011)

> Moreover, in 2006, a federal law mandating nurseries in government departments with more than 50 female employees was introduced. It stated that public sector companies should offer day creches to their employees. According to a joint report between the Authority of Dubai and the Dubai Women's Establishment (Dubai Women Establishment, 2009): The Council of Ministers Decision No. 19 (2006) regarding the establishment of child-care centres in Government Departments and Public Institutions for the provision of care for the children of female workers, was only applicable in organisations if the number of workers reached 50 employees and the number of their children in the age group up to 4 years reached 20 children. [13]

Following on from the introduction of the 2006 law, national child-care standards were seen as pivotal in creating a balanced working environment in the UAE. The UAE Cabinet Policy on Corporate Child Care Centre Law (19) was introduced in 2006, and this was put into effect in 2009 when the first child-care Centre in a Dubai Government Department was opened at Dubai Customs. The national child-care standards were a result of initiatives by the Dubai Women's Establishment (DWE) which supported the UAE Federal Strategy to enhance the work environment for women and state that women must not be expected to make sacrifices in their personal or professional lives. The creation of a positive work environment which supports women and working mothers in particular, through the availability of childcare in the workplace, will make an important contribution to their performance and professional development, knowing that their children are close by in a safe and nurtur-

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[13] A detailed elaboration on the objectives and standards of the daycare facilities can be found on the DWE website.www.dwe.gov.ae/downloadform.aspx?id=4?:

ing environment.[14] In addition, the implementation of the above mentioned statuary frame work must consist of the following: That these standards must apply to all child-care services as defined by Federal law No. 5 (1983), to include any premises dedicated to the care of children up to four years of age, including nurseries attached or annexed to a school. Child-care and child-minding services will receive children aged up to four years up to a certain number of hours (usually 4) per day, excluding child-care centres for sick children in hospitals and medical centres.

(1) The Law and Standards do not apply in the case of: Nursery schools established by foreign states or organisations in accordance with bilateral agreements with the United Arab Emirates, or nursery schools dedicated to the children of the diplomatic staff of any one country.

(2) Applying the Standards does not relieve child-care centres from complying with the requirements of the relevant Government Departments responsible for planning, health, security and safety.

Furthermore, the interviews in the empirical chapter are thus an attempt to address the current perceptions in the community regarding the effectiveness of these laws in facilitating the employment of women in the national workforce. The next section looks at the process of Emiratisation strategies. As this thesis is embedded in the relevancy of Emiratisation to women and work in the UAE, we will now look at the process of Emiratisation, focusing on the strategies that occur within this.

1.4   The Economic Structure of the UAE

To place Emiratisation in context, this section provides the background for this study and situates the structure in which this research was carried out. The economy of the UAE was originally based on the energy sector, but the government has attempted to gradually diversify its interests in an effort to maintain and sustain the country's wealth. According to the Institute of International Finance (IIF), government investment in non-oil sectors such as tourism and transportation has helped to expand the non-oil economy of the UAE, which in turn was set to boost the growth

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[14]   For more information please refer to http://www.thenational.ae/business/industry-insights/economics/women-on-every-uae-board-rules-cabinet#ixzz2aeahLgd1

Figure 1.3: UAE Evolution 2006 – 2014.
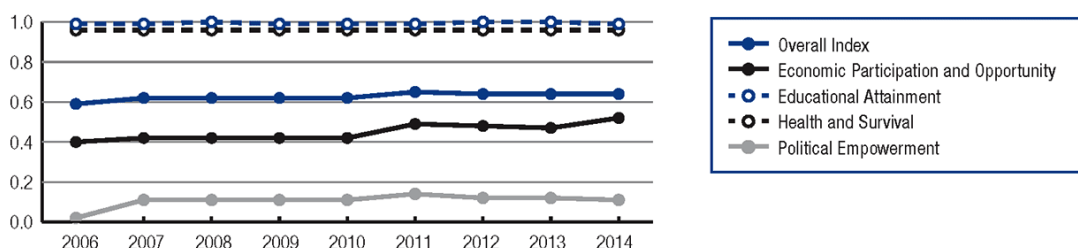
Source: WEF, Global Gender Gap Report 2014

of the economy by 4 per cent in 2014 (Sophia, 2013). Thus, the government has also started to focus on economic diversification in the areas of commerce, manufacturing and construction (Godwin, 2006). UAE's liberal trade policies (prior to the 2008 economic crisis) account for its high level of economic growth. However, the slowdown in Dubai's economic development (also a result of the 2008 economic crisis) has illuminated the bailout and anti-crisis measures employed by the oil-rich Abu Dhabi emirate and Gulf States in an effort to minimise the impact of the economic crisis in 2008 (IMF, 2009).

1.4.1 UAE and the Global Gender Gap Report

According to the regional country ranking listed in the Global Gender Gap Report (Hausmann et al., 2014), the UAE ranks second in the Arab region, showing a gradual increase over the past four years. Although the UAE has the wealthiest families and individuals in the region (National Media Council, 2010), it nevertheless ranks 115th out of the 142 countries analysed in terms of narrowing the gender gap (Hausmann et al., 2014). The evaluation of national gender gaps is linked to the economic measures taken by each country. However, it is important to note that the Global Gender Gap report ranks the proximity of gender equity rather than women's empowerment (Hausmann et al., 2013, 2014). The report's benchmarks are linked to four main criteria which address national gender gaps via economic, political, education and health based standards, providing country rankings that allow for effective comparisons across regions and income groups. The report focuses on four variables: economic participation and opportunity, educational attainment, health and survival and polit-

ical empowerment. Since this research looks at the economic contribution of Emirati nationals and the impact of educational attainment, two of these variables: economic participation and educational attainment were used as a comparative baseline. As Figure 1.3 shows, the UAE has made considerable efforts to maintain its overall ranking and narrow the gender gap over the past few years. The economic participation sub-index uses the participation gap, remuneration gap and advancement gap, while 'educational attainment' utilises the gap between women's and men's current access to education, captured through ratios of women to men in primary, secondary and tertiary education (Hausmann et al., 2014, pp. 5). The Global Gender Gap Report will provide the background to the students' and bankers' attitudes examined in chapter 4.

1.4.2   Overview of Family and Work in the Middle East

As the previous sections have shown, the increased participation of women in the workforce still faces challenges despite initiatives advanced by Emiratisation. For example, due to cultural traditions, many rural Emirati women refuse to work in a mixed-gender environment, and prefer instead to work in female-dominated sectors, such as teaching, or opt to remain unemployed (Kelly, 2009; Randeree, 2009; Carvalho Pinto, 2012; Moghadam, 2013). In this regard, the public sector is more flexible for female employees (Kelly, 2009; Carvalho Pinto, 2012; Moghadam, 2013). Indeed, middle East scholars highlight the diverse socio-economic and cultural conditions that exist in the Middle East, thus leading to women negotiating different roles in the workforce (Hoodfar, 1997; Joseph, 2000; Kelly, 2009; Carvalho Pinto, 2012; Moghadam, 2013). In the UAE and the Middle East in general, there are different factors that shape women's movements such as economic diversity, social classes and geography (Al-Ali, 1997, 2000; Joseph and Slyomovics, 2001). In the case of the Arab Gulf States, the government's support for nationalisation initiatives as well as an increase in women's educational attainment has created more available opportunities for women in the workforce (Gray, 2011). The negotiation of women's role within the modern UAE economy will be discussed further in chapter 4.

Clearly, there is a need to establish the reason that greater female involvement in

the workforce of the UAE has occurred over the past decade. One might consider the fact that it is a result of a changing world and UAE's economy giving women the opportunity to take on a new type of role within the modern rentier nation-state framework. Recent studies about the UAE and the effects of Emiratisation, education and employment support the assertion of Joseph and Slyomovics (2001) that the economic, political and cultural aspects of society are central to the progress of women in the MENA region (Godwin, 2006; Randeree, 2009). Reforming educational policies as part of Emiratisation are needed in order to provide quality education and employment to Emirati nationals (Randeree, 2009). The reforms should be aligned with economic need and social progress to allow for the advancement of both men and women in the UAE (Davidson, 2005; Gray, 2011). Moreover, these reforms will allow UAE nationals the opportunity to gain better working opportunities in the private sector and increase their competitive advantage within a globalised economy (Davidson, 2005; Gray, 2011).

Literature on work and family has resulted in an increased focus on work-life balance scholarship (Fuwa, 2004; Burke, 2006; Nasurdin and Hsia, 2008; Tan, 2008; Blair-Loy, 2010; Clarkberg, 2010). It has been argued that there are two types of support for women that can help balance work and family: emotional and instrumental (Blair-Loy, 2010; Clarkberg, 2010). Emotional support is created through care and support of the mother's experience (Nasurdin and Hsia, 2008). According to Burke (2006), the perception of shared concern between the husband and wife effectively contributes to emotional support. Instrumental support relates to the physical aspect of manual support, limiting the physical strain that mothers are sometimes exposed to while trying to balance a career as well as motherhood (Fuwa, 2004; Tan, 2008; Blair-Loy, 2010). Beninger (2010) has stressed that the highly competitive global economy has led to increasingly longer working hours, increasing the strain for both men and women in terms of balancing work and family. The European context is a good example where in a competitive economy some women have opted for jobs that have less demanding work hours in an effort to balance, and thus also limit their commitment to work (Hakim, 2006).

The increasing acceptance of working women's lifestyles in the European context

has allowed for women to have access to continuous work without impacting their long term career investment (Hakim, 2006). However, Lewis and Humbert (2010) and Ghafar (2014) argue that Arab countries vary in their implementation of work-life balance policies. For example, despite women's attempt to go back to work after their child reaches a certain age or opting for motherhood friendly jobs, support at home and at work need to be in place to achieve balance. In the context of the Arab world, most women enjoy a network of support from family, domestic helpers and husband, for example (Ghafar, 2014). The presence of instrumental and emotional support increases productivity at work and lessens the stressful burden of work-family conflict. As discussed in the above sections, Arab societies are defined as collective societies (Joseph and Slyomovics, 2001; Rugh, 2007). For example, the roles are clearly defined as the men are the breadwinners and the women are the homemakers. According to Ghafar (2014), the notion of paternity leave is not seen by many husbands as necessary. In a paper presented by Lewis at The Second Arab Women Leadership Forum it was highlighted that although the issue of work-life balance is not new, cultural expectations can be barriers to effective change in societal norms in the Arab world (Lewis and Humbert, 2010). In the case of Emiratisation, as more women are investing in their career and working away from home, the issues of work-life balance need to be examined (Ghafar, 2014).

Clearly, this highlights the key role played by the family in our understanding of gender and power relations in the Middle East (Moghadam, 2013; Ghafar, 2014). It is important to address social stratification in the UAE to gain a view of the social stratification of Emirati society more generally. According to Al Hakim (1989), social structure in this society is divided into elite and non-elite groups (or workers and employees), the former being composed of the ruling UAE families such as the al-Nahayan, al-Maktum, al-Qasimi, al-Mu'ala, al-Nu'aimi and al-Sharjy. As mentioned earlier, the tribal nature of the UAE is also central to an individual's affiliation. For example, the ruling families belong to the largest tribes in the larger emirates of Abu Dhabi, Dubai and Sharjah (Al Hakim, 1989).

It is important to define the incomplete separation of religion and state across the Middle East as this will help us better understand the emergence of different

strands of feminism in the Middle East; A certainty that should emerge from the wide discourse of Arab or Islamic or Middle Eastern feminism is that Arab women themselves are "agents for social and economic development" (Ibrahim, 2012, pp. 4). Since this research focuses on the relation between gender perceptions and socio economic and political contexts, it will not address the debates on religion and the veil. Rather, the following sub-section will briefly offer an overview of the debate between secular and Islamic feminism in the Middle East; this emerged as a result of the socio-economic and historical transformations encountered in the region. Two separate discourses have emerged; a modern and Islamic approach and a cultural and intellectual movement reflecting a broad spectrum of identity formation "based on bonds of shared space and local culture" (Badran, 2005, pp. 7). According to Badran (2005), in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, it took the spread of literacy among upper middle class women and the introduction of a new dynamic in women's writing that transcended the boundaries of religion, to craft a new feminist paradigm. This suggests that women were becoming more active and occupying new roles in the public sphere (Badran, 2005). In the current context of the UAE, the spread of educational attainment has presented women with new opportunities in society, the labour market and politics. In addition, the introduction of Emiratisation has offered a new approach whereby women can negotiate available roles in the workforce and potential policy transformation. Chapter 4 will explore women's mobilisation in the workforce of the UAE.

The influence of the state on women's organisations and developments has been centralised in theoretical debates (Krause, 2009), in particular the challenges to female employment and an increase in educational attainment for women. These issues will be examined in detail in chapter 2. The overarching theme of identity construction in relation to families and the social requisites for women is central to this research, and the images associated with modern feminism in the Middle East depict a similar struggle for equality as in the West (Badran, 2005). According to Kelly, more Emirati women are acting as roles models to the younger generation and raising awareness about women's rights in the workplace as well as within the realm of modern social relations more generally (Kelly, 2009). The government's focus on introducing new

education programmes and encouraging female graduates to pursue various business ventures will consequently be examined in the empirical research. Certainly, gender empowerment in the Middle East must not depend on state initiatives alone, instead women need to mobilise themselves to gain political, economic and social rights. For example, it was only in 2006, that women in the UAE were granted the right to vote, while this happened in Kuwait in 2005, and in 2000 in Bahrain (Al Kitbi, 2004). Therefore, state introduced legislation in this instance serves to restrict the space available for women's to actively participate and invest in public life when it was once restricted by state laws (Kelly, 2009).

The UAE's education strategy has highlighted the importance of equipping students with the skills needed in the market (Davidson, 2005). Recent roundtable discussions show that the educational strategies are directed towards enabling students with soft skills to close the skills gap and minimise the dissatisfaction expressed by managers in the private sector Abu Dhabi Emiratisation Forum (2010). In addition, this is directly related to youth's perception of the appropriate job sector preference and their participation in inclusive economic development across the UAE. The findings of this research serve to understand the preference of students and bankers and could help promote policies to sustain nationals' presence in the private sector. Key findings of the Abu Dhabi Emiratisation Forum (2010) emphasise a lack of career progression and a failure to create a mentoring culture in the public sector. According to the Ministry of Economy, "UAE nationals are concentrated in the public sector, accounting for 45 per cent of local manpower in the country, while 35 per cent of local citizens are employed in the local departments of individual emirates" (National Media Council, 2010, pp. 156). The government's strategy lays out the groundwork needed for women to properly access the careers market across both public and private sectors. As such, women's contribution to the development process is understood as a "national imperative", driven by the enthusiasm and commitment of Emirati women (UAE Ministry of State, 2008, pp. 5).

At the international level, the UAE is a signatory of several primary international conventions such as the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) (UN General Assembly, 1979), the United Nations

Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNICEF, 1997) and the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination of Racial Discrimination (UN General Assembly, 1974). This research will focus on the formulation and appropriation of the CEDAW in the United Arab Emirates. The CEDAW affirms human rights and equality for women in a global context, underscoring the global human rights system at a transnational level. However, despite the UAE's ratification of this, it has expressed major reservations on articles such as the following:

> **Article 2 (f) of CEDAW.** To take all appropriate measures, including legislation, to modify or abolish existing laws, regulations, customs and practices which constitute discrimination against women*(UN General Assembly, 1979).*

> The United Arab Emirates, being of the opinion that this paragraph violates the rules of inheritance established in accordance with the precepts of Shari'ah, makes a reservation thereto and does not consider itself bound by the provisions thereof *(United Nations, 2009).*

> **Article 15 (2) of CEDAW** States Parties shall accord to women, in civil matters, a legal capacity identical to that of men and with the same opportunities to exercise that capacity. In particular, they shall give women equal rights to conclude contracts, and to administer property and shall treat them equally in all stages of procedure in courts and tribunals *(UN General Assembly, 1979).*

> The United Arab Emirates, considering this paragraph in conflict with the precepts of the Shari'ah regarding legal capacity, testimony and the right to conclude contracts, has made a reservation to the said paragraph of the said article and does not consider itself bound by the provisions thereof. *(United Nations, 2009)*

According to Yasmeen Hassan, Director of Programmes for the New York based organisation, Equality Now, the lack of implementation of the CEDAW is exacerbated by countries' reservations to the treaty (IPS, 2010). There have so far been no changes in position on this. The CEDAW abstentions emphasise the gap between the global

sites where the articles were formulated and their deployment in specific cultural contexts. The UAE has not yet submitted the national report required by countries which have ratified the CEDAW (United Nations, 2009). The religious context and local space which are in conflict with the transnational articles emphasises the need to address the global-local interface. According to the United Nations (2009), Article 2 (above) is integral for the elimination of discrimination against women. However, the UAE highlights that Article 2 is not compatible with the precepts of Shari'ah. Nevertheless, the CEDAW committee views the reservations on Article 2 as a "failure to adopt the spirit of the convention" (Merry, 2006, pp. 81). The United Nations Development Programme in the UAE (UNDP UAE, 2007) initiated the process of integrating the gender-sensitive dimension within governmental and nongovernmental entities, in order to reinforce awareness of the CEDAW and thus the advancement of women in the UAE. Despite these difficulties, a recent government report has highlighted a relative increase in women's economic participation (UAE Ministry of State, 2008). Chapters 2 and 4 will discuss in more detail the potential of Emiratisation strategies in offering educated and working women employment opportunities.

1.4.3   Direct and Indirect Strategies

According to Forstenlechner and Rutledge (2010), Emiratisation strategies can be divided into first and second generation policy initiatives. More pertinent to this discussion is the utilisation of quotas to ensure the employment of UAE nationals. The International Monetary Fund (IMF), established in 1947, has expressed its support for the overall mission of Emiratisation in introducing employment opportunities for job-seekers (Kawach, 2003).[15] However, the IMF has clearly stated its disapproval of the use of quotas in the private sector as part of Emiratisation strategies. The main argument of the IMF against the implementation of quotas in the private sector is because it is not practical to place quota restrictions on the employment of nationals in the private sector as it will not be sustainable in the long term (Kawach, 2003; Zaidi, 2005; IMF, 2009). In addition, the private sector is attempting to comply with the government's employment regulations, for limiting the employment of experienced

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[15]http://www.imf.org/external/about.htm

foreigners whose presence is instrumental to the sustainability of a knowledge based economy might prove to be disadvantageous in the long term (Zaidi, 2005). Tanmia has argued against this approach highlighting the public sector employment inability to absorb the growing number of Emirati nationals (Info, 2003). Therefore, according to Tanmia, the increased progress and growth of the private sector offers more employment opportunities and is decreasing the unemployment rate for nationals (Trivedi, 2003; Kawach, 2003).

The use of quotas by Emiratisation has short term advantages such as employability of Emirati nations, reducing the saturation of government sector jobs, and investing in the employment potential of women and youth (Forstenlechner and Rutledge, 2010). However, performance restrictions in the private sector might emerge as a result of enforcing quotas that might prevent companies from investing and tapping into potential human resources and reducing their competitive advantage (Davidson, 2005; Forstenlechner and Rutledge, 2010; Ali, 2010). The introduction of specific Emiratisation quotas have been most prominent in the banking sector, with the aim of having 40 per cent of locals working in banks. Other areas imposing quotas now include the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries where all boats' captains must be UAE nationals (Davidson, 2005). The government has also supported direct strategies such as sponsorship schemes and Emiratisation quotas in certain institutions and companies. For example, government supported schemes such as those carried out by the Al Futtaim Trading Group have introduced summer courses to train young UAE nationals (Davidson, 2005). Different programs introduced by banks such as HSBS and the First Gulf Bank now also offer summer internship programs and mentoring schemes for young Emirati nationals. In addition, the state has enforced legal strategies in an attempt to increase the impact of Emiratisation (Davidson, 2005; Ali, 2010).

Direct strategies have included the introduction of draft laws aimed at discouraging companies from hiring foreigners in an effort to making it more attractive to hire Emirati nationals (Ali, 2010). In 1996, the government announced that four per cent of banking sector employees must be Emirati and that this per centage should increase by four points every year, rising to 48 per cent. In addition, the Ministry of

Labour introduced a new pension fund to guarantee UAE employees rights in the private sector (Davidson, 2005). Another scheme is the Kafil or guarantor system, whereby all foreigners are required to have an Emirati guarantor. One important recent finding suggests that the education system should provide graduates with skills required by the labour market (Davidson, 2005). An overhaul of the education system has been seen as a key step in equipping UAE nationals with the necessary professional and vocational skills demanded by the workplace. For example, the General Union, established in 1975 by the wife of the late Sheikh Zayed, attempted to attract young Emirati women into the workforce. The General Union also supports various programs such as the Employment Office of National Women Graduates, as well as Women in Technology, an information centre for technical training.[16] On August 11, 2010, the Minister of Labour, Saqr Gobash, issued resolution number 1187 on the regulations and criteria of classification for firms implementing cabinet resolution number 26 of 2010. Article 10 called for the introduction of practical and real mechanisms for voluntary Emiratisation. Resolution 1187 ranks companies in three tiers after they have met the following criteria: first, the per centage of the workforce should not be less than 20 from the professional levels (1-2-3) of the total workforce available; second, the wage of a worker should not be less than Dh 12,000 if he is at level 1, Dh 7,000 at level 2, and Dh 5,000 at level 3; thirdly, the Emiratisation per centage should not be less than 15 at these levels (WAM, 2010).

Furthermore, although the concept of Emiratisation has been reliant on a per centage of quotas to maintain a recruitment per centage, this has changed over the years to encompass a more practical assessment of market need. Yet, quotas still remain part of the Emiratisation strategy. This is a very significant point as the banking sector's rush to meet the Emiratisation quota has proved to be controversial in the recruitment process (Davidson, 2005; WAM, 2010). This research argues that although most banks do succeed in employing UAE nationals, performativity at work and work-life balance policies still need to be addressed in order to retain employees and develop their skills in the workforce. These issues will be examined in detail

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[16]The General Women's Union was established and chaired by the wife of the State's former president, H.H. Sheikha Fatima bint Mubarak based on Federal Law No. (6) of 1974.http://www.wu.gov.ae/About.aspx?Lang=EN&SectionID=2&RefID=4

in the empirical findings. Despite these strategies, other studies have suggested that female employee retention in the workforce remains a significant challenge.

1.4.4 Emiratisation Context

The contribution of the female workforce is an untapped human resource across the MENA region. In this context, a report by Oxford Strategic Consulting (2010) recommended that women's entry into the Gulf Cooperation Council's (GCC) workforce "would increase the effectiveness of the GCC workforce by 12 per cent" (Scott-Jackson et al., 2010, pp. 4). The proliferation of post-oil service sectors has dictated a need to attract Emirati nationals into the workforce (Gray, 2011). The reluctance of Arab Gulf States to levy any type of tax on their citizens or residents, and their aversion to eliminate or decrease the subsidies they currently distribute, prevents them from achieving any improvement in terms of altering the rentier mentality and the dependency of its citizens on the state for an allocation of benefits (Scott-Jackson et al., 2010).

Furthermore, the research draws on recent Global Gender Gap Reports. The validity of Emiratisation as reflected in government supported initiatives and the evolution of the concept remain to be measured. The initiatives introduced by Emiratisation and the targeted sectors will be explored in chapters 4 and 5. This research aims to explore Emirati students' perception of Emiratisation initiatives in terms of introducing qualified young men and women into the workforce. In addition, the research will develop an understanding of the practical needs of such individuals, in both the UAE's public and private sectors.

To further illustrate the gender disparity in university enrolments during 2012/13 (UAE National Bureau of Statistics, 2012), females and males enrolled in education and human and social sciences equated to 640:138 and 879:542 respectively, with the majority of male graduates identified as Business majors, 5876, compared to 4278 female graduates identifying as Business majors as well. These statistics are significant as they show that female graduates are entering new domains and competing with male graduates. More importantly, these figures indicate the increasing number of women graduates, and thus identifying as a vital addition to the UAE's national

workforce. The traditional orientation of female graduates changed in 2013, with a considerable increase in educational opportunities for women (Hausmann et al., 2013). This research examines the UAE's contemporary workforce and the opportunities available for women in such a traditional oil dominant labour market. With the introduction of Emiratisation initiatives and the increased number of women enrolled in higher education, the nature of work opportunities has increased in both the public and private sectors (Kelly, 2009; Gray, 2011). Consequently, this has opened up potential opportunities for both men and women across these areas.

According to Davidson (2005), since the 1970s, the influx of foreigners to the UAE has been a significant feature of the socioeconomic characteristics of the Lower Gulf labour force. Consequently, the President, His Highness Sheikh Khalifa Bin Zayed Al Nahayan, and the Vice President of the UAE, Prime Minister and Ruler of Dubai H.H. Sheikh Mohammed bin Rashid Al Maktoum, introduced initiatives attempting to reduce the country's dependence on foreign labour.[17] Initiatives are in force that aim to not only [promote] a more desirable level of self-sufficiency in both the private and public sectors, but also to better control the many other socio-economic problems that could result from the continuing presence of a large number of foreigners (both Arab and non-Arab)(Davidson, 2005, pp. 145). The policy of Emiratisation that was initiated highlights state-sponsored efforts to introduce a long-term solution to the situation imposed by high numbers of foreigners; it also encourages young qualified Emirati men and women to enter the labour force. The principal advocates for the Emiratisation policy and its various supplementary initiatives are the National Human Resource Development agency (Tanmia) (Tanmia, 2005) and Tawteen (UAE Tawteen, 2007). The contribution of these state-led human resources agencies is to

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[17]The rulers of Abu Dhabi can be listed as follows: the late Sheikh Zayed bin Sultan Al Nahayan and his sons, HH Sheikh Khalifa bin Zayed Al Nahayan, President of the UAE and Ruler of Abu Dhabi, and HH Sheikh Mohamed bin Zayed Al Nahayan, Crown Prince of Abu Dhabi and Deputy Supreme Commander of the UAE Armed Forces. Since 1833, the rulers of Dubai have been the Al Maktoum family. Following the death of Sheikh Rashid in November 1990, Sheikh Maktoum Bin Rashid Al Maktoum became Ruler of Dubai and Vice President and Prime Minister of the UAE, positions he held until he passed away in January 2006.
On January 4th 2006, His Highness Sheikh Mohammed bin Rashid Al Maktoum became the ruler of Dubai following the death of Sheikh Maktoum bin Rashid Al Maktoum. Under his leadership, Dubai is fast becoming one of the major cities in the world. His Highness, Sheikh Mohammed, is also Vice-President and Prime Minister of the UAE. http://www.abudhabi.ae/egovPoolPortal_WAR/appmanager/ADeGP/Citizen?_nfpb=true&_pageLabel=P22001224312035928213308&lang=enandhttp://dubai.ae/en/aboutdubai/Pages/DubaiRulers.aspx

match the skilled Emirati workforce with appropriate employment opportunities. According to the figures presented in the most recent 2010 UAE Yearbook (National Media Council, 2010), there are about 89,000 UAE nationals seeking employment or better employment opportunities than their current jobs. In spite of the above figures, the government is addressing unemployment by establishing an Emiratisation employment hub.

1.4.5   The Impact of Emiratisation

The Abu Dhabi Tawteen Council has been addressing the high levels of unemployment existent among UAE nationals by implementing Emiratisation initiatives in various sectors in an effort to create more employment opportunities for the Emirati workforce (UAE Tawteen, 2007; Abu Dhabi Emiratisation Forum, 2010). ADTC specifically aims to create a career path for active job seekers in the Emirate of Abu Dhabi.

Emiratisation attempts to harness the skills of Emirati nationals so they can compete more effectively with the global workforce. Recently, Sheikh Al Nahayan inaugurated the Tawdheef Recruitment Show, the UAE's leading careers event that supports Emiratisation. It is evident that the rulers of the United Arab Emirates have a vested interest in implementing Emiratisation to effectively promote and develop UAE citizens. The Abu Dhabi Career Fair has highlighted recruitment efforts spanning all sectors and organisations: one prominent example being Mubadala, an organisation looking to recruit 110 UAE Nationals (Tawdheef, 2015). This illustrates the efforts directed by organisations to specifically employ UAE nationals, highlighting the seriousness shown in the adoption of Emiratisation in both the public and private sectors. In this respect, the contribution of Emiratisation in diversifying the employment fields that Emirati women are eligible to apply for will foster the growth and development of Emirati nationals. Emiratisation strategies can be seen to enhance women's employment opportunities in fields such as retail, banking, and tourism. However, despite these encouraging factors, women still face structural and vocational barriers, including a 'glass ceiling' whereby women are limited in terms of promotion. This research argues that gender inequality is also present in the context of Emiratisation

because women continue to be marginalised and undermined in organisations (Kelly, 2009; Moghadam, 2013). The social environment in the UAE has the characteristics of a male dominant society whereby women face an ingrained unequal wage and discrimination in promotion(Al-Ali et al., 2008). In a 2001 study by Baud and Mahgoub, "2 per cent of women said that they had experienced discrimination in job opportunities for women" (Al-Ali et al., 2008, pp. 5). The next section examines forms of workplace discrimination experienced by Emirati nationals.

1.4.6   Employment Challenges in the UAE

Emirati nationals have criticised Emiratisation because of the mismatch between Emiratisation and lack of training, as well as because of low wages and poor employer/employee relations. Such misgivings are often at the root of employment problems in the UAE (Davidson, 2008; World Economic Forum, 2013). Characterised as a rentier state, the oil wealth held by the UAE allows its rulers to allocate the wealth sparingly. Emirati nationals have become dependent on jobs in the public sector, which operates as a form of government subsidy for national citizens. The income wage for nationals is much greater when compared to the wage of a foreigner in the same position who is working in the public sector (Ali, 2010), while local and foreign managers are less motivated to hire local workers (Ayubi, 1995; Davidson, 2005; Krause, 2009). According to UAE National Bureau of Statistics (2009), Emirati male graduates expect to take up posts in the public sector because of the high remuneration it offers. The main indicators for terminating jobs, as specified by the official UAE labour force survey, shows several demographic factors contributing to employee dissatisfaction, with 2.1 per cent indicating that childcare was the main reason for quitting; however, it is interesting to note that only non UAE nationals indicated this reason, rather, 8.1 per cent of UAE nationals stated social circumstances (almost similar along male/female lines) with 8.0 and 8.2 respectively indicating these as a hindrance to employment. Indeed 8.6 per cent of UAE nationals stated payment dissatisfaction as a main reason for leaving a job. To further illustrate this point, 8 per cent of female UAE nationals highlighted payment dissatisfaction, almost double the per centage of male nationals, at 4.9 per cent (UAE National Bureau of Statistics,

2009).

Davidson states that the current failure of Emiratisation initiatives in Abu Dhabi is due to lack of motivation by Emirati nationals in terms of entering the competitive job market (Davidson, 2008). Moreover, Emiratisation strategies have compounded the difficulty of hiring employees in several ways. Firstly, the cost of hiring nationals has increased, creating resentment for foreigners and employers in the private sector. Secondly, an additional problem is the potential inability of nationals to integrate in the new economy. In that respect,and as pointed out by Davidson (2009), teaching, traditionally deemed a low ranking profession, is now the focus of Emiratisation initiatives. Therefore, the UAE's present education system has, in part, contributed to the current generation's lack of those skills necessary for making the transition towards a post-oil UAE economy. An issue that has emerged is the expectation gap between managers of foreign companies on the one hand and UAE nationals on the other. As part of Emiratisation, companies in the private sector observe a salary scale for hiring nationals; the challenge lies in matching the labour skills of UAE nationals with the requirements of multinational companies (MNCs). This is supported by the findings of Ali (2010), who highlights the fact that Emirati managers are themselves more reluctant to hire nationals rather than foreign managers. This is due to the perceived lack of skills, education and experience of Emirati nationals which could impede the progress of such companies (Ali, 2010).

According to Wanda Krause's study on women, civil society and Islam, the participation of women in public and private life in the UAE is a result of better educational attainment, recent changes in work policies and gender reforms (Krause, 2008). Emirati women have also reached high literacy levels and their enrolment numbers in higher education are similar to their male counterparts. However, although women have been granted equal educational attainment and employment rights, there are a number of factors that contribute to discrimination against women in the workplace (Al-Ali et al., 2008). Indeed the conservative attitudes of managers in some organisations across the UAE have created a microcosm of a male dominated society within organisational culture. Recent findings indicate that women's low participation rate in the Emirati workforce is a result of socio- cultural factors.

1.4.7   Challenges to the Employment of Nationals

The International Research Handbook on Successful Women Entrepreneurs stresses that the UAE exhibits a low participation rate for entrepreneurial women despite being classified as an emerging high-income market (Madichie, 2010). The constraints placed on women entering the labour market or taking on entrepreneurship projects can be traced back to socio-cultural factors that restrict women's progress. While political, economic and legislative procedures support women's entry into the labour market, Madichie (2010) emphasises the restrictions imposed by a patriarchal society which is fixated on the home/work conflict and maintaining traditional gender roles. Most families prefer that their daughters enter the public sector, labelling the private sector risky because of the wage benefits and flexible working hours offered in the public sector. Thus, the family perceives that employment in the public sector will enable women to have time to work and take care of the family (Madichie, 2010). Emiratisation in both the public and private sectors continues to be a challenge for policy makers and managers in the United Arab Emirates, with the efforts of Tanmia and Tawteen having been constrained by factors such as community values and family views, adversely affect opportunities for both men and women. However, despite this, there has been progress made in improving the educational system and the employment of women in the public and private sectors across the Arab Gulf States (Madichie, 2010).

Although the immediate impact of Emiratisation appears not to be meeting the targets set by the government, the longer-term impact of educational strategies may help improve long-term results. This presents a more realistic objective than the unrealised target of implementing quotas to be filled by companies in the private sector. In this respect, Davidson stresses the glimmers of hope (Davidson, 2005, pp. 154) offered by this approach, in terms of a slight increase in the number of UAE nationals occupying positions in the private and public sector. In this context and by reference to a study on Emiratisation, there appears to be a preference towards working in the private sector held by both men and women (Ali, 2010).

Indeed, the labour laws in the UAE actively support Emiratisation, by stating that

both men and women are entitled to equal wages if they are doing the same job.[18]
The UAE Labour Law mandates wage equality for both sexes In Article 32 of The
Federal Law No. (8) of 1980, the UAE Labour Law mandates wage equality for both
sexes, stating:

> A female wage shall be equal to that of a male if she performs the same
> work.

Nevertheless; women remain restricted from carrying out certain jobs by virtue of
their gender. In Chapter II, Section III, Article 29, The Federal Law No. (8) of 1980
highlights the constraints faced by women in the workforce, stating that:

> No woman shall be employed on any job that is hazardous, arduous or
> physically or morally detrimental or any other work as may be specified in
> a resolution by the Minister of Labour and Social Affairs, after consulting
> the concerned authorities.

Additionally, Article 32 of The Federal Law No. (8) from 1980, states that:

> A working woman shall be entitled to the same wage as that of a working
> man, if she does the same work.

While the UAE does not have a specific equal pay act, as you might find else-
where, this legal clause makes it quite clear that equal pay should apply for equal
work. The constitution of the United Arab Emirates provides women with the same
legal status, claim to titles, access to education, healthcare and social welfare and the
same rights to practice professions as their male counterparts (Madichie, 2010, pp.
190). Yet, on an international scale, women holding more professional degrees, as
well as an increase in governmental support for funding programmes, has encour-
aged women entrepreneurs (Madichie, 2010). According to this labour law, women
are excluded from jobs that require more than eleven consecutive hours in a single

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[18]The Federal Law No. (8) from 1980 or the UAE Labour Law, is a comprehensive law that regulates
all aspects of labour relations between employers and employees. In its 193 articles, the law outlines
everything from employee entitlements (working hours, holidays, leave, end of service gratuities, work-
ers' compensation, etc.) to employment contracts, labour dispute settlements, disciplinary rules, safety
and protection and labour inspection, among others. The Labour Law was developed in 1980 and
amended by Federal Law No. (24) of 1981, Federal Law No. (15) of 1985 and Federal Law No. (12)
of 1986. https://www.abudhabi.ae/egovPoolPortal_WAR/appmanager/ADeGP/Citizen?_nfpb=true&
_pageLabel=p_citizen_homepage_hidenav&lang=en

shift, and jobs that are designated as manually hazardous and harmful. For example, the articles below show in detail the legislative boundaries that limit women's employment options:

> Article 27 of The Federal Law No. (8) of 1980: Women may not be required to work at night. The term "night" means a period of not less than eleven consecutive hours including the period from 10 p.m. to 7 a.m.

> Furthermore, Article 28 of The Federal Law No. (8) of 1980 states that : The following cases shall be exempted from the clause prohibiting women to work till 10 at night. a. In the event where the work in the establishment is stopped due to force majeure. b. Work in responsible managerial and technical jobs. c. Work in medical and other services as may be decided by the Minister of Labour and Social Affairs if the working woman does not normally carry out a manual job.

Gender equality in economic participation is important for several reasons. The participation of women in the workforce allows them the opportunity to gain skills that are relevant to future paid jobs. Institutional and labour market segmentation is an ingrained feature of the UAE since labour market features are interwoven with traditional norms and an overarching patriarchal structure. Moreover, the introduction of Emiratisation in the legislative environment can be seen as key to advancing the rights of women, including freedom of movement, freedom to engage in independent business activities and freedom to hold decision making positions (Stevenson, 2008). Sex segregation across different occupations reflects the conservative mentality of the UAE workforce; however, the initiatives for attracting Emirati women into the private sector reflect a changing mentality across cultural and legislative environments.

The UAE's 2030 vision focuses on human capital and educational attainment and therefore should address sector preferences and labour market policies in order to increase women's visibility in the workforce and reduce workplace discrimination (Fetherolf Loutfi, 2001). One important recent finding in the Global Competitiveness Report indicates a changing role for women in the work force (World Economic Forum, 2013).

The changing environment of the MENA region has resulted in unprecedented opportunities for women, allowing them to claim a critical role in shaping the frameworks that will set legal, political and social precedents, as is evident in table 1.3. According to the Global Competitiveness Report, more women than men in the MENA region intend to launch new businesses (World Economic Forum, 2013). The report also emphasises that women in the MENA region are more innovative than men, with 23 per cent of female entrepreneurs marketing an innovative product or service compared to just 18 per cent of men. It is important to recognise the economic contribution of women by realising that increasing women's workforce participation will require a collaborative effort between the public and private sectors, as well as a critical cultural shift. However only 27 per cent of women in the MENA region are actually part of the labour force, compared to 51 percent in other low, middle and high-income economies, and only 11 per cent are self-employed compared to 22 per cent of men. According to the Global Gender Gap Report, 43 per cent of female Emirati nationals are active in the workforce, while, women account for more than 70 per cent of university graduates (Hausmann et al., 2014). Emirati women make up 66 per cent of the public sector workforce, 30 per cent of them holding senior posts, and just 9.3 per cent of the private sector, which is central to this research's primary aim (World Economic Forum, 2013; Hausmann et al., 2014). The changing environment in the MENA region has resulted in unprecedented opportunities, for women and men, providing them the chance to create a new employment reality. Emirati nationals are negotiating potential roles and investing in new opportunities in the workforce as a result of Emiratisation initiatives.

As Table 1.3 shows, the increased human development of Emirati nationals begs a need to address the gender gaps through the re-examination of the existing legislation, thus formulating policy recommendations. Despite the formulation of the UAE's largely gender neutral business and investment laws, studies have shown that financial barriers tend to impact women more, especially when they also face cultural resistance to them working outside the home. The following chapter will examine women's negotiations and investment in new opportunities as part of the UAE workforce and critically address the stereotypical assumptions about employ-

Table 1.3: Political Economy and Human Development in Arab MENA, 2013

| Economy | Human Development | | | |
	Very High	**High**	**Medium**	**Low**
Oil	Bahrain, Qatar, UAE	Kuwait, Oman, Saudi Arabia	Libya	—
Mixed oil	—	Tunisia	Algeria, Iraq, Egypt, Syria	—
Non-oil	—	Lebanon	Jordan, Morocco, Palestinian Territories	Yemen

Source: The level of human development is based on each country's ranking in the UNDP's 2013 Human Development Report. New York: United Nations Development Programme.

ment opportunities for women in a late rentier state. The primary research questions and findings will be considered in the analysis of the qualitative data. The final chapter aims to establish possible solutions to the challenges of gender and the workforce within the UAE.

Chapter 2

Critical Approach to Late Rentierism and Gender

The classical understanding of Arab Gulf States is that of oil rich countries largely reliant on income generated by oil exports (Beblawi and Luciani, 1987; Rugh, 2007; Gengler, 2013). The ensuing wealth is controlled by ruling families and trickles down to citizens through welfare benefits, free education, health care and electricity, as well as a guaranteed job in the public sector (Beblawi and Luciani, 1987; Rugh, 2007; Gengler, 2013). Moreover, the patriarchal nature of rentier states underlines that "the patriarchal gender contract includes the provision (inscribed in the Muslim family laws that prevail in the region) that men are responsible for the maintenance of wives (and children), and wives are required to show obedience to husbands" (Moghadam, 2005, pp. 24). Thus, the socio-economic impact of labour nationalisation policies are necessary in order to provide a deeper understanding of labour market change, together with the impact of global women's rights conventions such as the CEDAW (UN General Assembly, 1979; Moghadam, 2005).

Late Rentierism State theory (LRS) is a useful framework for understanding the UAE and current Emiratisation policy since it examines the importance of globalisation, youth unemployment and women's entry in to the workforce as essential to the survival of classic rentier states (Gray, 2011). Since this research is centred on Emiratisation, this chapter will attempt to bring a gender perspective to bear on employment within the MENA context. It will present an overview of selected con-

temporary theoretical contributions to women's agency and the workforce within the MENA. This thesis challenges literature presenting binary interpretation of state discourse and employment as either a barrier or complicit with aims of governments, or as oppression/agency in the MENA region (Hollway, 1984; Gallant, 2008; Kargwell, 2012). By understanding the motivation and the incentives of work-life balance and LRS, this research attempts to provide a deeper understanding of both individual experience and the social and political dynamics that operate in the UAE (Gallant, 2008; Kirdar, 2010; Schedneck, 2014). Since this research examines if Emiratisation creates some form of agency for Emirati women, it supports both Monica Gallant's (2008) and Julian Schedneck's (2014) recent approach to women's agency in the UAE workforce, stating that there are more complex understandings of gender positions than the traditional resistance towards a patriarchal oppressor (Hollway, 1984; Rose, 1998; Moore, 2004; Gallant, 2008; Schedneck, 2014). Thus, most of the literature does not take into account the negotiations between Emirati women and the government or examine the reasons why Emirati women invest in employment opportunities (Hollway, 1984; Rose, 1998; Moore, 2004). In addition, similar to Wendy Hollway (1984) and Monica Gallant (2008), the thesis argues that although patriarchy is reinforced in the UAE's labour law, it is worth considering that Emiratisation has created some form of agency for Emirati women; through qualitative interviews it considers why they are actively contributing to the Emirati workforce.

The GCC states, in particular the UAE, have recently imposed policy legislation and more gender friendly employment policies that aim at nurturing the local workforce. For example, the 'National Strategy for the Development of Women' in 2002, and the approval of equal pay policies for equal work and equal benefits for working women in 2003, which aimed at promoting the presence of women in the workforce (Bibbo, 2007; Dubai Women Establishment, 2008, 2009). According to Gray, the political sociology of contemporary Arab Gulf States has undergone a transformation with the recent Arab Spring movements, external pressures and localisation of the labour force (Gray, 2011). With recent economic diversification attempts, women are being seen as an untapped labour reserve, with state efforts diverging from a focus on patriarchal roles to introduce women into mixed working environments, across both

the public and private sectors (Gray, 2011). In addition, economic diversification strategies highlight the potential of available employment opportunities for Emirati nationals in the current labour market. The main aim of this chapter is to offer both a framework and analysis of late rentierism and work-life balance policies in order to better understand gender issues in the UAE.

2.1   Economic Diversification

Economic diversification has been long seen by Arab Gulf States as a strategy for reaching economic sustainability and escaping the cyclicality of oil prices, given the finite income generated by fossil fuels (Hvidt, 2013). The UAE's forward looking society has changed over the past decade mainly as a result of the state's encouragement of Emiratisation and education policies (Gallant, 2008). According to Gengler (2013), economic diversification entails investment in a nation's educational infrastructure as well as possible labour policies such as Emiratisation and, for example, legal quotas for nationals in the private sector. Strategies for political diversification might entail a cultural-economic infrastructure such as UAE's planned Dubailand and Mohammad Bin Rashid City, to include the largest shopping mall in the world, a parkland and more than 100 hotels (Sambidge, 2012). These examples showcase governmental investment in infrastructure and employment opportunities. The current focus on increased urban development, as seen in Mohammad Bin Rashid City, aims to enhance regional and global tourism as part of non-oil related investments. The above examples therefore reflect a transition from classical rentier state theory, especially with regards to Emiratisation and its emphasis on creating employment opportunities for Emirati nationals (DAWN, 2003).

Classical rentier state theory does not capture the need for women to be considered as human capital nor does it take into account women as active agents of economic and social change (Gray, 2011). From an economic perspective, the UAE is largely reliant on foreign labourers and therefore needs to invest in local human capital, including women, to attract Emirati nationals into the workforce (Hijab, 1988; Al-Rostamani, 2004; Gray, 2011). Consequently, I will attempt to go beyond the paradigm of a classical rentier state. This is because within the current sociolog-

ical framework, it is insufficient, and I propose a revised form of rentierism that instead critically engages with the contemporary perspectives of Emirati women. I want to emphasise the degree to which a transitional rentier society is affected by equal access to education, globalising forces and the localisation or nationalisation of the workforce. In chapter 4, the empirical data will aim to provide a deeper understanding of both individual experience and the social and political dynamics that operate in the UAE.

2.1.1   National Employment Initiatives

Emiratisation is the UAE government's attempt to introduce Emirati nationals across different sectors via the application of different initiatives such as the enforcement of quotas and national employment programs. According to Ali (2010), the challenges to Emiratisation need to be considered within a wider UAE context of society, culture, politics and economy. Diversification of the UAE economy means that the UAE is attempting to branch out into non-oil dependent sectors such as tourism, international satellite universities, and cultural museums. According to a 2011 paper published by INSEAD, Emiratisation is one of the UAE's responses to ongoing political unrest in the Arab region. The mass movements in Egypt and Morocco, in 2011 and 2012 respectively, are two examples which caused the government to be forced to resign, alongside a call for the political and economic restructuring of the country.[1] The UAE has remained relatively stable during this period of change mainly because "the country's strong, oil-fuelled economy and robust public spending have acted as a protective shield from the region's storm of pro-democracy protests" (Williams, 2011). In addition, the government has been preemptively sponsoring Emiratisation due to the fact that any possible alteration to UAE citizens' dependency on welfare benefits as provided by the government might create a spiral of discontent (Please refer to chapter 1, section 1.3 on Emiratisation). Emiratisation can therefore be seen as a strategic effort to narrow the unemployment gap of UAE nationals by introducing capacity building processes to help Emiratis secure a job in the private sector. [2] The strategy demonstrates the government's attempt to lessen the UAE's reliance on an

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[1] http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-12813859
[2] http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/scr/2011/cr11111.pdf

expatriate workforce, transferring the ability to manage the country into the hands of Emirati nationals, and is further supported by the Minister of Labour; Saqr Ghobash who has stressed the creation of more employment opportunities for nationals.

In May 2011, the nation's Minister of Labour, Saqr Ghobash, said that there was a need to create an additional 10,000-20,000 jobs a year for nationals in the private sector".[3] The move to the country's investment in education and leadership programmes emphasises a shift in the traditional investment in the crude oil and energy sectors. This attempt at diversifying the investment in Emirati human capital shows that the classical rentier theory focusing on the oil and energy sectors is currently insufficient, as the state attempts to ensure its stability through other means such as investment in human capital and education. The investment drive includes the Khalifa fund [4], the banks' investment in Emiratisation such as Emirates NBD's 8 million and 352,000 pounds (50 million dirham) investment in Emiratisation, and also in recent years career fairs that have begun to rise in popularity, underscoring an active engagement with Emiratisation. [5] The following section introduces the main tenets of rentier state theory and highlights the current employment challenges within the UAE.

2.2   Rentier State Theory (RST)

In order to develop a late rentierism model in the UAE, I will start with an overview of the definitions of a rentier economy that will serve as a backdrop when addressing the theory of late rentierism (Gray, 2011). According to RST, rent is treated as the primary source of income in a rentier economy (Beblawi and Luciani, 1987; Rugh, 2007). I do not intend to explore the economic aspects of rentierism here; instead, I will focus on the more sociological aspects such as the role of women and youth in a rentier state. Following on from this line of argument, I will attempt to critically engage with the RST approach, emphasising the current socio-economic transition in the UAE, and shedding light on the importance of challenging gender

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[3] http://knowledge.insead.edu/economics-politics/emiratisation-the-way-forward-1346
[4] http://www.khalifafund.gov.ae/En/HomePage/Pages/default.aspx
[5] http://gulfnews.com/business/general/emirates-nbd-to-invest-dh50m-in-emiratisation-1.777703

employment policies which are central to the viability of economic diversification.

This research highlights Mathew Gray's criticism of Rentier State Theory (RST) as outdated, arguing that, despite retaining the essential characteristics of rentierism theory, it does not encompass enough variables such as youth unemployment, the ramifications of the 2008 economic crisis or the incorporation of women into the workforce (Krause, 2009; Gray, 2011). In relation to this, the sections below discuss the possibility of a late rentierism model and the crucial impact of women's diverse contribution to the development of a rentier model.

This research addresses the application of LRS theory to Gulf Cooperation Council states and in particular the UAE. Gulf cities such as Dubai, Abu Dhabi and Doha have witnessed fast top-down economic development over the past decade, with rentierism turning GCC countries into fossil fuel consumers in addition to their historical role as producers and exporters of oil. This research will endeavor to examine the policies and strategies being developed by these countries in order to preserve their rentier capacity (Beblawi and Luciani, 1987; Ross, 2009; Herb, 2009; Hertog, 2011; Gengler, 2013). The economist Hussein Mahdavi initially defined the concept of a rentier state in the context of Iran "as a state that receives substantial rents from foreign individuals, concerns or governments" (Mahdavi, 1970).[6] When oil was discovered in Iran, exporting it to foreign countries formed a source of economic rent. The concept has been further applied to other countries which are highly dependent on different forms of rent (Mahdavi, 1970; Skocpol, 1984; Beblawi and Luciani, 1987; Brynen and Korany, 1998). For example, post-Soviet states, and central Asian states rely heavily on oil exportation (Kuru, 2002; Franke et al., 2009; Luong and Weinthal, 2010). The concept of rentierism has also been applied to sub-Saharan Africa (Yates, 1996; Soares de Oliveira, 2007) and post-Soviet states (Kuru, 2002; Franke et al., 2009) and even to Russia (Luong and Weinthal, 2010).

Moreover RST was developed by Giacomo Luciani and Hazem Beblawi in 1987 in the wake of the 1970s oil crises when oil prices increased, granting Arab oil producing states a considerable inflow of cash (Beblawi and Luciani, 1987). It is important to note that rentierism followed what Huntington (1991) called The Third Wave of

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[6]Mahdavi differentiates between states who have been reliant on external sources of income and those reliant on domestic taxation.

Democratization which started in 1974, and included the historic democratic transitions of Latin American countries such as Venezuela and Ecuador as well as Sub Saharan countries such as Gabon and Guinea; these have now formed electoral institutions and experience some level of political democracy (Herb, 2009; Gengler, 2013). Rentierism was then presented as the reason for excluding the oil producing Arab countries from this third democratic wave. The ruling regimes utilised rentierism to create a social contract via a break in the work-reward causation chain (Beblawi and Luciani, 1987). The economic behaviour involved in rentierism is based on accrued interest rent and not earned income (Beblawi and Luciani, 1987). The argument ran that rentier states would not need to invest in their national workforce or the reproduction of its human capital in the labour market; instead "rentier political economy was, at least in the concept's early years, one of stagnating stability based on a social contract, the mutual obligations of which would perpetuate the separation of state and society and render democratization unlikely, even irrelevant" (Springborg, 2013, pp. 2). This can be further seen in the reluctance of Arab Gulf States to levy any type of tax on their citizens or residents, and their averseness to eliminate or decrease the subsidies they currently distribute, thus preventing them from achieving any improvement in terms of altering the rentier mentality of their citizens. It can further be argued that GCC states have weak linkages with the domestic labour force (Gray, 2011; Bunglawla, 2011; Gengler, 2013). For example, this research examines Emiratisation, that is, increased youth influx into a segmented labour force and women's participation in the workforce, which are seen as challenges to economic development in the UAE. The next section explores factors which are major weaknesses underlying the misallocation and underutilisation of national human capital in the development of GCC states (Hertog, 2011). In the UAE, the participation of nationals in the workforce is still low and women in particular still face barriers in obtaining and sustaining employment (Hertog, 2011; Bunglawla, 2011).

2.2.1   Threats to Rentierism

The diversification of developed countries' energy mix and the fluctuation of oil prices have led Arab oil producing countries to adopt a variety of strategies to main-

tain their rentier capacity (Hertog, 2011; Gray, 2011). Strategies have included oil price manipulation, usually through OPEC, and economic diversification away from fossil fuels (Springborg, 2013). Price manipulation is a much less effective tool due to the multiplication of non-OPEC oil producing countries (Springborg, 2013). In addition, the attempts to create non-oil economies and turn Arab Gulf states into production states have been severely challenged (Luciani, 1990; Springborg, 2013). Indeed, whilst financial services, transportation and tourism have all followed as diversification strategies, the lack of qualified labour, skilled and unskilled, remains a crucial structural impediment (Herb, 2009; Gray, 2011; Springborg, 2013). This issue will be examined in the following chapters.

With regard to the MENA, Beblawi and Luciani comment about: "Rents being paid by foreign actors and accrued directly to the state, where only a few are engaged in the generation of this rent, the majority being only involved in the distribution or utilization of it" (Beblawi and Luciani, 1987, pp. 12). According to Luciani "states that rely on remittances..where the state does not accrue wealth directly, cannot be considered in the original concept of a rentier state or a semi-rentier without oil" (Beblawi and Luciani, 1987, pp.59). Following on from Luciani's line of argument Richter and Steiner (2008) identified six other major sources of rent (Richter and Steiner, 2008, pp. 943-44):

1. Natural resource rents, as a result of the export of natural resources like oil or natural gas and other minerals;

2. Location rents of major transorganisportation facilities, like the Suez Canal or the SUMED pipeline;

3. Strategic rents including foreign grants and soft loans given directly to the government as military and economic aid and assistance;

4. Political rents such as donations to government institutions for human dignity or development reasons;

5. Worker remittances which are generated by the higher average wages paid in other countries, and which flow into domestic financial systems, being partially absorbed by the state through taxes and transaction fees;

6. International tourism revenues which are based on the use of unique natural endowments (e.g., the pyramids) alongside the development subsidies and special fees that support these operations.

The 'resource curse' refers to countries that are oil producers and depend on unearned economic rent, and has been at the forefront of recent studies examining levels of state control (Ayubi, 1995; Herb, 2009); in this context, elite families legitimise their influence on society through controlling the export of oil. For example, in the MENA region, direct rents are state owned, for example, rights over mineral production and export rights for oil, natural gas, iron, and phosphates. The state exercises control by nationalising production and maintaining the concentration of political rents, thus allowing it to play a stable economic and social role (Ayubi, 1995; Karl, 2004; Richter and Steiner, 2008). Therefore, the state's economic role has led to the development of an allocative relationship with its Emirati citizens (Ayubi, 1995; Karl, 2004; Richter and Steiner, 2008; Springborg, 2013).

A downfall of RST is the creation of a material relationship between the state and the people whereby the state is legitimised through the creation of a rentier package. A patrimonial network "implies that the regime is focused around the ruler as an individual, maintaining other members of the elite in a relationship of personal dependence on his grace and good favor and maintains strong state control" (Hvidt, 2009, pp. 400). (Please refer to Table 1 in chapter 1 to see the list of Ministries that compromise the network that is really just an extension of the ruling family).

2.2.2 Limits of RST

The allocative rather than redistributive role of the state is central to RST (Dunning, 2008; Ross, 2009). Given the basic arguments outlined above, criticism of this early RST phase was based on several issues. The most significant critique was the claim that reductionism is inherent in the simple nature of the theory or in the generalisations that are made through it lacking detail and context (Rosser, 2006). Rosser argues that early RST "explained development performance solely in terms of the size and nature of countries' natural resource endowments" (Rosser, 2006, pp. 7), and, with insufficient explanatory frameworks, early RST literature is considered by

Moore to be "a case of economics pushing politics out the door" (Moore, 2004, pp. 6).

Most significant is the argument that state autonomy is not as absolute or extensive as claimed. Early RST argued that "the state could never truly buy independence from social groups and interest groups" (Niblock and Malik, 2007, pp. 12), so this was never complete or absolute. More recent literature has also made a good case whereby the state will almost always face societal actors and forces seeking social, technological, or other changes (Foley, 2010). The problem, however, is that early RST could not address the role of democracy without highlighting the social and political role of oil exporting Arab countries (Gray, 2011). There was, for example, no causal explanation for the lack of democratic processes in countries such as Saudi Arabia or the UAE (Herb, 2009). This highlighted a minimalist approach with regards to RST correlations between rents and an absence of democracy, especially since both states are major importers of foreign labour (Brynen and Korany, 1998). This suggests that the dominance of a rentier mentality has led to citizens relying on the state for jobs. The tribal ecosystem and rentier mentality described in chapter 1 explain the mechanisms whereby ruling elites provide citizens with benefits to maintain their legitimacy. The notion of an Arab Gulf citizen who does not need to pursue a career because of a guaranteed job in the public sector is an example of how the benefits provided by a rentier government have shaped the mentality of its citizens (Osella and Osella, 2011). One of the challenges faced by Emiratisation lies in deconstructing this mentality and addressing the unrealistic expectations of Emirati youth in the context of budget cuts and the aftermath of the 2008 economic crisis (Osella and Osella, 2011; Gray, 2011).

I support the claim that there is a hierarchy of rentierism which is made up of several layers (Gray, 2011). These layers identify the distributed wealth primarily offered to UAE nationals, who benefit from a share in the produce (Davidson, 2005; Gray, 2011). The concept of a rentier state is emphasised as "a state that relies on high levels of unearned economic rent which allows the state to often sustain economy without a strong domestic sector" (Davidson, 2005, pp. 88). According to statistics published in 2011 by the Organisation for Economic Cooperation Development (OECD), oil ex-

ports from the Gulf Countries have led to a growth in Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of \$62 billion.[7] According to the Arab World Competitiveness Report, in 2011, the UAE's GDP stood at \$360 billion, surging from \$298 billion in 2010 (World Economic Forum, 2013). Additionally, the UAE's economic diversification ranking is currently leading the list of Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) countries at 5.18 compared to the Sultanate of Oman and Kingdom of Saudi Arabia at 4.35 and 3.63, respectively.[8]

The state looks for the support of a certain class of citizen - one who shares ethnic, religious, or regional affiliations (Gengler, 2013). The social contract between Gulf rulers and their citizens seeks to maximise rulers' material benefits through offering citizens the minimum allocation necessary to ensure their support (Rosser, 2006; Ross, 2009; Herb, 2009; Gengler, 2013). Surely, the increased presence of women in higher education and the workforce assumes a decline in the traditional segmented workforce in the public and private sectors? This will be discussed with students and bankers in the empirical research.

Most states presume rentierism is still engaged in some reactionary policy-making in response to societal pressures, whether actual or anticipated. The most recent examples include the case of Bahrain and the preemptive case of the UAE, along with the reforms that were issued to appease citizens (Gray, 2011; Gengler, 2013). The original argument of Luciani (1990) was that, based on rent accrued by the state, the state's focus should be on the allocation of services to its citizens, and the building of relationships through patronage. However, the impact of traditional rentierism on the GCC needs to be revisited (Gray, 2011). Indeed, institutional growth and the increased presence of women in higher education and the workforce highlights new roles for the rentier state, which are shored up by the introduction of policies that expand the private sector and invest in human capital outside the traditional segmented workforce of the public and private sectors (Hertog, 2011; Gray, 2011).

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[7] stats.oecd.org/Index.aspx?DataSetCode=NAG

[8] http://gsec.abudhabi.ae/Sites/GSEC/Content/EN/PDF/Publications/economic-vision-2030-section-1,property=pdf.pdf

2.2.3   Corporatism and RST

In his book "Over-Stating the Arab States", Ayubi (1995) attempted to analyse the nature of the Arab state and its attempt at liberalisation. Ayubi steers away from an Orientalist approach to the study of the state in the Arab world, instead he argues that power exercised by Arab states is directly related to vested political and economic interests, cultural forces and inhibitions (Ayubi, 1995). According to Ayubi (1995), there are cultural dispositions towards authoritarianism as well as inhibitions about reform that underlie the fear of redistribution claims. I argue that the implementation of Emiratisation offers a need for a transitional framework providing an alternative rentier mentality for Emirati citizens. In this context, the state is interventionist and allocative, providing free welfare benefits to its citizens (Hertog, 2011). Ayubi (1995) attempted to demonstrate the ability of a state to adapt to economic diversification and artificial change by co-opting social groups, including state led women's organisations (GONGOs) (Krause, 2009). Certainly, an ingrained rentier mentality defines a platform familiar to Emirati citizens. In that respect, it has become the collective mentality relied upon by the allocative state to maintain its loyalty base (that is, the loyalty and cooptation of the different tribes and social groups in each Emirate) (Hertog, 2011; Gray, 2011).

In the context of UAE state business relations, Rugh (2007) has examined the linearity of patrimonial linkages. Patrimonial structures across the UAE are central to state penetration into a rentier society. Rugh (2007) stresses the impact of colonial patrimonialism as British colonialism utilised the tribal nature of Trucial states, maintaining a hierarchal division among the tribes with the transfer of power. (Refer to chapter 1 for a historical overview of the formation of the UAE). As a result, patrimonial power has extended across successive generations of the Al Maktoum and Al Nahayan families in the emirates of Dubai and Abu Dhabi, respectively. Indeed, the evolutionary narrative of corporatism in the UAE further enforces the conservative approach towards available new opportunities for Emirati women (Rugh, 2007; Gray, 2011). It is argued here that familial networks are central to the creation of hierarchal class at the local level (Rugh, 2007).

As the previous section has shown, the relationship between state and society in

the UAE is characterised by an ingrained ideology as well as by traditional norms and values (Luciani, 1995; Gray, 2011). As a classical rentier state is inadequate at encompassing the effects of globalisation, there is a need to diversify the government's investment beyond oil and energy sectors and reduce its dependency on the current foreign workforce (Gray, 2011). As mentioned earlier in this chapter, Emirati nationals compromise almost a third of the total UAE population (Krause, 2008; Sultan et al., 2011). As such, the state has focused on the increased presence of women in higher education, and, for example, putting an emphasis on cultural tourism (Krause, 2008; Sultan et al., 2011). Certainly, this depicts women as passive actors in relation to the state. State led strategies including Emiratisation, Qatarisation, Kuwaitisation, Omanisation and Bahrainisation need to reduce the constraints faced by women and the workforce, as well as facilitate their integration into public and private sectors within the labour market. Corporatist politics such as state funding and the controlled appointment of female Ministers are examples of state strategies to control social change (Krause, 2008). At this important juncture, women seem unable to enter traditionally male occupations due to family restrictions, and inhibited to do so due to religious interpretations, with the power residing in the hands of the male tribal elder. As Ayubi (1995) has asserted, in contemporary Arab Gulf societies, a tribal ideology has emerged as a result of kinship, oil, and to an extent, religion. Similarly, other labour markets that wish to integrate more women into male dominated occupations across the MENA region need to be taken a step further. It needs to be noted that in the UAE, the ruling family acts as a visionary role model supporting the integration of women into previously male dominated sectors (Krause, 2008; Davidson, 2009).

The economic role of the state is especially powerful since it consolidates the roles of the traditional elites. According to Beblawi and Luciani:

> The taxation function is thus reversed in the oil state: instead of the usual situation, where the state taxes the citizen in return for services, here the citizen taxes the state by acquiring a government payment [i.e., a salary] in return for staying quiet, for not invoking tribal rivalries and for not challenging the ruling family's position (Beblawi and Luciani, 1987, pp.

144).

As asserted by Al Awadhi (2011), a female member of the UAE Parliament and
the first Arab woman to become chief executive of a state-run media organisation,
Dubai Media , commented, "Historically, our Arab economies have been planned
and run exclusively by men, so introducing a critical mass of capable women into
strategic roles will help evolve our economies." However, research published by the
Oxford Strategic Consulting Group states that only 4 per cent of Emirati women work
in the private sector as opposed to a staggering 60 per cent in the government sector
(Scott-Jackson et al., 2010).[9] The UAE government has transferred responsibility onto
women "as actors outside government" (Krause, 2008, pp. 193). Skills acquired by
women serve to enable them to pursue their goals; however, this also situates them
within a state construct where their roles serve to produce state interests (Krause,
2008). Indeed, if one were to examine the political structure of the UAE and in
particular the Federal National Council (FNC), half the members were appointed by
the state, whereas the other half was elected (Krause, 2008; Kelly, 2009). As set out in
chapter 1, the appointment of women to the FNC has served to situate women within
the political interests of the state (Krause, 2008). The following section will introduce
the late rentierism framework in the case of the UAE.

2.3   Theory of Late Rentierism

It is argued that current applications of RST should be supplemented by a theory
of late rentierism within the context of UAE's economic diversification and recent
social changes (Gray, 2011). Gray defines late rentierism as retaining the original
characteristics of rentierism but highlighting the incorporation of additional features
affecting the contemporary political economy (Gray, 2011). Late rentierism is defined
as; "Late rentierism retains the essential characteristics of a rentier economy including
the role of the elites and ruling families; however, it also is affected by external influ-
ences as well as the Emiratisation affecting the country's political economy" (Gray,
2011, pp.6). Gray argues that it consists of seven features (Gray, 2011, pp. 5-8):

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[9]http://www.cahrr.org/human-resources-research/material/OSC%20GCC%20women%
20participation%20in%20workforce%20draft%20report.pdf

1. A Responsive but Undemocratic State;

2. Opening up to Globalisation, but with Some Protectionism Remaining;

3. An Active Economic and Development Policy;

4. An "Energy-Driven" vs. an "Energy-Centric" Economy;

5. An "Entrepreneurial State Capitalist" Structure;

6. A State that is Long-Term in its Thinking; and

7. An Active and Innovative Foreign Policy.

However, this research will focus on three features that are relevant to this argument (Gray, 2011, pp. 5-8):

1. That it is open to globalisation, not closed - but is still protectionist in many ways; Gray argues that the UAE and Saudi Arabia are examples of "globalising late rentiers" (Gray, 2011, pp. 26). In the case of the UAE, each emirate has a different approach to globalisation. As discussed in chapter 1, Dubai has globalised rapidly and started relying on sectors such as trade and tourism to generate rent in a non-oil economy as oil revenues start to decline (Gray, 2011). According to Gray, globalisation is an important feature of late rentierism , with Dubai providing the specific cultural context that has led to the production of a different type of rent, although as Gray stresses maintaining the rentier bargain is central to the flow of a classic rentier state (Gray, 2011). Therefore, what the UAE and in particular Dubai has started to achieve is to form new ways of generating rent through globalised socio-economic policies similar to early stage renierism's early reliance on the energy sector (Gray, 2011).

2. It not only has an economic policy, it has a development policy too - but not a development model; Luciani (1990) states that the earlier classical rentier state relied on the distribution of external rent to its citizens, whilst Gray argues that the late rentier state needs to have an economic policy including labour market policies and goals (Gray, 2011). To that extent, the state has developed a set of economic and social policies such as The Qatar National Vision 2030

and UAE 2030 Vision, both discussed earlier in chapter 1 (Gray, 2011). Gray also highlights that the introduction of economic strategies such as Emiratisation are an example of socio-economic development opportunities for the UAE (Gray, 2011). However, although an economic policy has been introduced in the UAE, the policies vary across Gulf states and cannot be transferred; this leads to a development model similar to the UAE which has adapted to foreign investment and globalisation (Gray, 2011).

3. It is cognizant of long-term imperatives and threats.

As discussed earlier in the chapter, the UAE has faced economic instability such as the economic crisis in 2008 leading to the UAE government planning for long term survival strategies (Gray, 2011). Emiratisation can be seen as a long term economic strategy able to create jobs in diverse economic sectors. In addition, it can result in a wider employment base; providing employment for women and youth across the UAE "who otherwise might be idle, lose their sense of self-worth, and thus become politically aggrieved or oppositionist" (Gray, 2011, pp. 34).The globalisation that Arab Gulf states have been exposed to has affected each state differently (Gray, 2011). This research focuses on the transformation of the United Arab Emirates, which is diversifying its economy, transforming its global image, and investing in its human capital. In addition, one might underline the fact that the effects of social pressures and class interests on the state were present at the time of classical rentier state theory, and remain a challenge in today's current environment. This research implies that rent distribution is hierarchical in its allocation focus/amount, as well as influenced by social order and implied class structures within its citizenry.

Arguably, as RST literature grew more complex, so did the state, as it began to face a different set of challenges, from new social dynamics, globalisation, population growth and demographic changes, as well as unemployment pressures (Gray, 2011, pp. 9). This has allowed for the rentier concept to change, and above all, for rentierism to be considered a dynamic of a political economy, rather than merely a theory explaining the structure of a state and its relations with society, which has become a far more burdensome challenge. It was in this vein that the idea of 'late

stage' rentierism was developed, that is, to fit with the state-society dynamics that had come to characterise the Gulf in this century. It has been argued by Gray (2011) and Gengler (2013) that the region changed markedly during this period, as the Arab Gulf States globalised, modernised and diversified their economies, although in the absence of substantive political liberalization, such change has not exerted a true or profound political transformation, or moved far from the underlying rentier dynamic of the past.

2.3.1   Social Development of Women

Although the theory of late rentierism underlines the dynamics and policies of Arab Gulf regime policies, it would still be interesting to examine the state's economic restructuring and its effect on the social development of women (Yamani, 2000). It is important to analyze the impact of Emiratisation, the high rates of youth unemployment, the deep influences of class interest, and the opportunities available for educated, upper middle class women. Surely, the diversity of class interest in the Arab Gulf states and the UAE in particular must be part of policy formulation. As Sultan et al. (2011) suggest, "The rise of Arab women (and particularly those of the GCC states) should go beyond the merely symbolic makeover that permits a few distinguished women to ascend to positions of leadership in state institutions" (Sultan et al., 2011, pp. 167).

Sheikha Fatima Bin Mubarak, the wife of the late Sheikh Zayed, ruler of UAE, first established the Abu Dhabi Women's Association in 1973 and has grown to become the largest women's organisation in the UAE (Krause, 2009). The Women's Union has become an umbrella association that includes the UAE's collective women's associations. The Women's Union focuses on women's role in the family and the traditional role of women as emphasised by Islamic principles. According to Krause's study on women, civil society and Islam, the participation of women in public and private life in the Arab Gulf States is constrained by educational attainment, work conditions, the recent gender reforms and personal status laws (Krause, 2008, 2009). Women have reached high standards of literacy and attained a similar level to their male counterparts in terms of enrollment numbers in higher education (Krause, 2008, 2009), for

according to 2007 statistics, the number of female UAE natives enrolled in higher education was 24 per cent more than the number of male UAE natives. Seventy seven per cent of UAE females are currently in higher education. According to the Global Gender Gap Report (Hausmann et al., 2014), the UAE has been successful in narrowing the educational gap at primary, secondary and tertiary levels, ranking 83 out of 142 countries in the Educational Attainment Index. Here, the female literacy rate was 91 per cent; whereas the male percentage stood at 89 per cent.

At an international level, the appointment of women to political positions has resonated within the international community. The United Nations Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) highlighted it as representing "a commitment to difference in shaping gender and work relations" (Sultan et al., 2011, pp. 152). However, some Middle Eastern countries which have ratified the United Nations Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) (such as the UAE and Bahrain) have reservations on articles relating to women's social status and rights. The argument presented by those countries is that the principle of Islamic Shari'ah relating to women states that women are "treated differently but not equally" (Sultan et al., 2011, pp. 150). However, the CEDAW states that all women should be treated equally, with the reservations shown by Arab countries serving to highlight the notion of difference between men and women, both in social status and the workplace. The notion of difference is critical at this juncture for cultural barriers to women's entry into the workforce seriously limit their progress within the established gender order (United Nations, 2009; Sultan et al., 2011). Therefore, the potential of the UAE to open up to globalisation suggests that a new inclusive approach is necessary, including more opportunities for youth and women to be sanctioned by the state.

This research supports Gray's analytical framework and attempts to situate three features of late rentierism, "a responsive but undemocratic state; opening up to globalisation but with some protectionism remaining; and an active economic and development policy with much needed employment policies in the UAE" (Gray, 2011, pp. 20-26). According to classical rentier state theory, the state is identified as interventionist (Beblawi and Luciani, 1987; Gray, 2011). Although the theory of late

rentierism emphasises the potential impact of social factors and new policies, the state nevertheless remains interventionist as it maintains the cooptation of civil society and associations. Both, The Qatar National Vision 2030 [10] and the Abu Dhabi Vision 2030 [11], attempt to mould economic and social outcomes as a result of newly formulated policies. These are based on an economic vision set out by the rulers of each country in order to develop knowledge based industries and reduce reliance of the country on oil and energy. The state's responsiveness to globalisation and the challenges of employment illustrate its relationship with these issues via "new state and economic development imperatives and policies" (Gray, 2011, pp. 19), yet still admitting a need to retain control of rents. According to Gray, the state's response to the impact of global social media and communication tools in contemporary society has allowed it "to acknowledge the need to appear to be open to change, and in a more concrete sense, to actually be somewhat responsive to the views and ambitions of the population and of particular social units" (Gray, 2011, pp. 25). For example, in the context of the UAE, measures introduced by the state such as allowing more citizens to take part in legislation like the FNC alongside the introduction of Emiratisation are both examples of the state's acknowledgment of the importance of policy impact in response to societal concerns (Gray, 2011). The empirical chapter will address the aforementioned three LRS features by identifying Emirati students' and employees' attitudes towards Emiratisation and available work policies.

As was discussed in the section on rentierism, the rentier mentality assumes that the political will of a government is reflected by the leaders of a rentier state (Luciani, 1995; Krause, 2008; Gengler, 2013). For example, in the case of the UAE, the government's increased political will has engaged with improving women's participation in the workforce, political presence and educational attainment. In addition, leading figures such as Sheikha Fatima, wife of the late Sheikh Zayed of the UAE, and Sheikha Moza of Qatar, are prominent figures in two rentier states, forming the increased political will regarding women's rights (Krause, 2008; Kelly, 2009). The next section will situate the status of social rights and women's education and employment opportunities within the UAE as part of LRS.

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[10]http://www.gsdp.gov.qa/portal/page/portal/gsdp_en/qatar_national_vision
[11]http://www.upc.gov.ae/template/upc/pdf/abu-dhabi-vision-2030-revised.pdf

2.3.2   Status of Social Rights for Women

Arab women are still unable to pass their citizenship onto their sons/daughters, and there are limitations regarding their geographical mobility (Möller, 2013; Hausmann et al., 2014). The case of the UAE clearly shows that women's direct engagement in paid labour diverts from the classical neopatriarchal family paradigm of a traditional state. As Gray argues, the rentier state can retain its traditional identity while recognizing women as full citizens (Gray, 2011). According to the 2014 Global Gender Gap Report, since 2005, there has been a steady increase in the rise of rights granted to women across all GCC states, especially in women's workforce representation (Hausmann et al., 2014). For example, in Oman in 2014,the participation of the female labour force stood at 30 per cent, in contrast to 84 per cent for the males (Hausmann et al., 2014). In the case of the UAE, there has been an increase to 47 per cent for women, with male employment standing at 91 per cent. The report's findings show that there has been an increase in women's presence in formal employment across the GCC states since 2006 and suggests that structural policies have increased work opportunities for women (Amin and Al-Bassusi, 2004; Hausmann et al., 2014).

As argued in much of the literature, structural adjustment policies and trade liberalization has led to the greater involvement of females in the workforce (Amin and Al-Bassusi, 2004; Moghadam, 2005). In the case of Egypt, families used to rely heavily on remittances sent from abroad, however, when that drastically declined, the government encouraged private investment in sectors such as textiles and garment making which unfortunately resulted in a low positive impact on the number of women in the workforce (Wolf, 1992; Amin and Al-Bassusi, 2004). For example, in the case of Egyptian working women, Al-Bassusi and Amin argue that attitudes towards marriage and the family are influenced mainly by the effects of globalisation, rather than work (Amin and Al-Bassusi, 2004). Their main findings showed women focused on providing a substantial amount of savings for themselves prior to marriage alongside the financial support from their families (Amin and Al-Bassusi, 2004). Traditionally in Egypt, women get married at a young age and a significant number do not enter the workforce at all. The relationship between work and marriage in the case of Egyptian women reflects an expectation of certain standards of

living which would require a double income household to maintain (Hoodfar, 1997; Amin and Al-Bassusi, 2004). According to the findings, being a wife and having a job were not seen as contradictory although women were expected to stop work after marriage. The need for a double income household or for women to fund a substantial traditional wedding were the overall reasons for a delayed marriage age (Amin and Al-Bassusi, 2004). In the MENA region, attitudes towards employment labour are influenced not only by the persistent patriarchal structure, but compounded by factors such as geographic mobility, financial independence and division of labour- these will be further explored in the empirical findings (Wolf, 1992; Sanchez, 1993; Hochschild, 1997). According to Kelly, formal employment in the GCC is usually seen as those male dominated business activities; however, there has been a gradual acceptance by families of the need to benefit from a dual income derived from daughters and wives (Caldwell, 1980; Kelly, 2009). As recent findings have shown, the global exposure of the younger generation has led to a change in traditional gender socialisation and a change in family values, especially in the workforce (Amin and Al-Bassusi, 2004; Carvalho Pinto, 2012). In the next section, Carvalho's study of Emirati women will provide an insight into the gender framing process of Emirati women (Carvalho Pinto, 2012).

2.4   Gender Framing in the UAE

Carvalho lays out the gender framing of women's participation in decision making across the UAE (Carvalho Pinto, 2012). Underlining the importance of society's perception of the credibility of women's success in politics, we can apply this insight to the case under discussion (Carvalho Pinto, 2012). Moreover, the crucial role of the ruling family's relationship to society is stressed where the top-down approach actively promotes women's visible entry into the workforce, education and politics (Carvalho Pinto, 2012). The government's political will has attempted to integrate gender into the rentier mentality and dominant patriarchal culture. As the following example clearly illustrates, the UAE is adopting gender friendly language within the country's mission and highlighting the importance of women's contribution to society. This is further supported by the Emirati government's declaration to promote a

gender empowerment benchmark in the region (Carvalho Pinto, 2012).

Similar to Joseph (1996), Rugh (2007) and Gray (2011), this thesis stresses that the region's dominant patriarchal structure is directly related to Gray's claims of hierarchy within a rentier state (Gray, 2011). Yet the government's encouragement of female employment reflects upon the possibility of Emiratisation to create some form of agency for women (Kelly, 2009). As Carvalho argues, Emiratisation strategies have led organisations to focus on recruiting women to positions such as public-relations officers, and human-resources personnel (Carvalho Pinto, 2012). Indeed, the policies of Omanisation and Emiratisation have presented poorer and less educated women with job opportunities and had a particularly positive effect on allowing such women to support themselves working as cleaners and hospital orderlies (Carvalho Pinto, 2012). Family-based networks and support systems, in most cases, further reinforce local patriarchies (Joseph, 2000). For example, women in Kuwait and the UAE are allocated housing and child allowances for example, but this is dependent on their relationship to male heads of households (Joseph, 1996). This theme will be further explored in the empirical chapter based on the interviews with Emirati students and bank employees.

2.5 Gender Socialisation and Neopatriarchy

While the concept of a rentier state applies to MENA states, in gender terms, Hisham Sharabi's "neopatriarchal state" is another useful label to indicate the various types of state in the Middle East (Sharabi, 1988). Sharabi stresses a collective society in the MENA region, where the patriarchal family and the neopatriarchal state exist in symbiosis. According to Sharabi, the notion of modernity or historical development in the Arab world has not affected the existing conditions of patriarchy (Sharabi, 1988). Rather, according to Sharabi, the conditions of patriarchy have been reinforced and still exist in modernised institutions (Sharabi, 1988). Neopatriarchy therefore refers to the notion that regardless of the existence of modern insitituions, forms of patriarchy are sustained and the neopatriarchy " is in many ways no more than a modernised version of the traditional patriarchal sultanate" (Sharabi, 1988, pp. 4).

Neopatriarchy assumes the subordination of women in the political and social

spheres (Sharabi, 1988). The issue of gender and citizenship is a primary example, where women are not allowed to pass their citizenship on to their sons and daughters (Kelly, 2009; Carvalho Pinto, 2012). In addition, women only received the right to vote in the UAE in the Federal National Election of 2006 (Hausmann et al., 2014). Similarly, Kuwait's electoral vote was restricted to men until a decree issued in 1999 granted Kuwaiti women the right to vote (Hausmann et al., 2014). Accordingly, the unequal distribution of social rights reflects how the state directs its welfare benefits towards families which are headed by men (Kelly, 2009; Carvalho Pinto, 2012). This is in contrast to the West where the allocative distribution of social benefits is directed towards women with families (Al Mughni and Tetreault, 2000, pp. 245).

Tetreault argues that within the MENA region, women as citizens do not enjoy social and citizen rights equal to men (Al Mughni and Tetreault, 2000). Furthermore, most states have sought to appease the apparently contradictory goals of economic development and the strengthening of the male-dominated, patriarchal family (Al Mughni and Tetreault, 2000). In addition, this suggests that women are allocated inferior rights across political, economic and social space (Al Mughni and Tetreault, 2000). The next section sheds light on the status of social rights for Emirati women.

Some studies have argued that gender socialisation affects boys' and girls' traditional patriarchal attitudes and behaviour towards the employment of women in different ways (Mensch et al., 2003). In addition, results have revealed that traditional roles ascribed to women in the Arab world, particularly in the workforce, are slowly changing, due to the factors associated with globalisation (Amin and Al-Bassusi, 2004). Therefore, role expectations are no longer rigid due to the changing curricula in schools and workforce participation (Elkoglai and Al-Bassusi, 2001; Assaad, 2008). Elson argues that labour market participation does not provide equality for women (Elson, 1999), this is because labour markets are structured based on traditional norms, perceptions and networks. In addition, they are part of a dynamic process that sets up a gendered framework of institutions in the labour market (Elson, 1999). Social stereotypes can be seen as bearers of gendered employment, with certain jobs seen as masculine or feminine (Elson, 1999; Moghadam, 2013). This leads to a reflection of gendered social patterns in society that are translated into social

domination and subordination by various institutions. However, the incorporation of work friendly policies and an equal wage system suggests that a gradual change towards recognizing and retaining the contribution of female employees is occuring (Elson, 1999; Roudi-Fahimi and Moghadam, 2003; Moghadam, 2013).

2.5.1   Social Attitudes towards Female Employment

Raoudi-Fahimi and Moghadam have pointed out that slow change is occurring in society's attitudes towards increased female education and employment (Roudi-Fahimi and Moghadam, 2003). This has served to reinforce women's empowerment across the MENA region (Roudi-Fahimi and Moghadam, 2003). In addition, the 2013 Arab Human Development Report underscored the importance of accessibility and improving the quality of education to enhance men and women's competitive skills (World Economic Forum, 2013). In oil rich Arab states, women are now competing with men over positions that were once considered as male intensive or even working as wait staff or cashiers (Kelly, 2009; Carvalho Pinto, 2012). As such, the increased presence of women in various positions suggests that there is a need to incorporate work-life balance policies and thus introduce equality into the workplace (Roudi-Fahimi and Moghadam, 2003).

Women activists working with civil society and grass roots groups, as well as state organised organisations across countries in the Middle East and North Africa, are invested in achieving women's equality in both private and public spheres (Al Mughni and Tetreault, 2000; Roudi-Fahimi and Moghadam, 2003; Krause, 2008). It is important to note however, that whilst women's experiences are not monolithic across different countries, there is a growing demand for equality and the increased financial need of women's presence in the labour market (Roudi-Fahimi and Moghadam, 2003; Krause, 2009). For example, women's participation rates are high in the Lebanon and Turkey, but very low across the Arab Gulf States (Roudi-Fahimi and Moghadam, 2003). Suad Joseph underscores the absence of the centrality of gender in debates over state, democracy and citizenship in each MENA state (Joseph, 1996). States often construct women as bearers of state boundaries. In addition, women are subject to state laws regulating issues such as marriage, reproduction and inheritance that

restrict them from becoming independent citizens in most MENA states (Joseph, 2000). Moreover, patriarchy in the Arab world frames women's privileges through kinship bonds, and maintaining traditional values within the family (Joseph, 2000). This research examines the current levels of female labour force participation and whether Emiratisation initiatives have led to an increase in the number of females in the UAE workforce. However, despite any increase in women's access to education, the adherence to customs and norms is critical in order for their entry into the labour market to be acceptable (Joseph, 2000; Al Mughni and Tetreault, 2000).

In particular, this thesis highlights the state's assertion of roles and the struggle for women to run a business without being constrained by needing the permission of their fathers, brothers or husbands (Joseph, 1996). This remains a crucial issue in achieving women's equality in this region, and runs alongside equally important issues such as women being granted the right to vote or even entry into certain countries (Joseph, 1996). In the case of Emiratisation, women and men are part of the socio-economic change that is occurring in the state's effort to economically diversify. The state remains the crucial site for women to lobby for political and socio-economic rights, as well as freedom from domestic abuse (Krause, 2008; Schedneck, 2014). However, the centrality of gender and employment in the states' process of modernisation is, according to Joseph, "further evidence of the symbolic centrality of women as markers of the nation", within established patriarchal structures (Joseph, 1996, pp. 4). Clearly, this highlights the key role played by the family in understanding gender and power relations in the Middle East. Within these societies, the centrality of the family unit has profound implications for women's lives. For example, the empirical findings will highlight the father's role in guiding graduates' career choices. Emiratisation strategies and the fostering of Emirati traditions and values are examples of government strategies for creating a work friendly environment for both men and women. As Caravalho argues, the expansion of women's rights is an example of the state's development of an economic diversification strategy (Carvalho Pinto, 2012). In addition, Krause suggests that the increase in women's education in the UAE has served to support the state project of maintaining a cohesive identity (Krause, 2009).

2.6   Women and Civil Society in the UAE

According to Krause, in the case of women's organisations in the UAE, the heads of these are mostly the wives of emirate rulers (Krause, 2009). For example, Abu Dhabi Women's Union and Umm Al Mo'menin Women's Society in Ajman are headed by Sheikha Fatima Bin Mubarak, wife of the late ruler, Sheikh Zayed. The Dubai Women's Development Society is headed by Sheikha Amina Al Tayar, the Sharjah Women's Development Society is headed by Sheikha Nora Al Qasimi, and the Umm Al Qaywan Women's society is chaired by H.H Sheikha Mariam Al Mulla, while Ras Al Khaima Women's Development is headed by Sheikha Mouhra Al Qasimi.[12] Also, the government tends to appoint society leaders from government Ministries. Krause offers an insight into the role of MENA based women's associations as the extension of state institutions, while Valentine Moghadam's work focuses primarily on social change within the same region (Moghadam, 2005, 2013). There is an emphasis on the impact of social change on women's social positions, as well as their responses and involvement in the change process. Krause's research focuses on the role female actors play in creating a civil society in the Middle East, in particular, analysing the role of GONGOs in the UAE (Krause, 2009). In chapter 4, empirical interviews with Emirati university graduates and bank employees will attempt to highlight the relevance and efficiency of these associations in terms of addressing the needs of UAE's future workforce. Moghadam outlines the role of Middle Eastern state, in developing their social and economic aspects during the 1950s and 1980s (Moghadam, 2003). One important feature that she highlights is the ability of the state "to enable or impede the integration of women citizens in public life" (Moghadam, 2003, pp. 18). She also asserts that state policies have resulted in contradictory results, leading women to a juncture between traditional roles and the desire to work. What is of direct relevance here is the traditional ideology that stresses women's role in the family on the one hand, and the state sponsored education for women that leads to women's desire to work and "actively pursue employment... in defiance of cultural norms and gender ideologies" (Moghadam, 2003, pp. 19) on the other. Women occupying senior positions "have set a glass ceiling reminding other

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[12]http://www.wu.gov.ae/About.aspx?Lang=EN&SectionID=2&RefID=1285

women of the invisible boundaries set by the UAE's religious authoritative state" (Krause, 2009, pp. 33). It is here that Krause attempts to emphasise the collective nature of women's associations, which tend to promote the state's agenda rather than women's individual goals. For example, by confirming notions of gender difference, women are reminded that they are "naturally subordinate to men" (Krause, 2009, pp. 33). These boundaries refer to the patriarchal dominated discourses and the limitations set by discourses on biological gender differences. Krause has argued that the state limits women's participation in the public sphere. Krause highlights that state leaders appoint a certain number of women to public roles such as ambassadors or Ministers and as heads of women's associations. Similar to both Kelly (2009) and Carvalho Pinto (2012), Krause further argues that these roles constrain women's participation within the patriarchal nature of the UAE (Krause, 2009). GONGOs are seen as an extension of the patriarchal state, supporting women's entry into public roles that are approved by the state, thus limiting the options for women to negotiate new roles that would allow them to participate in different roles in the work force or politics (Krause, 2009).

Krause asserts the inadequacy of RST to "capture important political developments" and understand "the processes shaping the kinds of selves which support state-directed objectives" (Krause, 2008, pp. 1); this sheds light on the encompassment of civil society by the state. Although this research does not focus on the presence of government organised non-governmental organisations (GONGOs) in the UAE, Krause focuses on the role of GONGOs to trace the state's (re) configuration of its relationship with civil society, that is, where the "nation-state ceded power to what are usually state-developed agencies and institutions" (Krause, 2008, pp. 6). Certainly, the notion of an individual subject is not incorporated by a rentier government. In the context of the UAE, the participation of women is framed within the context of a controlled form of state introduced gender reforms (Krause, 2008; Carvalho Pinto, 2012). The state-society relationship in the UAE takes a top down approach, thus suppressing any notion of grassroots activism in the country. Thus, Emiratisation strategies introduce a new approach towards integrating Emirati nationals into new roles in the workforce.

2.7   Emiratisation and Neo-patriarchy

Emiratisation policy aims to reflect the inclusion of contemporary issues with the existing beliefs of a traditional society where women have been primarily restricted to the private sphere. The empirical research will further explore the potential of Emiratisation in creating some form of agency for Emirati women (Carvalho Pinto, 2012, pp. 7-11). The main challenges highlight extensive change having occurred over the past six years. According to Carvalho, women's presence in the contemporary workforce and political arena does not conform to the dominant gender norms of a neo-patriarchal state (Carvalho Pinto, 2012). Both, the fourth Arab Human Development Report and the 2013 Arab World Competitiveness Report, stated the empowerment of women and investment in human capital as a main avenue for coping with challenges resulting from globalised markets and societies (UNDP, 2010*a*; World Economic Forum, 2013). As Hoodfar has argued, women are still challenged by dual roles, especially in low income households (Hoodfar and Singerman, 1996). Hoodfar's analysis shows that women are constrained by the patriarchal bargain. For example, women from low income households still face challenges from the double burden and their dependency on their husbands for financial support (Hoodfar and Singerman, 1996; Hoodfar, 1997).

Hoodfar's ethnographic research frames Muslim women in a contemporary frame, detached from the stereotypical assumptions of Muslim women in the Arab World, in particular, low-income Egyptians (Hoodfar and Singerman, 1996; Hoodfar, 1997). She underscores the importance of paid work in women's lives and the critical balancing of adherence to Islam to allow women to work in the formal paid labour market (Hoodfar and Singerman, 1996; Hoodfar, 1997).

In particular, Hoodfar contributes to the scholarship that emphasises economic participation as crucial to understanding women's ability to actively participate in the household as well as be part of an actively productive workforce (Hoodfar and Singerman, 1996; Hoodfar, 1997). In the case of Egypt, she found that there was a shift in families' preference for sons to enter vocational jobs rather than white collar jobs, which in Egypt offer a relatively insufficient wage. In the case of GCC states, white collar jobs are highly desirable and offer a better salary, but women in GCC

states earn less than men for doing the same type of work. Therefore, despite the government's introduction of equal opportunities as in the case of the UAE, salary and employment packages do not necessarily conform to the mandated laws (Kelly, 2009; Carvalho Pinto, 2012). However what is of interest in this section is the effect of familial preference on their daughters' and sons' entry into the workforce and the type of employment they take up. There has been a surge in scholarship on female mobilization, in particular with reference to women's contribution to the informal economy (Hoodfar and Singerman, 1996; Hoodfar, 1997). Hoodfar's research has focused on the link between class background and educational attainment through efforts to obtain a higher level of education that include capitalising on the informal wage sector, this thesis examines women's contribution to the formal economy in an oil rich patriarchal economy (Hoodfar and Singerman, 1996; Hoodfar, 1997).

Therefore, a combination of factors such as the rise in women's educational attainment in Qatar and the UAE showcase changes in the patriarchal system within the region (Kelly, 2009; Moghadam, 2013). Women's empowerment has been challenged by the conservatism within the family, and society has previously constrained women's presence to the household and childcare duties. According to Fargues, the presence of oil has led to lower fertility rates and an increased number of women confined through marriage in some oil rich countries (Fargues, 2005). However, the increased level of education and women's entry into the labour market has also led to an increase in delayed marriages and the empowerment of married women. So, on the one hand, studies have shown that women are more active in informal and formal labour markets than in the oil rich welfare states, that is, where the family does not need to rely on the wife's additional income; whilst, on the other, single women are still constrained by patriarchal figures, causing them to be controlled by their father or brother (Hoodfar and Singerman, 1996; Hoodfar, 1997; Moghadam, 2005; Fargues, 2005). The 2014 Global Gender Gap Report highlighted a significant gain for Arab women in personal status laws especially in Arab Gulf States (Hausmann et al., 2014; Möller, 2013). Personal status laws that amended women's custodian rights were first

codified by the UAE in 2005 [13], Qatar in 2006[14] and Bahrain in 2009[15] (Möller, 2013).

Despite the findings of the above studies, however, the introduction of national-isation strategies across the Arab Gulf states underscores a new reality in terms of opportunities for women to enter the formal labour market (Davidson, 2005; Kelly, 2009). Although women have obtained considerable gains in politics, economic em-powerment and educational attainment,as well as personal status laws, as highlighted by Möller (2013), they continue to face discrimination at all levels, especially in the Arab Gulf states where women's agency is seen as subordinate, meaning they "face systemic discrimination in both laws and social customs" (Kelly, 2009, pp. 1). Accord-ing to Kelly's analysis, the increased presence of women in formal employment offers women a degree of financial independence and allows them to command greater re-spect from their families and their male counterparts, including their fathers or hus-bands (Kelly, 2009). Despite those findings, Emirati labour law still prohibits women from working at night, reinforcing traditional patriarchal limits (Möller, 2013).

Women in the GCC workforce also struggle to move beyond entry level positions and break free from the cultural limits that are imposed on women's entry to several professions (Kelly, 2009; Carvalho Pinto, 2012). As previously mentioned, women across the GCC are prohibited from working at night, and although this law aims to protect women it also treats them as subordinate and unable to make decisions for themselves without the presence of a guardian (Kelly, 2009). Since Emiratisation began, women have been attempting to negotiate the restrictions on their rights in the private sector, although they have not faced this to the same extent in the pub-lic sector, which offers better pay and shorter working hour hours, not interfering with overarching patriarchal cultural norms and social expectations from a woman, whether single or married (Kelly, 2009). For example, several GCC countries are at-tempting to establish support for gender inclusiveness by adopting gender sensitive

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[13] UAE Federal Law of Personal Status No. 28/2005 [qnn al-awl al-shakhiyya], Official Gazette no. 439 of 11/30/2005, 9-118 (hereafter: 2005 Code of Personal Status)

[14] Qatar Family Law No. 22/2006 [qnn al-usra], Official Gazette no. 8 of 8/28/2006, 31-99 (hereafter: 2006 Family Code)

[15]Bahrain Family Law No. 19/2009 [qnn al-usra (al-qism al-awwal)], Official Gazette no. 2898 of 6/4/2009, 5-30. The law applies to Bahrain's Sunni Muslims only. The second part of the law which was to codify Shia family law was rejected by parliament. For the codification process and its debates see Lynn Welchman, *Women and Muslim Family Laws in Arab States* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam Univ. Press, 2007), 22-4

language in their respective labour laws (Kelly, 2009; Möller, 2013).

Arab Gulf countries such as Qatar, Oman and Bahrain have adopted a gender based non-discrimination clause; however as mentioned in chapter 1, the UAE has not declared such a clause in its constitution; instead, it has declared every UAE citizen to be equal under the law. Yet, legal provisions are not always implemented in practice and women are constantly being discriminated against at all levels and in all aspects of life (Kelly, 2009). Indeed, despite this steady advancement in women's rights, the overall patriarchal bargain still remains entrenched in the legal courts. Therefore, it may still undermine women's gains and negotiations for obtaining changes in personal codes, political representation and anti- discrimination laws in the workforce (Kelly, 2009; Carvalho Pinto, 2012). Although Carvalho argues that women's mobilization as a result of Emiratisation strategies contradicts the traditional tribal values of the UAE, there has been an increased presence of women in the UAE workforce (Carvalho Pinto, 2012). Since this thesis aims to contribute to understanding the effects of Emiratisation on the position of men and women in society, the empirical chapter assesses the challenges that Emirati women face, in particular work-life balance and opportunities at work.

The late Sheikh Zayed, former president of the UAE, was an active promoter of the participation of women in the workforce (Carvalho Pinto, 2012). This has increased the presence of women in different fields such as the police force, management, engineering, and the media. Clearly, women's workforce participation and identity has been shaped by state discourse as well as their environment. However, there still remains traditional assumptions regarding women at work,especially with regard to their childcare and household duties, or restrictions in segregated work environments (Gallant, 2008).

According to Gallant, these cultural factors have not adapted to the contemporary initiatives introduced by Emiratisation, and have thus prevented Emirati women from fulfilling their potential in the workforce (Gallant, 2008). Arab women face family pressures to fulfill their duties at home and provide a quality of life for their children. The presumption that women are expected to put their careers on hold is still true in the UAE culture despite the government's attempt to narrow the duties undertaken

by men and women (Rugh, 2007; Gallant, 2008). In addition, the segregated work environments based on moral reasonings may prevent women from fulfilling their duties at work and be indicators of a poor work performance (Daniel, 2002; Gallant, 2008). In Arab Gulf states, the family is seen as the basic unit of society, hence women are "responsible for the functioning of the basic unit or family and then, by extension, the country" (Krause, 2008, pp. 25). The role of women in the UAE was emphasised by Sheikh Zayed as an indispensable element in developing and preserving a sense of UAE identity. State rulers have a direct role in shaping women's primary roles and given duties which directly reflect on state projects and intervention, preserving both the national identity and exerting a level of stability (Daniel, 2002; Gallant, 2008; Krause, 2008).

2.7.1   Corporatism and Women in the UAE

Corporatist politics such as that found in state funding and the controlled appointment of female Ministers are examples of state strategies to control social change. By supporting the entry of women into male dominated jobs such as engineering, and offering high salaries as incentives, the state controls the conditions under which women enter the UAE labour force (Krause, 2008). However, a transitional rentier framework suggests that Krause's depiction of state feminism is inconsistent with Gray's argument of LRS (Gray, 2011). Rather, the increased presence of women in higher education and the globalised market has introduced them to a wider range of employment opportunities in the UAE.

The focus here is on gendered economic globalisation, which includes the spread of norms and ideas regarding the place of women (Gray, 2011; Schedneck, 2014). Within the UAE, the government generates a sense of agency for Emirati women. According to Krause (2009), women are highly invested in their subject positions as empowered Emirati women, with the freedom to become educated citizens and maintain careers. Through this investment they are rewarded with material and social benefits, despite some of the disadvantages that also occur. I argue however that structurally, patriarchy remains the dominant form of power, rendering gendered assumptions about Emirati women's agency dependent on their individual background

and experience. This research seeks to address generational differences related to contemporary women's representation in the UAE.

The empirical research has attempted to identify female graduates' and bankers' concerns and expectations regarding their political and economic representation, and the impact of a role model on the workforce. According to the 2013 Arab Competitiveness Report, the UAE has introduced strategies directed towards enhancing a knowledge based economy and creating new jobs in the private sector (World Economic Forum, 2013). In addition, private sector development would translate into creating more opportunities for Arab women to occupy active roles in fields such as engineering and technology sectors (World Economic Forum, 2013). The cooperation between firms in the private sector and universities would contribute to job creation in the UAE and increase the potential for an active economic performance for women in particular (World Economic Forum, 2013).

2.8   A Shift in Female Labour Force Participation

As Moghadam (2003) points out, female employment is central to state policy formulation as well as to the economic development that exists across the different political agendas of Middle Eastern countries. However, cultural representations further reinforce a deep distinction between the masculine and the feminine, polarizing how women and men are represented in society (Joseph, 2000; Kelly, 2009).

Moghadam (2003) points out that although women have access to education and resources, this upward shift is contained within a specific class. This is reflected in the percentage of women employees found in public sector services within the MENA region (Moghadam, 2003; World Economic Forum, 2013). However, the recent increased access to educational achievements for women in the UAE has allowed them to also gain access to the public and private sectors. At a macro level, the division of labour in the public sphere is aligned with the division of labour that exists at a household level, putting women in a disadvantaged position (Moghadam, 2003). In the MENA region, the household dynamic is underlined by the traditional dichotomy that exists between what is represented through the terms- masculine and feminine (Nelson, 2004). This was apparent in the 2012 education forum held in

Dubai.

In a 2012 education forum organised by Dubai International Academic City (DIAC), Professor Badr Aboul-Ela, Director of the Commission for Academic Accreditation, part of the UAE Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research, emphasised the significantly low enrolment figures for women in engineering and science related fields in the UAE.[16] Indeed, the 2005 ARHDR theme focused on the issue of gender in the Arab Region, with the report stating that women still tended to specialise in humanities and the social sciences as university majors, subjects which are not in high demand in the job market. Overall, however, the report justified women's orientation towards jobs that permit part-time working, as part-time work allows women to raise a family. To illustrate this trend, the report showed that education and part-time jobs in the civil service were the employment preferences of women. Yet, that is not to say there has been a gradual shift to more women entering science and technology fields. Despite women entering the aforementioned fields, "women who study engineering specialise in architecture or chemical engineering, whereas men lean towards mechanical or electrical engineering. In medicine, men gravitate towards surgery and other specialist areas whereas women take up gynecology, pediatrics and dentistry" (UNDP Regional Bureau for the Arab States, 2005, pp. 79). This trend still exists in today's youth, as illustrated in studies conducted across GCC universities (See for example, Gallacher et al. (2010); Bunglawla (2011)). According to a study by Gallacher et al. (2010), the choice of university major for female students was largely influenced by a family member, with 76 per cent of respondents stating that their parents had a strong influence on the major they chose, and their consequent career choice. These findings will be further examined in the empirical findings to evaluate whether this is a result of a rentier mentality or if Emiratisation and the diversification of non-oil sectors have resulted in a social change among the career preferences of women and UAE youth. The next section presents the concluding points of this chapter.

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[16]The event was held on 28th March, 2012. http://www.bi-me.com/main.php?c=3&cg=2&t=1&id=57254

2.9 Concluding Points

The paradox of traditional rentierism is that it did not take into account the globalised nature of rentier states, and the social change which has subsequently impacted rentier states and the region as a whole (Gray, 2011; Carvalho Pinto, 2012). The argument presented here is that employment barriers in the UAE are changing through the introduction of Emiratisation, and the potential for the increased promotion of women in the workforce, although a more refined explanation is necessary if any detailed insight into the contribution of women to the economy of the Arab Gulf States can be identified (Gray, 2011; Schedneck, 2014). RST is a contested concept, yet also a term widely used by scholars looking at other aspects of the Middle Eastern political economy. However, it is a term in need of revision and greater refinement, as the current reality in the Arab region inhibits the empowerment of women (UNDP, 2010*a*).

This chapter has emphasised the limitations of theoretical approaches in assuming that classical rentier theory can account for the role of women and youth and their relationship to the state. I have shown that the active agency of women in the UAE, international pressures, rapid globalisation, a rise in educational attainment and Emiratisation are all relevant factors in promoting the integration of both men and women within the UAE work force (Krause, 2008; Gray, 2011; Schedneck, 2014).

Surely, the rise of educated women in the UAE has paved the way for a generational change, and this will be explored in the empirical research. Indeed, the representation of women at work and the diverse reasons for women's inclusion in the workforce, whether through economic need or in order to maintain a lifestyle and financial independence in marriage, clearly demonstrate the need to explore the gendered paradox of new expectations for educated women and the (un)sustainability of traditional constraints (Moghadam, 2003; Erogul and McCrohan, 2008; Gray, 2011; Schedneck, 2014). For example, the UAE government's expectations and efforts surrounding Emiratisation, which look to diversify the economy and reduce the reliance on traditional rent, are simultaneously reliant on the contribution of Emirati women in society and in the workforce (Kelly, 2009; Gray, 2011; Schedneck, 2014).

It is argued that the various needs of women and men in social and cultural

groups are actively pursuant and responsive to the rapid transformation of society and unemployment, including a gender neutral employment policy such as Emiratisation (Kelly, 2009; Gray, 2011; Schedneck, 2014). This attempt at diversifying the investment in Emirati human capital suggests that classical rentier theory focusing on oil and energy sectors lacks the coherence and complexity necessary to reflect the UAE's contemporary socio-economic reality (Kelly, 2009; Gray, 2011; Schedneck, 2014). The findings of the empirical research will attempt to explore issues that Emirati nationals perceive as pivotal to women's participation in the workforce, such as effectiveness of Emiratisation and work-life balance policies.

Chapter 3

Methodology

This chapter presents the methodological approach to the qualitative research conducted in the UAE. As was discussed in chapter 2, proponents of LRS theory argues that the UAE retains its traditional approach to distributing benefits to its citizens while introducing the initiative of Emiratisation, which offers Emirati graduates the incentive to seek new available positions in the workforce (Gray, 2011). Also, LRS underlines the effect of globalisation in introducing potential new roles and initiating available work opportunities within the government and private sector (Beblawi and Luciani, 1987; Gray, 2011). This research aims to understand the challenges to creating a robust female contribution to the economy of Arab Gulf States. To have a better understanding of the social land political environment in which Emiratisation initiatives are directed towards Emirati nationals. In particular, it is important to understand women's progression in the economic sphere and the barriers that have constrained their ability to be active participants in the economy.

The previous chapter presented a focused literature study on women's position in the labour market in the MENA and the barriers to women's active economic participation (Krause, 2009; Gray, 2011; Carvalho Pinto, 2012). By providing an overview of the challenges to women's presence in the workforce, the current dynamics that surround this research were highlighted. The purpose of this research was to examine the reasons why and how Emirati nationals, and in particular Emirati women, are addressing contemporary issues such as educational attainment and economic participation in this area. To do this, it was clear that a research methodology pro-

viding a deeper understanding of the Emirati individual experience, informed by theory of Late Rentierism that was advanced by Gray (2011), and following qualitative research methods would be needed (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995; Denzin and Lincoln, 2011). The approach of this research is guided by the theory of Late Rentierism and its focus on the need of a classical rentier state to adapt to the effects of globalisation and the change in employment dynamics (Gray, 2011). Similar to Jillian Schedneck's study on women's agency in the UAE, this research will refer to Hollway's theoretical lens of individual's " investment in certain gender positions" in order to understand the individual's investment in employment opportunities (Hollway, 1984; Schedneck, 2014). This research is guided by the theoretical lens of Gray's Theory of Late Rentiersm and theories of investment and negotiation of gendered roles, and argues that Emiratisation can create some form of agency for women's agency in the UAE (Hollway, 1984; Gray, 2011; Schedneck, 2014).

The research in this thesis is focused on the current status of Emirati nationals in particular Emirati women in the contemporary labour force of the UAE. Recent research has indicated that there is a clear mismatch between skills taught in schools and universities and market needs in the Middle East (UNDP, 2010*a*). The UAE is heavily invested in providing education reform and developing the national workforce (Richards and Waterbury, 2007). Contemporary empirical studies on Emiratisation and the workforce such as Schedneck's in 2013 have emphasised issues such as gender, marriage, and kinship, as having a direct impact on female employment (Schedneck, 2014). Davidson (2008) has highlighted the importance of educational reform across the UAE as effectively increasing the employment levels of nationals as well as enhancing the skills of Emirati students. Also, studies examining Emirati women's challenges in the workforce have also highlighted the constant challenge of cultural inappropriateness for women at work (Shallal, 2011; Carvalho Pinto, 2012). Thus, the research here aims at the newly available business roles for women and traditional family and community constraints across the UAE.

3.1 Primary Research Questions

The primary research questions guiding this research are as follows:

Do Emiratisation initiatives create opportunities for educated women in the UAE workforce?

Has Emiratisation led to some form of agency for Emirati nationals, in particular women, in the UAE labour force?

What are the available work-life balance policies in the UAE, and how do Emirati nationals see these affecting their contribution to the workforce?

3.2   Overview of Qualitative and Quantitative Methodology

The characteristics of qualitative research include several models and paradigms. Denzin and Lincoln (1994) describe the characteristics of qualitative research as follows:

> Qualitative study is multi method in focus, which involves an interpretive, naturalistic approach to its subject matter. Qualitative research involves the studied use and collection of a variety of empirical methods such as interviews, observational interactional and visual texts that describe routine and problematic moments and meanings in individuals' lives (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994, pp. 2).

This research has used semi-structured interviews as the empirical method of gathering data and is interested in the viewpoints and attitudes of the subjects (Denzin and Lincoln, 2011). According to Symon and Cassell (1998), qualitative research covers a wide range of techniques to describe the social world, and seeks to highlight themes that emerge out of the study. For Strauss (1999), qualitative research refers to an empirical inquiry that does not follow any statistical method "or any other means of quantification" to produce its findings (Strauss, 1999, pp. 44). The reason why this research has followed a qualitative approach is because it is trying to understand and situate the structural reasons of university graduates and bankers in order to reflect the diverse backgrounds, aspirations and challenges that effect their career choices. At this juncture, it is important to underline the importance of interviews and observations in local settings that cannot be immediately analyzed, but which require time to be set aside for consideration; in addition the need for taping and

transcription of interviews is essential to the process (Burawoy, 1998). This indeed proved critical to the process of examining the guiding research questions. As was highlighted in chapter 2, the UAE's rentier society is based on a hierarchical relationship between rulers and citizens, which is a result of the allocative nature of the state (Luciani, 1995; Gray, 2011). Therefore, conducting interviews in a controlled environment posited a challenge to the researcher's ability to negotiate power dynamics with participants,and reassure them of the anonymity and confidentiality of the interviews. The sections below discuss the importance of research positionality and its impact on data collection.

3.2.1   Research Positionality

"Reflexivity is self-critical sympathetic introspection and the self-conscious analytical scrutiny of the self as researcher. Indeed reflexivity is critical to the conduct of fieldwork; it induces self-discovery and can lead to insights and new hypotheses about the research questions" (England, 1994, pp. 244).

Reflexivity allows the researcher to effectively understand and analyse participants' behavior while collecting data. As a process of reflection, reflexivity allows the researcher to be introspective as well as to pay attention to issues of language and research community in the research context (England, 1994; Sheridan and Storch, 2009). According to Sheridan and Storch (2009), research undertaken in an international setting is reflexive and critical, which allows the researcher to reflect critically on his/her role as well as upon the research process itself. According to Sheridan and Storch (2009), it is inevitable that recognition of different perspectives will result in various understandings of cultural meanings and experiences; it is important to recognise the heterogeneity of the communities we interact with while conducting research (Spivak, 1988).

It is in this context, that my positionality as researcher can be identified; this includes growing up in the Middle East and being able to speak three languages, which has contributed to the fact that I have become hyper-aware of the heterogeneity of women within a community, and how fluid our subjectivities are in different spaces.

As Iver Neumann states, "A given discourse cannot be entirely detached from all other discourses"(Neumann, 2008, pp. 66). I have come to recognise how significant individual and cultural contexts allow access, rapport, and trust for groups of multilingual female learners. According to Deutsch "We are all multiple insiders and outsiders emphasizing the fluidity of the researcher's positionality" (Deutsch, 1981, pp. 123). Deutsch further argues that the researcher's positionality is a process, and one that allows for ongoing interaction with informants (Deutsch, 1981). Debates that are focused on a researcher's position as insider/outsider have emphasised the importance of considering the researcher's reactions in different cultures (Naples, 1996; Almakhamreh and Hundt, 2012). Academics have debated how the researcher is viewed as either an outsider or insider (Naples, 1996; Gilgun and Abrams, 2002; Blaxter, 2008). I was also able to interpret the Emirati culture, having an understanding of the normative rules of the community which allowed me to create a rapport relatively free from tension, thus contributing to the legitimacy of the research (Agar, 1996). My role as a researcher, and thus an outsider, enabled the informants to ask about my educational background, experiences, and identity, all of which were significant to them.

Recent insider/outsider debates have focused beyond the sex difference of women interviewing men as outsiders to highlight other variables such as education, gender, ethnicity, language and class (Gillham, 2000; Gill and Maclean, 2002). Since this research examines the contemporary UAE environment, it is also important to consider the current socio-political context of the UAE and the MENA region (Naples, 1996). Similar to Al Natour, I argue that there should be a focus on the fluidity of the researcher's position, and that we are always partial in examining our research results (Abu-Lughod, 1998; Joseph, 2000; Adelkhah, 2000; Blaxter, 2008; Al-Natour, 2010). It is also important to consider the impact of the research on the community, that is, by assessing distance/closeness between the researcher and the participant/s, and how it affects the quality of data produced (Gillham, 2000). The assumption being that if the researcher does not share a common gender background with the researched or participants, then it is difficult to gain their trust and extract rich data (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995). Research by female Arab researchers conducting studies in the

Arab World has highlighted the fluidity of their positions as researchers. According to Al Natour and Joseph, Arab women researchers face several challenges such as personal and political ideologies that effect their research findings in the Arab world (Joseph, 2000; Salih, 2003; Al-Natour, 2010). For example, the main barriers identified in qualitative research are factors such as background, gender, age, and political affiliation, all factors that influence the researcher's interaction during interviews (Ahmed et al., 2010). Although the gender of the researcher might prove to be a constraint in settings in some Muslim societies, Abu Lughood argues that her positionality as a female researcher actually facilitated her access to information rather than restricted it (Abu-Lughod, 1998; Jarviluoma et al., 2003; Ahmed et al., 2010).

I argue that my positionality as a female researcher has allowed female participants to share details about their lives and common experiences, with me; additionally, there were also those male researchers who did not feel threatened by me or view me as an outsider, instead choosing to share stories about their families (Oakley, 1981; Finch, 1984; Seikaly, 1997; Abu-Lughod, 1998; Seikaly, 1998; Dahlgren, 2005*b*; Seif, 2005). Therefore, despite the complexity of the researcher/research, this research aims to contribute to the existing literature through the discussions of my own experience in conducting research in the UAE.

The positioning of Arab women studying their indigenous culture, for example, Joseph and Haddad, has highlighted how their gender can restrict their access to information (Torki and El-Solh, 1988; Joseph, 2000). For example, the experiences of Lebanese researchers such as the aforementioned who both conducted studies in Lebanon emphasizing how being female, single or married shaped the way they were seen by others (Torki and El-Solh, 1988; Joseph et al., 2013). In my case, I was situated as both an insider as an Arab researching the contribution of Arabs and specifically Arab women to the workforce, and as an outsider, through being a female in a patriarchal society. My Arab identity influenced the ways Emirati nationals, and students in particular, replied to my request for an interview. The male students at Zayed University refused to participate in my research until I presented my request in person and on campus. This was an example where I was framed as an outsider and shows how the students' feelings about being researched impacted my data

collection.

My experience identified those particulars of my identity such as gender, ethnicity, religion, appearance, age which impacted upon the data collection process and the content. My research method included interviews with local UAE nationals and expatriates. As a non-local, female researcher of Arab descent (specifically, Druze, with a culturally Druze background), some interviews were challenging. In some cases, interviewees talked of the controversy between Islam and tribal culture when they were talking about the East versus the West as though they were responding directly to my "Arabness" and I was granted some form of insider status. In other cases, interviewees positioned me as an outsider, being a female interviewing male students or bankers, who culturally viewed me as subordinate in a patriarchal culture. These were examples of how, in my in my research experiences, I became the 'researched' (Torki and El-Solh, 1988; Al-Natour, 2010; Joseph et al., 2013). In the following section, I will describe the methods used in the research process.

One to one interviews provide the researcher with an effective tool with which to comfortably situate himself/herself with participants. Individual interviews set up a space where participants can be open and interact frankly with the researcher. In this process, respondents are encouraged to pay closer attention to questions, and do not feel restricted to articulating just a few personal thoughts. According to Corbin and Strauss (2008), after recording the interviews, the researcher will have a rich and exclusive collection of data. However, the interview process is affected by the following: the interviewer's race or gender, the respondents' effect where the responses depend on the respondents' backgrounds, and the inability of the interviewer to isolate political, social and economic contexts (Biemer et al., 1991; Burawoy, 1998; Barnum, 2002). As a result of these effects, it is often difficult to replicate interview responses over different periods of time. The methodological approach that the research follows is primarily qualitative and empirical. It is important to look at the UAE because it has initiated the strategy of Emiratisation to encourage Emirati nationals to contribute to the national economy. Additionally, societies in GCC countries remain hugely influenced by traditional and tribal norms. An analysis of the largely traditional society that makes up the UAE, the 2014 Global Gender Gap's second top ranking Arab

country, seeks to establish whether the traditional perception of women and youth influences the progress of this society (Hausmann et al., 2013, 2014).

In 2010, The League of Arab States, The United Nations Economic and Social Council for Western Asia (ESCWA) and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) put forth a Third Millennium Development Goals Report to monitor the situation of women in the development process who were experiencing the wake of a major global economic crisis (UNDP, 2010*b*). The main results of the report show that although there has been varied progress in terms of educational achievement, there has also been limited economic and political participation for women from the MENA region (UN, 2010).

This methodology thus points at an analysis of the interaction between researcher and researched; this allows us to address the emerging themes from the data. In addition, there is an analysis of the content of the interview which produces certain key themes and experiences that may point toward shared or individual experiences within the same education system. For example, participants were introduced to the Global Gender Gap Report and asked to evaluate the UAE's progress in narrowing the gender gap.

3.3   Gender Gap Indexes

The research also refers to the World Economic Forum's Global Gender Gap Reports, which identify the main indexes: educational attainment, political empowerment, economic participation and health and survival (Hausmann et al., 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014). This is further supplemented by data published by OECD, the World Bank (WB) and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), in order to highlight the difference in published data with regards to the indexes provided by these Reports. The participants were asked a range of questions that focused on themes such as work-life balance, day care centres and the notion of flexible work hours, as well as the role of Emiratisation in creating new work opportunities. Participants were also asked about their awareness and involvement with women's associations as well as the existence of role model figures across the UAE. All these themes will be discussed in detail in chapter 4. The following section introduces the main

methods used in this research.

3.4   Describing a Method

This section outlines the method used, while the following sections will discuss the context of the interviews and the way in which the data were collected. The key elements of this method are:

1. The use of qualitative semi structured interviews;

2. A minimum of intervention by the researcher; and

3. Interviews transcribed in detail.

3.4.1   Research Aims

The aim of this research was to collect information about the careers,aspirations, views and experiences of Emirati university graduates about to enter the labour market, and also those employed as bankers, in order to gauge some of the challenges faced by professionals in a sector specifically targeted by the Emiratisation programme. It also aimed to establish job sector preferences by examining familial attitudes and assessing the efficacy of available work-life balance policies. I transcribed a total of 75 interviews, and where needed translated them from Arabic to English.

3.4.2   Potential Impact of Emiratisation

Assessing Emiratisation and the available business roles for women in the UAE has contributed to understanding factors such as: family values, educational attainment, economic need, and the international platforms that impact on opportunities for youth, employment, and available business roles for women (Gray, 2011). A limited body of research on Emiratisation has been further challenged by the limited number of studies that have attempted to identify the perspective of Emirati youth on a variety of different issues (Forstenlechner and Rutledge, 2010; Bunglawla, 2011; Schedneck, 2014). For example, a recent study examined graduates' aspirations and

the diversity of employment in both the UAE and Qatar (Bunglawla, 2011). This study was especially important since both the UAE and Qatar are classified as rentier states, and both are attempting to develop their workforce and promote private sector employment (Bunglawla, 2011; Gray, 2011) .

3.4.3   Secondary Data and Defining the Sectors

Data collected from Tanmia, the Emirates Foundation, the Tawteen Council, and the Supreme Council for Higher Education has served to identify the various Emiratisation initiatives. The official website of the Abu Dhabi Tawteen Council lists the various government graduate training programs, while Tanmia's website highlights projects and initiatives across the UAE, offering statistics on job seekers in the UAE and on Emiratisation schemes.[1] The following are examples of information posted on Tanmia's website:

> The Council of Ministers issued Cabinet Resolution No (259/1) for the
> year 2004, on promoting the participation of UAE Nationals in the private
> sector, and Cabinet Resolution No (10) of 1998, which required banks
> operating in UAE to employ Nationals at a rate of 4 percent annually.

According to the Cabinet Resolution No (43) for the year 2005, on employment quota system in the banking sector, Tanmia is entrusted to follow-up Emiratisation progress in this important sector. Tanmia, in cooperation with the Central Bank, collects and updates information related to Emiratisation of banks operating in the country.

3.5   Defining the Sectors

I refer to the public sector as the government sector encompassing municipalities and various government entities. In the context of the UAE, there is also a sector referred to as semi-public or semi-government. This sector encompasses organisations

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[1]https://www.tanmia.ae/English/ResearchandLaborMarket/Pages/EmiritisationMonitor.aspx

such as Masdar[2], Mubadala[3] Emirates Airlines and the national banking industry. The board of trustees or the owners of these organisations are part of the government, but the structure of each entity is similar to that in the private sector i.e. the rules and regulations of the organisation are set by the government.[4] The private sector includes foreign banks, foreign universities, insurance companies and media companies. For the sake of simplicity, I refer to both the semi-government and private sector as the private sector unless stated otherwise. The next section addresses the data collection method across different research sites within the UAE.

3.6   Data Collection

The use of semi structured interviews allowed me to collect data and identify individual as well as group experiences. In the analysis of my interview data, I addressed several themes, organising them accordingly in detail in the following chapter. Data collected and analysed in interviews has usually been recorded. The most common recording techniques being: process recording, audio recording or video recording. Then, the recording is transcribed and transformed into text. Once the data for this research was collected and transcribed, thematic analysis was used to identify and analyze the data. A theme is a "patterned response or meaning within the dataset" (Braun and Clarke, 2006, pp. 82). According to Patton, "the significance of a theme is based on it being of substantive significance and not based on its frequency" (Patton, 2001, pp. 467). Substantive significance refers to both "the consistency of theme across and within study participants and when findings deepen the understanding of current knowledge" (Longhofer et al., 2013, pp. 48).

Limitations of thematic coding include confirmation of identical themes in an identical study, and confidence in the nature of the coding system. In this study, a pilot was followed to identify the main themes that were then confirmed across the study. Once a patterned response was identified, it provided the "building blocks

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[2]Masdar is Abu Dhabi's multi-faceted renewable energy company with a mission to invest, incubate and establish a commercially viable new-energy industry in Abu Dhabi and around the world.http://www.mubadala.com/en/who-we-are/businessunit/masdar

[3]In 2002, Mubadala was established by the Government of Abu Dhabi as a main organisation for developing the diversification of Abu Dhabi's economy,http://www.mubadala.com/

[4] According to the OECD glossary, the private sector includes private corporations, households and non-profit institutions serving households.http://stats.oecd.org/glossary/detail.asp?ID=2130

for situating the research aim inside a larger, stratified, practice reality" (Longhofer et al., 2013, pp. 48). The first step was to code the data. This consisted of reading the entire interview transcript and identifying all quotations that referred to the research questions. Then each quotation was identified by a code which was created by some of the respondents' actual words. Deriving the codes from respondent words is called descriptive or in-vivo coding (Longhofer et al., 2013). Thus, a descriptive code is an emerging theme. For example, descriptive coding sorts the identified possible reasons for job sector preference into similar categories, and by comparing the contents of each response the research aims to understand the different employment preferences. Open ended questions were used "to minimise the effects of asking respondents leading questions" (Longhofer et al., 2013, pp. 68). Instead of asking, "What is the efficacy of Emiratisation?" which would presuppose its effectiveness, respondents were asked, "What is the role of Emiratisation?"

I met with students in an allocated office on the appropriate university campus. I also met with bankers (in private) at their place of work, either at the banks' headquarter offices or in an allocated office at one of the various bank branches. Each interview lasted on average 45 minutes. All respondents agreed for their interview to be taped, although there were some incidents where I had to switch off the tape recorder and take hand-written notes. The interviews took place at the American University of Sharjah (AUS) in November 2011 and Zayed University (ZU) in Abu Dhabi in May 2012. The interviews at FGB and ENBD took place in November 2012 in Dubai and Abu Dhabi. In the next section, I provide a brief description of the universities that provided me with the contributors to my research study to and where the interviews took place.

3.7   Description of Universities

3.7.1   American University of Sharjah (AUS)

The American University of Sharjah (AUS) is accessed via one major gate that leads onto wide marbled steps that glitter in the sun. The university grounds are wide-spread and the buildings differ in style, from the traditional Arab Architecture

Figure 3.1: Student life at AUS.

Source: American University of Sharjah (AUS) Main Website (2014a)

Figure 3.2: Student life at AUS.

Source:American University of Sharjah (AUS) Main Website (2014b)

of the modern business school, all red paint and glass, to the more marbled ornateness of the buildings that surround it. The grounds are full of palm trees and there are beautiful gardens. From afar, the main entrance leading to the university has a sense of grandiosity that reminds me of the Champs-Elyses or Versailles in France. AUS is composed of the College of Arts and Sciences, the College of Engineering, the College of Architecture, Art and Design and the School of Business and Management (Please refer to Appendix A).

3.7.1.1   Student life at AUS

The AUS campus is very self-sufficient. It has two supermarkets, a lively student centre with comfortable couches, a bowling alley and billiard tables. Both male and female students interact freely, although the smoking room seems predominantly filled with male students. The student population is diverse, and female students wear the traditional Emirati Abbaya or contemporary fashion i.e. jeans and dresses. Similarly, some male students wear the traditional Kandoora (the traditional white ankle length white shirt accompanied by a white headscarf/turban),with others don-

Figure 3.3: Map of ZU.

Source: Zayed University (ZU) Main Website (2014c)

Figure 3.4: Student life at ZU.
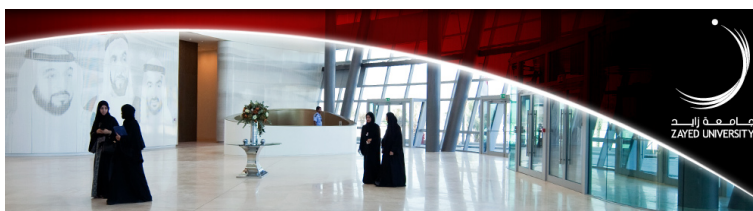
Source: Zayed University (ZU) Main Website (2014b)

Figure 3.5: Student life at ZU.

Source: Zayed University (ZU) Main Website (2014a)

ning modern attire, as seen in the pictures above. Overall then there is a mix of traditional and modern styles of dress on campus and a strong sense of community within the university. Additionally, most of the students were very receptive to participating in research and were willing to adjust their schedules to participate in the interviews. What was especially noticeable to me though, was the high level of security on campus, with guards stationed at each entry gate.

3.7.2 Zayed University in Abu Dhabi (ZU)

The new ZU campus is situated in Khalifa City, Abu Dhabi. The campus is divided into two parts, for male and female students. There are several gates to negoti-

ate before you can enter the campus, which is under tight security. No one is allowed to enter the faculty or teaching buildings without a smart card, and no-one is allowed onto the campus without first obtaining security clearance.

On the female campus, the classrooms are well equipped with smart boards, LCD monitors and digital clocks. The main area has several coffee bars and restaurants where female students can interact with each other. As for the male campus, this is very similar to the female campus, equipped with similar coffee shops, a food hall and entertainment facilities. ZU has five colleges: the College of Arts and Sciences, the College of Business Studies, the College of Communication and Media Sciences, the College of Education and the College of Information Technology. Both institutes offer higher education degrees across a wide range of subject areas (Please refer to Appendix B).

3.7.2.1 Dress code at ZU

Almost all of the female student population wears the Abbaya or Hijab, which is accompanied by a range of accessories. Most of the male students wear the traditional Kandoora (the traditional ankle length white shirt)with an accompanying white headscarf/turban. I selected the American University of Sharjah (AUS) and Zayed University (ZU) as my main research sites because AUS is a coeducational institute and ZU has segregated campuses. I believed it would be interesting to compare if the level of interaction between male and female students across these sites affects their sector preference or impacts on their views on traditional subjects such as family constraints or indeed what is allowable for a woman. The next section addresses the sample selection across students, bankers and managers.

3.8 Sample Selection

The research investigated the link between the family, and the community values that underpin women's access to education and employment in the UAE, considering the ascribed traditional roles for women and men in the Emirati community, and the implementation of Emiratisation. In establishing the context of the research,

the data collection used semi structured qualitative interviews. Open-ended interview questions enabled me to establish the overall preferences of work environment for graduates and employees, and the distribution of male and female employees in selected private and public sector settings. For ZU, social media was used, with students referring me to other potential participants through the use of social networks. They used phones such as blackberrys or iPhones to access social groups; pasting the email that was sent out to their university email account. However, only one student responded as a result of these networks.

In order to gain an insight into the career aspirations of Emirati university students, mainly from Abu Dhabi, Dubai and Sharjah, a total of 40 face-to-face interviews were conducted. I contacted the American University of Sharjah through the Admissions Office, as well as the Head of the Alumni Society (Refer to Appendix A). The students from AUS were contacted via email requesting their willingness to participate in the study. Based on the response rate, I identified ten male students and ten female students with whom to conduct interviews on campus. ZU (Refer to Appendix B) was also contacted in a similar way; 20 students were selected according to the same gender, age, and nationality and subject criteria as the AUS sample. The students had to be Emirati nationals, aged 22-24, and in their final year at university. I selected the interviewees based on the first reply from each school at both universities. The male response rate at ZU was not high and I had to use social media to generate an interview with one male respondent so as to gather together the same number of interviews with male students at both universities.

I was in contact with the Graduate Facilities Officer from the female campus at ZU, who helped me familiarise myself with the campus, also sending out an official email request to female students across all departments to participate in the research. Since ZU has segregated campuses, I was in contact with the male campus through the Student Success Specialist, who sent out an official email request to male graduates across all departments. I obtained 20 responses. Again the use of gatekeepers proved essential in familiarizing myself with students, whilst allowing me unsupervised access to both campuses where I could talk to students and observe their daily interactions (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995).

3.8.1   Language and Interpretation

The participants were given the option of conducting the interview in either Arabic or English. Since I am fluent in both languages, there was no need for an interpreter. Thus, the empirical insights obtained from the fieldwork interviews did not need to be deciphered, indeed, the presence of an interpreter would have influenced the dynamic between the researcher and the respondents (Young and Ackerman, 2001). Since perceptions of social reality and constructions of meaning are referenced by the researcher's own understanding of concepts and issues - as filtered through my own experiences - my role as a researcher went beyond literal translation and the act of linguistic interpretation; instead it allowed me to steer away from the introduction of an interpreter, and the imposed understanding of experiences. Rather, I was active in the process, that is, in the way I represented the informants in both Arabic and English (Young and Ackerman, 2001).

It follows that the relationship between the researcher and the interpreter is a complex negotiation of meaning embedded in personal and professional positionalities (Hopkins, 2007). Certainly, in this research I think that a combination of age, gender and ethnicity allowed me to gather information that might not have been given freely in most cases. For example, senior managers expressed their opinions openly and discussed sensitive issues regarding university curricula and recruitment procedures at banks, although most researchers have stressed the difficulty in obtaining recent statistics and data and were restricted to available information on the various government portals such as the UAE Statistics Bureau and the UAE Yearbook (Davidson, 2008; Krause, 2009; Moghadam, 2013; Darhour and Dahlerup, 2013). In order to manage the data I used the data offered by The Global Gender Gap Report as the baseline to avoid any inconsistencies and to manage the data irrespective of limitations (Hausmann et al., 2014). Similar to England (1994) in terms of field research, being seen as a non-threatening female subject allowed the male respondents to talk freely about different subject matters. They did not foresee a power hierarchy that would create a distance between the interviewer and the interviewee. This experience reflects Linda McDowell's assertion that because of the way women may be perceived by men, then interviews are often seen as "unthreatening or not official, confidential documents

are often made accessible, or difficult issues broached relatively freely" (England, 1994, pp. 248-249). According to Oakley (1981), when females interview male elites, a process of empowerment arises. It is important that this research has taken issues of reliability into consideration. Elite interviews help shed light on the reconstruction of government decision making processes, taking into consideration the limited information available on the formulation and readjustment of Emiratisation initiatives (Davies, 2001).

Given that this research examined the economic culture of the UAE alongside its educational and employment cultures, it is important to situate the analysis of UAE within the context of economic diversification and non-energy related employment; this is in order to identify potential employment opportunities for Emirati nationals. The research approached the UAE's economic culture as the driver for change in institutions, and in the context of the research, power relations between the researcher and the researcher's subjects were identified. Therefore, the interactions could have taken place in different ways, depending on the age, gender, education, political and religious affiliations or ethnic origins of the two parties. These factors can be seen as playing a role in influencing the power relations between researcher and respondents (Davies, 2001).

The rationale for conducting qualitative interviews across the United Arab Emirates (Dubai and Abu Dhabi) lay in the emphasis of the practical implications of female mobilization for the labour market in the UAE as well as in the MENA region more generally (Davies, 2001; Schedneck, 2014). That is, female mobilization referring to a woman's ability to work in a different city or a different country (Krause, 2008; Schedneck, 2014). It is important to acquire a cultural and temporal understanding of the reasons and strategies that effect women's opportunities in the workforce, and the heterogeneity of women's needs, including class or tribe. The next section explores the methodological limitations of the research (Davies, 2001; Krause, 2008).

3.8.2   Limitations of the Scope of Interviews

A methodological drawback of interview results is that self-reported data is limited by the fact that it can rarely be independently verified. Indeed, I had to take

what people said in interviews at face value. Also, there is a potential for bias in reporting data, for example, respondents' selective memory in recalling events at a different time than the original and embellishing events (Feldman et al., 2003).

Most students at AUS were from Abu Dhabi, Dubai and Sharjah while students at ZU were mostly from Abu Dhabi. Therefore the sample was not representative of the seven emirates that make up the UAE. Unfortunately, I could not get enough students from the Northern emirates to participate and thus encompass more diverse experiences across the UAE. Another potential limitation to interview results is the absence of valid responses, for they are based on the participants' personal experiences and aspirations. The university careers office was only able to provide data on some alumni careers, so it is unlikely to offer legitimate validation in the absence of available statistics.

Male students were initially unresponsive to the email request that was sent out by the university. After a second email was sent out, I attended several classes as a visiting researcher and introducing myself as a PhD student at the University of Cambridge, and describing my project using the same information that was sent out in the email request. I had to use word of mouth networking in order to make contact with Emirati male students, an approach that was highly recommended by the student advisor on the male campus at ZU. After a second email request was sent out to final year undergraduates on the male campus, I received 23 email replies agreeing to participate in the research. A limitation was that I could not get a representative sample of male undergraduates from every department due to the small sample size and limited interest in participating in the research.

3.8.3   The Limitations of University Gatekeepers

The methodological problems with using gatekeepers relates to questions of power occurring in the relationship between researcher and research subjects. This issue highlights potential status inequalities between gatekeepers, researchers and 'the researched', especially in the case of young people. This status inequality might develop as a result of the dependence of the research on gaining access to institutional settings such as universities, thus depending on the approval of institutional

gatekeepers, in this case at AUS and ZU (Morrow and Richards, 1996). There are a number of reasons for this. According to Young, researchers and informants are positioned differently which leads to different ways of describing experiences (Young, 1997). An example of methodological limitation in educational institutions, the role of research boards of universities is to evaluate the competence of older age groups to participate in a research project (James et al., 1998; David et al., 2001). In the case of this research, it was imperative for me to apply for the process of ethical approval for this research in order to gain access to participants. Both universities addressed the issue of informed consent which allowed each potential research participant to be aware of the project description, assessing the impact of research participation.

3.9   Bankers

In order to examine the success and challenges of the implementation of Emiratisation, the banking sector was chosen as it is directly affected by Emiratisation recruitment quotas. It was hoped that interviewing employees who were directly or indirectly affected by Emiratisation would provide valuable insights into the implementation process. The two banks that were contacted to be a part of the research were the First Gulf Bank (FGB) and the Emirates National Bank of Dubai (ENBD). (Please refer to Appendix E and Appendix F). The Human Resources Department and the Emiratisation Offices at both banks were contacted via an official email that described the project and included a request to interview approximately 20 Emirati employees across different pay grades.

According to Ahmad Humaid Al Tayer, Governor of the Dubai International Financial Centre and Chairman of the Human Resources Development Committee for the Banking and Financial Sector, "The rate of Emiratisation in the banks reached 34.4 percent in 2009"(Al Baik, 2010). Consequently, I also selected the banking sector in order to represent the private sector in the United Arab Emirates. More specifically, I chose the First Gulf Bank (FGB)(FGB, 2012) from the UAE as well as the Emirates National Bank of Dubai (ENBD)(ENBD, 2012) because these banks introduced Emiratisation initiatives (Please refer to Appendix F). FGB and ENBD have both emphasised their commitment to integrating the talent of the local workforce through the

introduction of Emiratisation programmes, such as Emirati graduate programmes or part-time work that offers flexible opportunities for students, thus contributing to employee talent building (ENBD, 2012; FGB, 2012). The next section explores the method used to contact participants across both banks.

3.9.1 FGB

The email request for an interview was sent by an officer in the Human Resources Department to two sites in Dubai; administration headquarters and the main branch. I received 20 replies. I wanted to gain access to entry level employees, middle level employees and senior managers. Two senior managers agreed to be interviewed, and eight entry level employees who were part of the Nujoom program were enthusiastic about the interview. Two middle level employees also agreed to take part. Fifteen employees agreed to be interviewed. Seven of these were interviewed at an office in the main branch, while eight were interviewed in an allocated office at headquarters.

3.9.2 ENBD

Similar to FGB, The interview request was sent via email from the Human Resource Department. I received 18 email replies. Eight senior department managers agreed to be interviewed, while six middle level employees were enthusiastic about being part of the research, along with four entry level employees. In order to obtain a more representative sample, I had to choose only four of the senior department managers and the selection was random. I selected the first four chronological responses, taking into consideration the need to include an equal number of both sexes in the sample.

Once my request to conduct interviews with Emirati employees was approved by the ENBD Human Resource Department, I was put in contact with the ENBD Human Resource Officer who sent out the email request for Emirati employees at ENBD headquarters, one ENBD branch in Abu Dhabi, and amongst Emirati graduates who were part of the Nujoom program. Subsequently, 15 employees agreed to be interviewed. These consisted of four employees from FGB headquarters, four from the Abu Dhabi branch and seven from the Nujoom Program. A total of 30 interviews

were thus conducted with male and female employees across all levels at both banks.

3.10 Scope of Interviews with Bankers

The research interviews focused on the banking sector only in order to fully evaluate the Emiratisation policy. However, by doing so, it may suggest that the diverse experiences of women across the Northern emirates, as opposed to women living in the emirates of Dubai, Abu Dhabi and Sharjah, were not able to be fully investigated (Denzin and Lincoln, 2011).

The main limitation was that the interviews only assessed the views and attitudes of men and women of the middle and upper classes, and who had had the opportunity of receiving a higher education degree. In addition, the research took place across the Emirates of Dubai, Abu Dhabi and Sharjah. Therefore, the sample was not a typical representation of bankers across the UAE. The lack of up-to-date statistics regarding employment, education and unpublished government reports limited the initial assessments of the UAE's socio-economic situation. Given that I could not gain access to bank employees and carry out fieldwork, I felt that I had to work within the time frame constraints imposed by the banks. For example, I was not able to conduct interviews across several bank branches within the UAE. Also, whilst the email was sent out by human resources departments, it was imperative that the employees were aware that they had a choice as to whether to participate or not, understanding that saying 'no' did not reflect negatively on their work assessments.

3.10.1 Criteria for Sample Selection

There were four criteria for identifying the sample. The first was that all respondents were Emirati nationals holding a university degree. The second was to ensure that employees across different pay grades were represented. The third criterion was that all employees were full time bank employees. Finally, the fourth was to obtain a mix of male and female respondents. It was important that all respondents were Emirati nationals so as to assess the efficacy of the implementation of Emiratisation at the banks and to examine whether it (Emiratisation) had impacted upon the em-

ployee's choice of employment. Interviewing employees across different departments was an attempt to capture a snapshot of the experiences employees had with their managers and colleagues. Full time female employees who were married with children contributed to the gathering of information about the importance of having a day crche at the bank. Finally, the research attempted to gain an equal representation of both male and female employees so as to offer a comparative aspect regarding employment choices and the work-life balance needs of male and female employees.

3.11   Elite Sampling

According to Richards, elites can be defined as "a group of individuals, who hold, or have held, a privileged position in society and, as such, as far as a political scientist is concerned, are likely to have had more influence on political outcomes than general members of the public"(Richards, 1996, pp.199). The third tier of interviews involved the process of interviewing policy makers. This process utilised an elite sampling method, allowing the researcher to examine the relationship between elites and society and the impact of their decision making on the social characteristics of the elite, offering possible indicators of social change and vice versa. Another thread explored by elite sampling is the relationship between elites and non-elites in society.

The method of carrying out elite interviews is different from that of implementing traditional qualitative interviews (Richards, 1996). The core of this process rests on the interviewer's ability to persuade the interviewee to participate, instead of targeting a random sample (Tansey, 2007). In this study, elite interviewing was chosen since the elites served as experts on Emiratisation and higher education in the UAE. It is important to highlight that it was very difficult to contact and gain access to these elites and then conduct an interview. Elites are difficult to access for interview (Richards, 1996; Tansey, 2007). Four interview requests out of nine went unanswered. This demonstrates how difficult it is to gather information and gain access to decision making policy formulation in the region that is able to "shed light on the hidden elements of political action that are not clear from an analysis of political outcomes or other primary sources"(Tansey, 2007, pp. 767). In this case, I was eventually able to conduct five interviews and these were of particular value in providing an insight

into policy design and the views of elite leaders.

To date, little research has been conducted on the subject of this thesis, especially when trying to incorporate the views of the elite while advancing a gender perspective within a traditional rentier mentality (Kelly, 2009; Bunglawla, 2011; Gray, 2011; Schedneck, 2014). I am especially interested in the attitudes and beliefs that guide elite decision making, and how these shed light on the process of policy design in the UAE. Issues of power dynamics in elite interview situations refer to the subordinate position of the interviewer, in this case a young PhD student vis a vis a high ranking policy maker, often directly connected to the ruling family (Tansey, 2007). The assumption of power dynamics surrounding elite interviewing is that elites might take control of the interview process; however I was able to keep the interview focused upon the interviewee and within the set time frame, ensuring their anonymity and communicating in their preferred language, either Arabic or English (Moyser and Wagstaffe, 1987). The final section addresses the process of obtaining ethical approval for the research from the University of Cambridge.

3.11.1 Informed Consent and Ethical Approval

The ethical approval for this research was approved by the ethical board of the Geography department at the University of Cambridge, and to which the Centre for Gender Studies is attached. In addition, an informed consent letter was approved by the ethics committee to ensure that all participants consented to participate in the research. (See Appendix G) The interviews were strictly anonymous. The questions were arranged in a logical sequence using a funnel approach to link information about receiving education to more sensitive issues such as state policies. Any possible linguistic difficulties that might have arisen in such an investigation were not a limitation in this study, as respondents had the option of conducting the interview in either Arabic or English. The interviews included ID codes to maintain the anonymity of the respondents as well as indicate their educational background and social status.

3.11.2   Ethical Approval at AUS

At AUS, the research had to undergo International Review Board (IRB) approval. The research had to be reviewed to ensure that it met the ethical and legal responsibility of protecting the human subjects participating in the research. The application was submitted through the Office of Research and Graduate Studies at AUS (Refer to Appendix C). The application consisted of filling out the IRB application form and attaching the relevant documents. The items included in the application were: the Research Proposal and Summary, Consent Form and Interview guide or 'aide memoire'. After the research received IRB approval, the university provided me with contact email addresses for senior students across the business and humanities departments, as well as the engineering and chemistry departments. Whilst locating the sample group at AUS, I was in contact with the Director of the Administration Office of Development and Alumni Affairs. The Director facilitated my request to contact senior students across all disciplines. An email was also sent to final year undergraduates at the College of Arts and Sciences, College of Engineering and the School of Business and Management. As the research sample consisted of young graduates, I had to apply for ethical approval from both universities.

3.11.3   Ethical Approval at ZU

I had to apply for ethical clearance at Zayed University. As stated in the ZU ethical clearance document:

> "All researchers wishing to conduct research in the Emirate of Abu Dhabi, or collaborating with researchers in the Emirate of Abu Dhabi, should familiarise themselves with the Health Authority Abu Dhabi (HAAD) Human Subjects Research Policy and Institutional Licensing Policy. These policies clearly detailed requirements for the conduct of human subjects' research and the possible sanctions for non-compliance."

At ZU, I submitted a form for an exemption from full ethical clearance (Refer to Appendix D). All the relevant documents were attached including the research proposal and summary, consent form and aide memoire.

3.11.4   Pilot Aide Memoire

The logistics of this qualitative research involved interviews with recruitment managers and women activists during preliminary field research visits to the UAE. I met with recruitment managers at an international law firm, two multinational companies and a small sized enterprise. All companies were operational in the UAE. This information, alongside observations made whilst in the UAE, and my attendance at conferences aimed specifically at women's economic participation in the Arab world served to form the content of the aide memoire. (Refer to Appendix H) I tested the aide memoire by interviewing three respondents: two recent university graduates and a bank employee. This served to help me manage the qualitative data and fine tune the questions. The pilot interviews were not included in the final sample. To have an understanding of student structure at the university, I met with the heads of several departments across the different AUS colleges. I met with the heads of the Chemistry Department, Engineering Department, Management Department and the English Department. Two initial questions were changed. The first question had been: "Which employment sector do you prefer and why?", but after a few discussions, I decided it was better to frame it as a more open ended question: "What are your plans at work? (occupation? family? geographical location?)" This allowed the interviewee to discuss the reason for their sector preference in more detail. The second question was slightly changed had been "[If in paid employment] what new policies do you think would be helpful in achieving your professional goals?" However, after meeting with the recruitment managers, I decided to add "(In particular, balancing work and home life)" to highlight the attitudes of employees towards the notion of a work-life balance.

3.11.5   Aide Memoire

I used semi structured interviews with the guidance of the aide memoire. The rationale for using semi structured interviews is that people can refer to their personal experiences, relating to their own background (i.e. family, emirate), thus considering their contribution and investing in their answers. The aide memoire was divided into three sets of questions. The first part identified the background details

and information regarding marriage and family prospects. The second part focused on Emiratisation, with the questions attempting to identify respondents' definition of Emiratisation and its efficacy as a policy. The third part referred to the Global Gender Gap Reports which were used to initiate discussion about causes for the presence of women in the economy and the changing employment demographic. The fourth set of questions focused on the concept of a work-life balance and the available business roles for women and the working environment, helping to investigate the policies available for accommodating the influx of women in the workforce (Hausmann et al., 2011, 2012, 2013). These questions are contextualised in the next section. It is worth noting that all interviewees were enthusiastic about the issues under discussion, especially since they were related to the progress of their country and the encouragement of native Emirati women. This chapter has thus emphasised the methods used in collecting data for this thesis.

3.12   Conclusion

My aim was to collect information about the career aspirations of students as well as bank employees in the UAE. I carried out extensive confidential discussions with supervisors in an effort to make sense of the unpredictable and challenging predicaments that might arise in the research findings. I also acknowledged the fluidity of the insider/outsider positions that I was exposed to during my research (Naples, 1996; Blaxter, 2008; Almakhamreh and Hundt, 2012).

In addition, the collected views looked at whether female graduates had a preference towards either the public or private sectors in terms of employment. It is important to note that these data were not reflective of the four institutions but are instead a means to generate themes for discussion in my wider analysis of the topic. The research attempted to assess the theoretical implications relating to the increased presence of women in the workforce, and carry out an analysis of Emiratisation, highlighting the potential change to the classical state-society framework, and the needs of women in the national workforce. The next chapter sets out the results and analysis of the qualitative interviews.

Chapter 4

Qualitative Interviews and Discussion

This research involved interviewing graduating Emirati students, bank employees and policymakers across the UAE. A total of 75 interviews were conducted with male and female respondents. The topics that were discussed were divided into four main broad categories; job sector preference; effectiveness of Emiratisation; challenges to Emiratisation, and achieving work-life balance in the desired career path. The analysis of these interviews revealed six main themes. Using the theoretical lens of Gray's Late Rentierism theory, and the gendered positions of women in the labour market in the MENA region, this chapter examines the application of late rentierism in the current UAE workforce (Hollway, 1984; Gray, 2011). The use of qualitative interviewing allowed for emerging themes to provide a more thorough understanding of the viability of Emiratisation, and the factors that affect women's effective to the globalised economy of the UAE.

Many respondents felt that in order for them to realise their negotiation potential, role models and mentorship were essential, helping Emirati women to in reality face fewer barriers, especially in the work offered by the government (Davidson, 2005; Gray, 2011). Most of the Emirati students said that despite the introduction of Emiratisation initiatives, the government's role remains insufficient. Over a short period of time, the UAE and other GCC states have been exposed to socio-economic changes leading to generational disconnect between the younger and the traditional Emirati

society, mainly due to globalised education and material benefits (Kelly, 2009; Gray, 2011; Moghadam, 2013). According to a recent study by Bunglawla, educational attainment has allowed Emirati nationals to form new perspectives on issues such as career aspirations and marriage, creating a struggle to balance the traditional values upheld in the UAE with the values imported through an expatriate globalised society (Bunglawla, 2011).

The issue of youth unemployment in the MENA region is a major challenge that was highlighted during the recent Arab movements that started in 2011 (AlMunajjad and Sabbagh, 2011). In addition, job creation can be considered one of the most significant issues, having a direct impact on the social and economic paradigm shifts in the Arab world (Hausmann et al., 2013, 2014). To that extent, Hausmann et al. (2014) stressed that educational attainment for both Emirati men and women was almost at 100 percent. The next section focuses on emerging themes of this research. I attempt to understand the reasons why Emiratis are now taking up positions in the private sector, as well as what form of agency Emiratisation offers to Emirati nationals.

4.1 Emerging Themes

4.1.1 Job Sector Preference

In order to investigate the job sector preference of students, I asked respondents about their ideal sector preference. I asked two questions that helped me better understand their sector preference "What are your plans at work? (Occupation? Family? Geographical location?) and "Where do you see yourself in ten years? A 22 year old female respondent from a conservative family in the emirate of Sharjah, who is undertaking a business degree at the American University of Sharjah, stated that it is difficult for her to be independent and pursue a higher education without her father or future guardians approval.

> "Work is usually dull and I am afraid to work. I really want to work
> with Emirates [government owned national airline] since have interned
> with Emirates but I would rather continue with my studies. If I travel

abroad to continue my Masters degree I would have to be accompanied
by my mother or father and this is the main issue. But, if I get married,
then I can travel with my husband." (Interview 14, female, 22, AUS,
business, Abu Dhabi)

Most students spoke about the existing level of trust between them and their families who encourage traditional family values. One of the main factors that Emirati students described was their apprehensiveness towards being judged if they decided to break that trust and engage in independent non-family related work or if female students act without male guardianship. The overwhelming response from students showed that they sought career advice from their fathers and their families. Some explained that the dominant role of their fathers has had an effect on women's career preference. This thesis argues that there has been a gradual change in traditional Emirati employment due to increased educational attainment, and the willingness of Emirati nationals to take up new positions in the private sector. This can be further explained by a young male Emirati student, who said that his father expected him to take over the family business, and thus he was under a lot of pressure to fulfill his familial expectations.

"The decision is not up to me, for naturally I am expected to work at
my father's company as soon as I graduate. But, I may work in the private
sector to gain some experience and then join my father's company. As a
student and from what I have heard, I would rather find a good position
in the public sector for, personally, I do not think the private sector offers
better or even good job opportunities." (Interview 17, male, 21, AUS,
sciences, Abu Dhabi)

The students stated that it was important to portray themselves as supportive of their fathers guidance rather than confrontational. Most of the students, both male and female, stated that they were either training to take over the family business or following a career path suggested by their father. The increase in educational attainment for Emirati youth does not necessarily translate to job attainment in the formal sector. Although the public sector has been the employment sector of choice

for Emirati nationals, the over saturation of the public sector emphasises the reality of creating new job opportunities to absorb this new generation of job seekers. Participants were therefore aware that the Emirati government is attempting to introduce a more progressive approach to employment, especially Emirati women in the workforce.

4.2   Work Aspirations

Respondents were asked about their work aspirations. More specifically, I wanted to look at the benefits provided by both working environments, public and private. Twenty-two out of 40 students preferred public sector employment (11 females and 11 males). The most common reason stated was the importance of the benefits offered by the public sector in the UAE:

A male undergraduate explained that some companies in the UAE offer scholarship to undergraduate students. His parents were facing financial difficulties and could not afford to enrol him at AUS. However, when he was interning at the Abu Dhabi Water and Electricity Company they offered him a scholarship as well as future work once he had graduated.

> "I was lucky when the Abu Dhabi Water and Electricity Company offered me a scholarship to the American University of Sharjah on the condition that I work with them after I graduate. This would give me the opportunity to get the right experience and a chance to be promoted within this company. I also think I will have a better chance to get promoted there." (Interview 18, male, 22, AUS, sciences, Dubai)

> "The dominant mentality in the UAE is that women should get married and take care of their children. The vision of our ruler stated that women cannot operate heavy duty jobs in the oil and energy sector, but they will be given the opportunity to work in the public sector to fulfill their ambitions or needs. That is why in my opinion women prefer usually working in the public sector." (Interview 34, female, 22, ZU, sciences, Abu Dhabi)

Similarly, another female undergraduate at the AUS stressed that her family relied on the state's provision of public sector employment. Her father had always told her that the private sector did not secure permanent employment. She said:

> "Of course I would work in the public sector. The salary and job promotion are guaranteed since the public sector is controlled by the government but, unfortunately, this is not the case for nothing is guaranteed across private sector employment."(Interview 21, female, 22, AUS, business, Abu Dhabi)

Both students and bankers agreed that questions about job sector preference are necessary to compare the promised benefits for Emirati citizens in the public and private sectors. This issue was widely discussed, specifically in terms of families' eagerness for their daughters to work in the public sector. Similar to Gallant's research, women have had few opportunities in the workforce as a result of the dominant patriarchal culture within the UAE (Gallant, 2008). The respondents explained that the lack of opportunities has limited their options in the private sector. In contrast, some explained how Emirati families encouraged their daughters to enter the public sector since it offered flexible hours and would allow them to spend more time with their families:

A female respondent at ZU stressed that her family was very traditional and she needed her father's approval before deciding on any employment opportunity.

> "My father would disapprove of me working in the private sector. He would definitely not allow me to work in the private sector, but would encourage me to work in the public sector." (Interview 22, female, 20, ZU, Dubai)

A respondent with three older sisters said that her father was very traditional and not supportive of her sisters gaining an education, instead stressing the importance of marriage. Yet, she stressed that her father has recently encouraged her to pursue a higher education degree on the condition that she would only work in the public sector.

"When the government introduced incentives, more women were en-
couraged to work in the public sector. Ten years ago, the concept of
women working outside the house was considered a social taboo. But,
nowadays, families encourage women to work in the public sector because
it offers good wages, flexible holidays and segregated work sections." (In-
terview 8, female, 20, AUS, business, Sharjah)

The above answers stress the influence of the dominant conservative attitudes to-
wards women's economic role. It is apparent that women in the workforce still face
social constraints trying to juggle career and family. Women continue to struggle, fac-
ing the challenges of being responsible for running their households and undertaking
family duties, as well as the additional stress of dealing with work responsibilities.
In this respect, the negotiations that are currently occurring in the Emirati workforce
underline the importance of going beyond a binary analysis of oppressed/oppressor
to understand the Emirati women's negotiation process and their entry into the work-
force (Hollway, 1984). In addition, the notion of neopatriarchy and the current policy
legislation are critical to understand in order to indicate the path to be followed in
response to women's experiences in the workforce (Sharabi, 1988). This thesis ar-
gues that the social and material benefits offered by rentierism are insufficient in
addressing dynamic gender roles in the Emirati workforce. In the case of the UAE,
policy changes directed toward the mobilisation of Emirati nationals are a result of
government policies such as Emiratisation (Gray, 2011; Carvalho Pinto, 2012). When
respondents were asked to identify the main challenges to their presence in the pri-
vate workforce, they mainly emphasised that the competitive environment, including
the salaries offered, did not provide them with secure employment:

"After comparing the salary offered in the UAE and other Gulf States,
I think it is better and more comfortable for me to work in the UAE.
(Interview 18, male, 22, AUS, sciences, Dubai) "I would prefer working in
the public sector. I would only consider the private sector to gain enough
experience." (Interview 1, male, 21, AUS, business, Abu Dhabi)

"I am planning to enter the public sector because it offers a better

compensation package and it has better flexible working hours especially

in Sharjah." (Interview 20, female, 22, sciences, Sharjah)

For example, in 2009, the participation rate of the female labour force in the UAE aged 15+ was 40 percent, while the male labour force participation rate for the same age stood at 90 percent (UAE National Bureau of Statistics, 2009). To better contextualise the above examples, a significant finding of an OECD-IDRC study recommended that creating a business enabling environment could "unleash a strong development potential in the MENA economies, develop opportunities for an expanding labour force, who are facing unemployment, especially among youth and women (Ehlermann-Cache, 2012, pp. 8). Similarly, this was further supported by employees, who emphasised the benefits of working in the public sector, for example, better compensation and shorter working hours. Single female respondents stated that they preferred to work in the private sector. Most of the students addressed the issue of flexible hours in the public sector, while the majority of bank employees referred to the importance of benefits and flexible working arrangements, in determining sector preference and employee retention. Seventeen respondents out of 30 stated that they preferred to work in the banking and private sector.

"I would rather work in the private sector for the next five years then

relocate to the public sector where the work load is much easier. In gen-

eral, UAE nationals are discouraged by the threat of expatriates in the

private sector. And thus the public sector is seen as safer." (Interview 6,

female, basic, early twenties, Dubai)

"I think that employees are looking for opportunities in both sectors

.But, most females prefer to work in the public sector since it offers job

security for Emiratis and hence more stability." (Interview 22, female,

middle, late twenties, Dubai)

While initiatives advanced by Emiratisation were seen as important, a senior manager said that based on her ten years of experience, female employees prefer working in the public sector. She went on to explain that the main reason was due to fewer working hours allowing women to spend more time to be present at home.

"Most probably women prefer a job in the public sector because it is less demanding and they can spend more time with their families. People join the bank sector for a few years and once there is an available opportunity in the public sector they grab it." (Interview 64, female, senior, late twenties, Dubai)

"The workload in the private sector is more challenging ,and highly competitive compared to the routine jobs in the public sector." (Interview 8, female, basic, early twenties, Dubai)

"In the private sector, the employee has opportunities and challenges which will help her/him develop his/her potentials and grow exponentially. Because of this, I personally, do not approve of the public sector's bureaucracy and nepotism in the UAE, for, the employee is not motivated to give his/her best." (Interview 9, female, basic, mid-twenties, Dubai)

"Working in the banking industry is challenging, but I consider myself fortunate enough to be working here since I have the opportunity to work with different cultures and thus widen my experience." (Interview 52, male, middle, mid-twenties, Dubai, young children)

"When I first started working at the bank, I was the only local Emirati. It was not easy for me trying to prove myself but, definitely, my work experience improved substantially. Nowadays, things have changed for there is a huge support for Emirati employees. They are given many opportunities to prove themselves in this sector." (Interview 60, male, senior, early forties, Dubai)

Most employees preferred to work in the private sector. This is extremely significant since the students were willing to accept lower salaries in this sector. Within the UAE, the narrative of government support for citizens in the public sector has been well documented. However, as indicated by the following examples, opportunities to integrate with foreigners and explore more diverse fields emphasise a generational change in the traditional Emirati attitudes towards employment.

"I look for a challenging work environment that offers career growth and I do not mind working in any emirate. Each sector has its different benefits: for example, working in the private sector can offer employees exposure to a global environment, and international mindedness while, on the other hand, the public sector offers better compensation packages, less working hours and a better work-life balance. At the moment, working in the private sector and in particular the banking sector offers an attractive benefits package." (Interview 5, male, basic, early twenties, Dubai)

Participants, and in particular women, stated their reasons for working in the private sector, with the examples below illustrating this preference.

A female undergraduate stressed that although coming from a very conservative family in Sharjah, she would prefer to explore her work opportunities in Dubai; working for a multinational in the private sector.

"I would prefer to work in the private sector. I want to work in a bank but if I went back home to Fujairah, I would not have many options in the public sector: for example, even if I have a degree in management, I would be assigned a position in a municipality. This is not what I want, and that is why I prefer to work in the private sector." (Interview 10, female, 21, AUS, business, Fujairah)

Another student said that he felt more reassured by the job opportunities created by Emiratisation.

"I am considering moving to Abu Dhabi or Dubai since I plan to work in the private sector for, as a local in this country, I have advantages when it comes to employment Emiratisation. So, I have to make the best of this chance which the government is offering." (Interview 19, male, 22, AUS, arts, Dubai)

"I would prefer to work in the private sector because it offers more global opportunities." (Interview 2, female, 20, AUS, social science, Sharjah)

The interviews reflect that many women prefer to enjoy diverse work experiences and the exposure to different cultures that are available in the private sector. Male students had a different rationale for working in a competitive environment, and they had more of a strategic approach to guaranteeing a job in the private sector. Emiratisation quotas were seen as a primary means to secure their ambitions in the private sector (Davidson, 2005). This alignment with the government's promotion of women is best understood in the following section.

4.2.1   Glass Ceiling for Women in the Workplace

According to the participants, the appointment of women to various positions across the government is seen as not merited by the public. Invariably, the most persuasive argument put forward was the disparity of women's abilities. The respondents noted that they were aware of the government's efforts to secure positions for women in ministries, although current debates continue to argue that the societal view underpins a certain traditional approach of women's role in the household. The students also highlighted the importance of the circumstances that surround women's entry into the public sphere. Participants were asked if they felt limited to certain positions and emerging roles in Emirati society. The issues that affected female students' notion of their positions in the workforce were mainly focused on society's imposed glass ceiling, despite the state's encouraging appointment of women in the government or introducing employment schemes for students. The below examples illustrate the majority of female students' attitudes.

> "I personally think that men are still apprehensive about the role of women in politics. However, in spite of that, the government is attempting to include both men and women in the decision making process. This change in government policy might be due to external pressure because Human Rights Watch stresses gender equality. I think there should be fair treatment between men and women." (Interview 18, male, 22, AUS, sciences, Dubai)

> "There is sometimes an invisible glass ceiling. Women are aware of the

highest position that they can reach although it is not clearly stated any-
where. However, the government has broken the barrier and surpassed
it by supporting initiatives for young women entrepreneurs and students.
This is reflected in the appointing of women in different ministerial and
various managerial positions." (Interview 26, male, ZU, business, Dubai)

It does appear that the majority of the respondents support the government's
investment in new roles for women in Emirati life. A female respondent (who chooses
to wear the niqab) said:

"Our society still needs to change its approach towards women. The
majority of families and men believe that women cannot be in the military.
Unfortunately, this is still the predominant mentality of the society that
emphasises that men are more competent than women, at least in certain
fields." (Interview 25, female, 22, ZU, sciences, Abu Dhabi)

As set out in the above examples, putting women on the agenda is widely dis-
cussed from a number of perspectives, but most specifically in terms of negotiating
a role in a male dominated institutional structure (Gray, 2011). Indeed, Gray (2011)
makes the point "that in Arab Gulf states the role of the ruling families is central to
the implementation of political and economic policies" (Gray, 2011, pp. 6). These
issues will resurface later in the chapter. While this is not, it does show the women's
overwhelming eagerness for women to negotiate their own gender roles. Following
on from this line of discussion, I wanted to engage with the participants' views on
UAE's governmental development strategy as rated by the World Economic Forum.

4.3   Meeting the Gender Gap Challenge

As discussed earlier, respondents reported that a good rapport between the gov-
ernment and national Emirati citizens is important in establishing a reality conducive
to women negotiating and establishing their positions in the UAE. Continuing the
portrayal of Emirati women as active agents of change and maintaining Emiratisa-
tion strategies, were identified as important factors. As for the gender gap between

women and men in the UAE, in areas such as education, health, political empower-
ment and economic opportunities, discussion began with the UAEs country profile in
the 2011-2012 Global Gender Gap Report (please see chapter 3 section on Global Gen-
der Gap Report). The profile demonstrates the disparity between men and women
in the four indexes: educational attainment, political empowerment, health and sur-
vival, and economic empowerment. The figure demonstrates the gender gap in the
political sphere and regarding economic participation, despite similar representation
in educational attainment. Thus, the gender gap diagram was able to serve as a basis
for discussion.

I referred to the data published by the Global Gender Gap Report and asked
respondents to explain the reason for the country's classification and the gender gap
in the UAE. I also asked if better access to education and work would minimise the
gender gap? (Vision of rulers, society, etc..?). On the surface, it appeared that the
majority of respondents supported the goals presented by the government.

According to a senior policy advisor;

> "The government needs to encourage more women to work and more
> specifically to attract them to private sector employment. Women have
> proved themselves successful as leaders. Maintaining a good level of edu-
> cation is needed to sustain a good economy." (Interview 69, male, middle,
> early forties, Dubai)

An overwhelming number of female students stated that without the govern-
ment's initiatives highlighting the role of women in the economy, there would have
been an even slower progress in the way Emirati society supports women's active role
in the economy. This was a clear indication by the students of the importance of the
government's support in introducing Emirati women into the public sphere. A male
undergraduate from Abu Dhabi said that his female cousins are more engaged with
having a career and competing with men for various jobs. He attributed this change
to the introduction of Emiratisation initiatives that target young Emirati females.

> "In the UAE, the role of women was mainly restricted to housewife
> who is always present at home. However, recently, with the increased

access to education and the hiring of women in different fields, especially with Emiratisation, which is not gender specific, it is impacting some social values. Even the other day, I mentioned to my cousin that according to Islam, women do not need to work. She replied saying that according to Islam, women need to work; it is obligatory. When I asked her why she thought it was obligatory, she replied: because I have been studying for the past 14 years and therefore I have to be an active member in my society, so I don't think you expect me to stay at home." (Interview 7, male, 22, AUS, sciences, Abu Dhabi).

His view was further echoed by other students:

"The Sheikhs are governing the country in the right direction. The views towards women and education have changed dramatically. Nowadays, having a bachelor's degree is the minimum that can be expected of a UAE female. We are definitely moving in the right direction." (Interview 4, female, 23, ZU, business, Dubai)

"I think state policies are the main driving force for any change in our society. Society follows the government's policies. The citizens mirror our rulers' behaviors. Society's perception of women's enrollment in education and attitude towards work has changed. It has become more liberal but surprisingly there still exist some barriers which are understandable for any change faces resistance." (Interview 6, female, 22, ZU, sciences, Dubai)

In addition, almost all of the respondents agreed that the women in the Federal National Council (FNC) or Ministry were more than capable of fulfilling the requirements of these positions. Moreover, there were specific references to the current and past FNC election where five women were elected in 2010, and only one woman was elected in 2011.

It is important to note that some respondents said that policies aimed at integrating women into the Emirati workforce are a part of a long term development agenda. There was a strong feeling among 6 students out of the 40(3 females and 3 males),

that the government's initiatives were aimed to create a particular image for the outside world. Participants were aware that the narrative of Emirati women presented by the government does not portray the challenges and restrictions women actually face in the workforce, especially from their families, in a segregated work environment, and when faced with other gendered restrictions such as travel restrictions. Krause's research points out that Emiratisation policies advanced by the government are limited in the official advancement of women in the UAE (Krause, 2009). However, the above quotes are in conflict with the notion of retaining women and increasing their investment in available opportunities for Emirati women. Dahlerupe and Friedenval attempt to incorporate European experiences with quotas in the Arab world by arguing that the absence of gender quotas would constrain gender equality (Dahlerupe and Friedenvall, 2010). They stress that we know little about the status of women, making it hard to study the diversity in representation of women in the Arab world (Dahlerupe and Friedenvall, 2010). Accordingly, if women are nominated to a political seat, the notion of gender quotas should be proactively introduced and enforced in parallel to work-life balance policies which will attempt to support women's gains and to support their investment in their careers (Kelly, 2009; Carvalho Pinto, 2012).

Similar to the students' responses, 16 bank employees (8 females, 8 males) stated that government support was crucial for increasing opportunities for women in the workforce. According to a recent graduate, who had just started working at the bank at the time of interview:

> "There has been a narrowing in the gender gap due to the government's support. So, if women are offered positions, they never hesitate to accept the challenge." (Interview 54, male, basic, mid-twenties, Sharjah).

His view was echoed by several other young bankers and the following quote by a recent graduate, who entered the Emiratisation programme offered at the bank, best summarises their view:

> "The government wants to achieve a knowledge based economy. So, the focus should be on Emiratisation's enhancement of skills and ongoing training sessions for employees." (Interview 5, male, basic, early twenties, Dubai)

As reported by a newspaper in the UAE, The National, (Simpson, 2012):

"In the modern era of global governance and multiple jurisdictions, it may become harder to achieve outright nationalization measures outside the purely public sector."

Most female employees and male employees (two of them with young children) stated that the introduction of Emiratisation was strongly supported by the UAE government.

"There has been a change in the workforce dynamics. First, it was unimaginable to have ladies studying abroad. It basically depends on the mentality of the family. Second, ladies are on an equal footing as men in the workforce. Third, the government is the main reason ladies are being given equal opportunities. Fourth, the leaders have prepared the community for a change in women's role so it did not come as a shock." (Interview 4, female, senior, early forties, Dubai, 2 children)

"Women are gaining similar skills than men. They were previously constrained to jobs in education, for example, but now they are able to apply to jobs media or even engineering." (Interview 3, male, mid-twenties, basic, Dubai)

"Opportunities for women in the government sector are limited. I think if the private sector offers acceptable salaries then more women will apply for available job positions." (Interview 12, male, middle, mid-twenties, young children)

"The government offers equal opportunities for men and women to study and work, but it is the culture that needs to change: the acceptance of the changing role of females in the society and in the work force." (Interview 13, male, basic, early twenties, Abu Dhabi)

"I think there has been a gradual increase in the ranking of the UAE. More women are university graduates especially since there has been con-

tinuous support from the government." (Interview 16, female, middle, late twenties, Dubai)

"If it weren't for the support of the government, Emirati nationals would not be employed in the private sector. The government had set up different facilities such as pension funds and housing allowances to attract nationals." (Interview 18, male, senior, late forties, Dubai, 3 children)

However, only 4 employees (3 females and 1 male) said that the attitude of the community would change, irrespective of the government supported strategies to integrate women into the workforce. The findings of this section have shown that the majority of students and bankers interviewed were supportive of Emiratisation. In particular, female Emirati participants positively accepted the gendered roles offered by Emiratisation, aligning their positions, and focusing on promoting themselves as active participants in the Emirati workforce.

4.3.1   Challenges facing Nationals in the Workforce

However, an employee who had just started working at the bank said that he was continuously subjected to stereotyping by other employees.

"The main challenge hindering the successful implementation of Emiratisation is that Emirati nationals are subjected to stereotyping, which depicts locals or Emirati as non-productive community and not willing to rise to serious challenges at work unlike the foreign hire. The latter is willing to go that extra mile to prove his capabilities." (Interview 41, male, basic, mid-twenties, Abu Dhabi)

To further investigate the challenges facing Emiratisation, I asked respondents about possible solutions. Fourteen employees (9 females and 5 males) focused on the importance of educational alignment with employment strategies in order to provide graduates and potential employees with the right set of relevant market skills and adequate language skills. It is important to note that a senior male manager also

stressed that corporate Emiratisation solutions should be aligned with educational strategies to help guide the career choices of young Emirati nationals.

> "Emiratisation is very important in the UAE. The vision of both Sheikh Mohammed bin Rashid Al Maktoum and Sheikh Khalifa bin Zayed bin Sultan Al Nahayan, is to promote UAE nationals to become leaders. The government needs to set up a development plan outlining specific career paths for each individual. Emiratisation is being implemented in the banking sector, but it has to be a selective process based on merit and qualifications." (Interview 58, male, senior, department manager)

The assumption that the private sector will comply with the Emiratisation quota may be challenged. As mentioned in chapter 1, Emiratisation has undergone several transformations, as evident from the various descriptions provided by the Minister of Labour in the UAE. The introduction of quotas and fines have created a rush in the banking sector, for example, in terms of recruiting Emirati nationals to meet the assigned quota. Eight (3 females and 5 males) stated that the quota negatively affected the recruitment process. As some employees put it:

> "Well, I think only a few banks are really attempting to implement Emiratisation but most of them just try to hire Emiratis to reach the set quota. This bank is focused on introducing capacity building initiatives to enable nationals to enter into managerial positions." (Interview 52, male, middle, mid-twenties, young children)

> "I think that the implementation of Emiratisation has backfired. Emirati nationals do not feel they need to put an effort at work because they know they will not get fired, hence the challenge: for nationals to improve and grow they need to work under all kinds of duress and not relying on the motto that 'no one will be fired'." (Interview 56, female, middle, late twenties, Dubai)

> "Evidently, Emiratisation is a remarkable step for the nationals in the work place. But the difficulty lies for the manager who has to recruit qualified national employees. Even if the quota is not met, the bank should

hire qualified employees." (Interview 57, female, middle, early thirties, Dubai)

"Because many companies are focused on achieving the quotas instead of developing the capabilities of employees, Emiratisation is negatively affecting the professionalism of organisations and companies for the hiring of qualified employees which is not the main target anymore. The main target is the quota! Unfortunately, most of our low performers are UAE nationals. I assume that nationals are aware that it is very difficult to fire them, whereas an expatriate can immediately get fired." (Interview 54, male, middle, late twenties, Dubai)

"Employees prefer working in the public sector for it offers better work hours, compensation, holidays, and salaries. So, the employees we attract are those who were not successful in entering the public sector. Thus, their productivity is not up to par for they have no intrinsic motivation to better their status." (Interview 61, male, senior, early thirties, Dubai)

As previous research has shown, Emirati nationals have been subjected to negative stereotyping in the workforce (Al Shamsi et al., 2007; Gulf News, 2010; Al-Waqfi and Forstenlechner, 2010). According to some respondents, studies of Emirati workers has labelled them as unproductive and un-invested in the career potential in the private sector (Al Shamsi et al., 2007; Gulf News, 2010; Al-Waqfi and Forstenlechner, 2010). As was discussed earlier in the section, the managers' negative perception of Emirati workers as well as the promotion of Emirati nationals in the private sector has not produced a supportive environment for nationals in the private sector. In addition, the attitudes of Emirati nationals have been negatively impacted as a consequence of this perception. The use of quotas by Emiratisation served to reinforce the overall negative stereotyping in the private sector. Emirati nationals' contribution was overshadowed by the uneven enforcement of Emiratisation quotas by companies in the private sector (Al Shamsi et al., 2007; Gulf News, 2010; Al-Waqfi and Forstenlechner, 2010). Thus, Emirati nationals were not given the opportunity to demonstrate their effective participation in the workforce as they have been restricted within that

sealed category instead of having the opportunity to effectively compete in a globalised competitive labour market (Al Shamsi et al., 2007; Gulf News, 2010; Al-Waqfi and Forstenlechner, 2010).

According to the respondents, what is needed to overcome negative stereotyping is for Emirati nationals to establish themselves in the workforce of the private sector. For example, higher salaries in the public sector can be addressed once employees are promoted to middle and senior level jobs. In addition, the increased level of educational attainment for both men and women in the UAE has sufficiently addressed the issue of matching skills with the labour market needs. The participants highlighted that Emirati nationals need more training to compete with experienced expatriated present in the workforce of the private sector, which should be a focus of long term Emiratisation strategies.

The lack of motivation for Emirati nationals to work in the private sector was recognised by the Emirates National Development Programme (ENDP). According to an interview on March 17, 2012 with the National, Essa Al Mulla, executive director of the ENDP said that "The quota system has worked very well with the banking sector, but it failed drastically with the trade and insurance sectors. In the insurance sector, they have to pay approximately 0.01 per cent of their net profit if they have not achieved the minimum quota required. So, a lot of insurance companies are saying, 'OK, we'll pay the amount the government is asking us for, and we will not recruit Emiratis' (Simpson, 2012). Emiratisation strategies are failing across certain sectors because nationals are not investing in the opportunities as the government had hoped for.

4.3.2 Effectiveness of Tanmia and Tawteen

As was set out in chapter 1, Emiratisation strategies include the formulation of Tawteen and Tanmia as employment hubs for job seeking Emirati nationals. To further investigate the notion of matching skills to qualifications, I asked respondents if Tanmia or Tawteen offered services for nationals that identified their qualification levels and adequately matched them with available job vacancies. Sixteen respondents did not view Tanmia as effective in facilitating job opportunities for Emirati

nationals.

> "I do not think Tanmia are helpful. They offer jobs that do not match
> the qualifications of the applicants. They just want to meet their recruit-
> ment target." (Interview 62, female, middle, late twenties, Dubai)

> "Tanmia officials need to hire a certain amount of people as part of
> their recruitment targets for each sector regardless of their qualifications."
> (Interview 64, female, senior, late-twenties, Dubai)

> "I do not know anything about them. I have only heard about it
> through people who applied and were unsuccessful." (Interview 51, male,
> basic, mid-twenties, Dubai)

> "Tanmia and Tawteen are not effective. I submitted my CV to Tawteen
> but I did not receive good offers. I think both Tanmia and Tawteen need to
> invest in matching the skills of applicants with available opportunities."
> (Interview 42, male, basic, mid-twenties, Abu Dhabi)

However, 14 respondents said that services offered by both Tanmia and Tawteen were adequate. According to a senior female manager, both Tanmia and Tawteen offered recruitment departments potential applicants:

> "Tanmia is helpful because it offered managers a diverse pool of ap-
> plicants. That helped us recruit the best possible employees so far." (In-
> terview 65, female, middle, mid-twenties, Dubai)

The above examples supported the overwhelming attitude of students who were either unaware or were dissatisfied with services provided by Tanmia and Tawteen. In order for Emiratisation strategies to increase the competitive advantage of Emirati nationals in a globalised labour market, matching skills of graduates to market needs to be an integral long term imperative (Gray, 2011). In order for the UAE to effectively invest in its human capital, Emiratisation strategies should identify skills qualifications to develop UAE's knowledge based economy and its impact on the social development of women (Gray, 2011). As one respondent put it:

"I do not think Tanmia are effective. When I interned in Dubai, a woman told me that Tanmia , the state employment organisation, did not take into account logistical challenges that would prevent her from travelling to another emirate. I think variables such as proximity of the workplace and community pressure that a married woman faces needs to be addressed by Tanmia. Not only that, but I think that if Emirati nationals were to invest in careers in the private sector, the issue of adequate salaries needs to be addressed."(Interview 9, female, 21, AUS, business, Sharjah)

4.3.3   Salary Expectation in the Private Sector

According to 9 students (4 females and 5 males), Emirati nationals expect a higher salary than expatriates in the Emirati workforce, and Emiratisation has allowed Emirati nationals to expect higher salaries in the private sector. However, the salary scale could lead to further complications as it might also differentiate between public and private sector rates. An undergraduate said that an attractive salary is the most important thing for his career. He stated the importance of making enough money to support his future family. According to him, this is the main challenge that Emiratisation initiatives have to deal with.

"I think Emiratis are not satisfied with the salaries offered in the job market. For example, a salary of 2,250 British pounds (GBP) instead of 3,462 British pounds (GBP) is not attractive employment package which presents a major challenge for Emiratisation." (Interview 18, male, 22, AUS, sciences, Dubai)

"Most Emiratis prefer the extremely high salaries offered in Abu Dhabi. This one of the reasons Emiratis prefer to work in the public sector." (Interview 7, male, 22, AUS, sciences, Abu Dhabi)

"Young Emiratis are competing with expatriates and Arab residents. This is not fair, for locals should be given the priority over all others. But, another major factor is the economic crisis which somehow limited the

job opportunities in both sectors." (Interview 6, female, 22, ZU, sciences, Dubai)

Emiratisation initiatives were also seen as effective at introducing more opportunities for women in the workforce. Twenty students (8 females and 12 males) stated that Emiratisation has provided employment funds and recognised the potential of women's contribution to the national economy. Yet, according to most of the respondents, concerns about the compatibility and the adequate allocation of potential employees needs to be addressed.

4.3.4 Gender Gap and Economic Participation

Many respondents (including students and bankers) felt that their contribution to the economy as a result of Emiratisation needed to be promoted. To better understand the increase in Emirati nationals' economic participation, the interviews with the bankers provided the context to better understand Emirati females negotiation of these newly offered positions and opportunities. A female banker said that opportunities in the workforce offered by Emiratisation have allowed women to establish a career and attain some form of financial independence. According to her own experience, this benefit had not been available before; as a result, Emirati women are being presented with a new reality that offers them an opportunity for a career and bridges the modern and the traditional roles.

> "Women are trying to establish a career before they get married. I think this is due to the fact that they realised that the government supports entrepreneurship and they want to be financially independent." (Interview 62, female, middle, late twenties, Dubai)

Moreover, another female banker stressed that women need to financially contribute to the household;

> "Due to the change in the lifestyle and inflation, there is a need for dual income to secure a decent life. Additionally, these days, single women would like to be financially independent. In my perspective, these are

valid reasons for women to work." (Interview 65, female, middle, mid-twenties, Dubai)

A female banker who has two children went on to say that the government's portrayal of women as active agents in the economy, especially in private sector development has offered women positions across various fields despite cultural restrictions for working women that still exist in the UAE.

> "There is a tangible change in the way women are viewed, for the government, nowadays, needs women to contribute to the economy in different fields." (Interview 66, female, senior, early forties, Dubai, 2 children)

As the examples above show, female respondents were invested in securing their financial independence and promoting their agency (Hollway, 1984; Kelly, 2009; Carvalho Pinto, 2012). The respondents explained that their participation in the workforce highlights their presence as active agents of change. The female bankers' attitudes towards economic participation in the UAE were supported by the students' positive attitudes. The next section examines women's contribution to the workforce and how this has led to a change in the traditional sexual division of labour.

4.3.5   The Gender Gap and Educational Attainment for Women

Educational attainment was seen as the means for women could gain leverage and follow ambitious career aspirations. Fourteen out of 40 students (7 females and 7 males) stated that educational attainment has encouraged women to apply for various positions that were not previously seen as within their capacity. Interestingly, 15 students (7 females and 8 males) mentioned that the participation of women in the economy had progressed rapidly, whereas 3 students (1 female and 2 males) emphasised that the current reality required women to work as an economic necessity.

> "I think educational attainment is a crucial indicator. A lot of families are encouraging their daughters to work. It has become more of a public relations campaign. Politically, I do not have faith in the FNC and its

jurisdictions. All those elected were men except for one woman from Umm Al Qaywan." (Interview 15, male, 21, AUS, Arts, Umm Al Qaywan)

"As women, we have been brought up in an ideology where women were marginalised. So, with increased access to education, if a woman is faced with an opportunity, she grabs it for it is a chance that she cannot miss." (Interview 3, female, 21, AUS, sciences, Sharjah)

"Gender equality has become more important since Dubai became a global hub. I was shocked by the Global Gender Gap Report. The economic figures do not portray the reality; I think more women are working. As for the political figures, unfortunately, they are correct. Men are more powerful politically than women in the UAE." (Interview 13, female, 22, AUS, business, Sharjah)

Female employees recognised that women still face challenges in the workplace. The respondents explained that equal opportunities for women and men were strategically designed by the government. For example, a considerable amount of discussion around the subject of the community emerged from the interviews.

According to the students, there is a surge among Emirati nationals to contribute to the UAE economy and to be part of a globalised knowledge economy. The students showed great initiative in their aim to be economically active and establishing a career. According to a female student:

"I want to implement what Ive learned at university and succeed in a highly competitive labour market. I have not decided if I want to start my own company or become an employee. But, I am certain of the fact that I want to be part of the growing UAE workforce and become a leader in the future." (Interview 13, female, 21, AUS, Arts, Dubai)

Some students said that there is an increasing demand by the UAE government for social enterprise projects. According to the students, as part of Emiratisation strategies, the government has introduced social enterprise competitions where viable projects are then financially supported in the start-up phase to boost the confidence of Emirati students. In addition, the students recognised the importance of

obtaining skills needed in the labour market and exploring available opportunities including social enterprise endeavors in an increasingly competitive and global marketplace.

According to a female student at ZU:

"Based on the global gender gap report, there has been an astonishing increase in the number of Emirati nationals in the workforce can also further enhance the profiles of young and ambitious females in the UAE. The UAE has been successful in narrowing the gender gap in employment and the young generation is encouraged to be active contributors to the economy." (Interview 6, female, ZU, 22, sciences, Dubai)

Another student at AUS stressed the importance of nurturing local talent and investing in career opportunities. According to him:

"As an Emirati, it is very important for me to know that the company I am going to work for supports the promotion of local talent from within its ranks and not rely on foreign employees. That will provide me with the incentive to reach my full potential at work. For example, companies at career fairs are now stressing the importance of promoting Emirati national in senior positions." (Interview 17, male, 21, AUS, sciences, Abu Dhabi)

I then asked the student about the university career guidance and if the career fairs he mentioned offered Emirati students a wide range of career opportunities.

"AUS holds career fairs all the time that host international and local companies. I have noticed that there is a strong focus on hiring Emirati students across all majors. The recruiters are offering paid internships, training abroad initiatives and scholarships. I think career fairs are great for students because you are exposed to a wide range of companies and recruitment initiatives. For example, the last career fair I attended presented me with a lot of options in the private sector. I was unaware that

some private companies had designed employment schemes for nation-
als. I think in this regards the importance of career fairs and university
guidance disseminates employment knowledge that students are in dire
need of." (Interview 17, male, 21, AUS, sciences, Abu Dhabi)

The above attitude towards career guidance was echoed by several other students
who emphasised the importance in tackling the levels of unemployment of UAE
nationals. According to the students, the companies are investing in local talent as
their attitudes towards hiring nationals are gradually changing. As one ZU student
put it:

"We are very lucky that there is an ongoing overhaul of the education
system in the UAE. We are getting exposed to international curricula and
this has broadened our methods and enhanced our ability to compete with
other locals and foreigners and boost our confidence. It doesn't matter
that I can be approached by a recruiter during the career fair because I am
Emirati what has changed is a boost in our confidence to excel at the jobs
offered to us." (Interview 24, male,22, ZU, sciences, Abu Dahbi)

The guidance offered by university career services was seen as crucial to increase
the awareness of students towards opportunities in the private sector. The major-
ity of the students stated that career offices at both universities provided them with
available work opportunities, internships and helped coordinate Emiratisation oppor-
tunities such as registering students with Tanmia. According to most of the students,
university career fairs played an integral part for private sector companies to address
Emiratisation strategies and to recruit Emirati nationals. Employing nationals has
become a crucial human resource agenda. However, the challenges that graduates
are faced with paint a different reality. Based on the qualitative interviews, graduates
are not satisfied with the lack of training offered by companies and the absence of
long term promotion schemes. Fourteen respondents stressed that university career
guidance was absent and did not provide adequate guidance for students. According
to some female students at ZU:

"We are all required to apply for an internship before we graduate as

part of our course. I had hoped that if I prove myself while doing the internship, the company would offer me a full time job after I graduate. But the sad reality is that companies just want to hire Emirati nationals as part of their Emiratisation goals. I would have expected the company to invest in short term as well as long term training schemes to attract and retain Emirati trainees such as myself." (Interview 25 , female, ZU, sciences, Abu Dhabi)

I then asked the student if she could explain further about the importance of training schemes. According to her:

"Well I think that students need to benefit from hands- on approach to training. Companies should develop detailed training methods for aspiring students across various departments. Take my case for example. I am an IT major and I wanted to explore what different departments had to offer at the IT company I was interning with. And, when I asked about the possibility of shadowing programmers in different departments, the managing director informed me that the company does not have offer training rotations. It is very important for university students to have orientation sessions across various departments, whereby information about qualifications programs, training activities are provided to them. If the company wants to align its recruitment strategies with Emiratisation then that is a benefit but for long term objectives, I believe that implementing and investing in training schemes is integral to any career guidance for students." (Interview 22, female, AUS, sciences, Dubai)

According to a female student, it is an added advantage since she comes from a very conservative family and the university career fair presents an exciting alternative to potential opportunities.

"I feel this is a great advantage as it provides me with opportunities. The interaction with recruiters allows me to explore available and I can then negotiate with my parents about a career. There has been a considerable

change in my family's attitude towards the level of investment a woman
can have at work."(Interview 2, female, 20, AUS, social sciences, Sharjah)

Another female student at AUS said that Emiratisation is a key topic in Manage-
ment classes where the students analyse the effectiveness and limitations of Emirati-
sation across the UAE through their research and class room discussions.

"I believe that the misconceptions and perceived difficulties of social en-
terprise and entrepreneurship need to be tackled through awareness cam-
paigns and training programmes. The increased presence of Emirati na-
tionals in the workforce can be attributed to the implementation and
championing of wide range initiatives by the government and the pri-
vate sector. In the long run for these initiatives to succeed, they have to
effectively occur across generations." (Interview 29, male, 22, ZU, arts,
Dubai)

As was explored in chapter 1, the UAE labour law has only recently identified
national child care standards in 2006 however as the findings have shown so far the
encouragement of women tend to be constrained within the work force. Similar to the
questions posed to the students, the employees at both banks identified the challenges
they experienced at the workplace. It is noteworthy that the female respondents also
explained how the optimal conditions for work have changed over the past decade.

All 30 bank employees agreed that educational attainment in the UAE has been
made increasingly accessible by the government. Similar to the reactions of the stu-
dents, they stressed a gradual transformation of the traditional attitudes towards fe-
males receiving an education. In addition, the investment in educational attainment
would increase the recruitment pool of Emirati nationals across different employment
sectors. This supports Gray's claim that educational attainment is directly linked to
new opportunities that are being created by Emiratisation strategies and related to the
contribution of women in the workforce (Gray, 2011). According to female respon-
dents, it is important to sustain the opportunities created by Emiratisation such as
the promotion of education scholarships for women and entrepreneurship schemes
that have allowed them to play a dynamic role in UAE's globalised economy (Gray,
2011).

The findings of this section further support the importance of education as a valuable tool for women. According to a female banker, women are attempting to negotiate a gendered role in the workforce in an effort to negotiate a new reality; one that will allow Emirati women to fulfill their roles in both the public and private spheres. She further states:

> "Women are focused on obtaining an education with the support of their parents. And this definitely signifies a nuance of change in the dominant social norms. Women are not faced with restrictions if they want to enter a vocational job. This change represents the importance of education in broadening opportunities for women." (Interview 25, female, middle, mid-twenties, Dubai)

Another banker with two children further echoed that position:

> "I am not surprised that a lot of women are entering male dominated occupations. They want and are able to stand out with the support of their families." (Interview 44, female, senior, early forties, Dubai, 2 children)

Therefore, so far, these findings seem consistent with Gray's theory of late rentierism (Gray, 2011). It also appears from the interviews that narrowing the gender gap in educational attainment has diversified the pool of Emirati applicants. Moreover, the government's investment in educational reform has reduced stereotypical assumptions.

4.4 Generational shift in Social Attitudes

Moghadam (2013), Kelly (2009),and Krause (2009) underline the impact of social norms on the sexual division of labour in the UAE. As was discussed earlier, the majority of students stated that most families prefer their daughters to work in a segregated work environment. Moreover, 5 bank employees (2 females and 3 males) described the importance of entrenched traditional attitudes in career choices. The main point here is that a generational shift in conservative attitudes is needed to sustain economic diversification in the UAE.

A bank employee recalled a time when his grandmother was not allowed to pursue a career. He stressed, that until recently, all the female members in his family have been prevented from any kind of employment. He further recognised the importance when his sister was able to actively join the Emirati workforce.

> "Forty years ago, my grandmother wanted to work with Sheikha Fatima but it was not socially accepted then. Fortunately, today, my family completely supports my sister who is working with Her highness Sheikha Fatima Bint Mubarak Al Ketbi. Evidently, the culture has mostly changed." (Interview 51, male, basic, mid-twenties, Dubai)

As the interviews have shown, women working in banks in the UAE have emphasised their investment in career opportunities across various department in the banks. More generally, they recognised the occupational preference of women to also work part time, which is indicative that childcare responsibilities are a factor in women's employment. Nearly all female participants (bankers and students) stated that it is possible to balance being a breadwinner with maintaining their role as caretakers. The respondents went on to explain that although this is difficult to achieve, they believe that if maternity leave was extended and work-life balance policies were more extensive and implemented properly, they could explore more career opportunities. As was discussed in chapter 2, Hollway refers to women's decisions to fully engage in opportunities (Hollway, 1984). As this research argues, Emirati women are taking up new employment opportunities positions that were previously unavailable (Hollway, 1984). The government, through the various Emiratisation initiatives presents these opportunities but they are not always implemented; additionally, they do not offer the promise of a strategic balance between modern and traditional roles. The following section focuses on Emirati workforce diversity and its potential impact on the career choices of Emirati nationals.

4.4.1   Impact of Expatriates in the Workforce

"As GCC societies attempt to focus on their local workforce, expatriates continue to fill many important jobs in the private sector. This dependence on foreign workers

brings with it cultural and religious pluralism, raising important questions about the host country's ability to maintain its own traditions and culture, as well as its readiness for diversity" (Gallup Research Center, 2011, pp. 2). Previous research on the impact of expatriates in the UAE and Arab Gulf States has highlighted the readiness of Gulf societies for investing in education and economic reforms, and exploring platforms for further gender progress in their employment policies. Countries such as Qatar, Bahrain and Saudi Arabia have introduced similar strategies to Emiratisation in an attempt to introduce roles for women across various fields in a typically male dominated workforce. As Arab Gulf States become more globalised, and particularly in the case of the UAE, investment in education has become the governments' main priority (His Excellency Khaldoon Khalifa Al Mubarak Key note Address to Harvard Alumni Society Conference in 2007-Advancing Human Capital in the Arab World)[1]. Again, this underlines the relationship between government policies and the reshaping of a traditional society.

In addition, these strategies are attempting to positively change the international perception of Arab women and their long absence from the workforce. A recurrent theme was the issue of women's double burden. A senior employee stated that here has been a considerable increase in the number of female employees, which he attributed to the introduction of Emiratisation and the government's support for Emirati nationals to enter the workforce.

> "The number of female employees is staggering in comparison to previous years. Our leaders have a clear vision and they are trying to change the idea that women should only be present in the household. The mindset of our rulers is changing and they are trying to be the leaders in the field of tourism: we are trying to maximise tourism by executing the biggest theme park in the world and to have the tallest skyscrapers in the world. And it is working." (Interview 18, male, senior, late forties, Dubai, 3 children)

Twenty-two out of 40 (13 females and 9 males) students explained that there has

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[1]http://eaa.abudhabi.ae/Sites/EAA/Navigation/EN/root,did=126490,render=renderPrint.html

been a change in the community and families' mentality towards women who wish to enter new domains and work. It is important to note that the UAE dynamics are comprised of a symbiotic relationship between the government and society. Furthermore, the interviews have shown that the family's approval is key for women to gain aces to an education or to work despite the various support mechanisms for women entrepreneurs in the workforce. This is illustrated in the following examples:

> "I think the community directly shapes the role of women. The government only restricts people; I think there are other variables affecting women such as: primarily, globalization, huge impact of media through movies where Emirati women compare themselves to these women in the movies. These factors lend Emirati women the chance to compare themselves to empowered women in the movies." (Interview 13, female, 21, AUS, arts, Dubai)

> "In an Emirati society, there are no societal values or occupation/major campaigns in schools which will help students, mainly, females to choose an appropriate major which will, in turn, help them find well paid jobs when they graduate, which force a woman to decide which occupation is better for her [in terms of earning an income]. As for male students, this is not the case, for men are encouraged to major in medicine or engineering which are highly sought after and thus highly paid, but it does not matter for a woman. Also, there is a clash between the older generation and the younger generation when it comes to travelling or studying abroad." (Interview 12, male, 23, AUS, sciences, Sharjah)

I wanted to further explore the impact of expatriates in the UAE and whether their presence has resulted in a generational shift in social attitudes towards women. This emerging theme is further examined in the following section.

4.4.2   Change in Bias Attitudes towards Women

The segregated campus at Zayed University in Abu Dhabi represents a microcosm of the social interactions in Emirati society.(Please Refer to chapter 3) The traditional

patriarchal nature of the UAE dictates that women need to be accompanied by a male chaperone, the father, the brother or the husband, and is evident in interactions on campus. For example, female students need parental or spousal approval to leave the campus. However, despite these constraints, the very notion that ZU has admitted male undergraduates signals a gradual change. The proximity of the segregated campuses is seen to offer an attractive environment, where both men and women can receive a higher education. The segregated campuses can be seen to signify an attempt to promote gender proximity in social interactions.

This is clearly illustrated in the following example:

> "There is a gradual change. Zayed University has a segregated court-yard separating the male and female campuses. Why is that? Because they still do not accept an interaction between both sexes at university. We are at a halfway point, just like that courtyard. It is a gradual pro-cess." (Interview 26, male, 25, ZU, business, Dubai)

The physical separation between the sexes underlines the gendered nature of Emirati society. Furthermore, the following examples highlight the changing nature of the established patriarchal attitudes. This further elaborates on the above example, stating that families are becoming more accepting of closer proximity between the sexes. Most importantly, education is seen as a necessary attainment for women, as they move the traditional role that confined them to the house. This is further supported by a female undergraduate at ZU who said that her traditional father has changed his ideas in recent years. He eventually become very supportive of her entering higher education, and is now her main source of encouragement.

> "My father, at the beginning, only wanted me to obtain a high school degree, which is what is socially accepted for a girl, but, now, I have been allowed to pursue a university education and now I am a proud holder of a bachelor's degree. So, one must say that the change is gradual but, definitely, there are still more conservative families." (Interview 27, female, 22, ZU, sciences, Abu Dhabi)

"There are some Emirati women who cannot work in a mixed environment for social or religious reasons. But now new horizons are available for them, so rather than staying at home, they now have a place to work and contribute as a teacher or whatever job they prefer and feel comfortable in." (Interview 21, female, 24, AUS, business, Abu Dhabi)

Gender segregation appeared to be an important area of discussion for the students, clearly illustrating the challenges that women face when investing in certain positions, as shown in the examples below.

"I think the government is trying to create an image for the international community. The Abu Dhabi national council wanted to have a certain ratio of women on board so they could appear to support gender equality at work." (Interview 7, male, 22, AUS, sciences, Abu Dhabi)

"The UAE is actually trying to promote the rights of women but it is also trying to portray an international image of gender equality by recruiting women for certain socially accepted positions." (Interview 2, female, 20, AUS, social science, Sharjah)

"The ruling family appointed a lot of women as members of the FNC. They are trying to introduce a gradual change by appointing women. Most of the people in the UAE find the whole idea of appointment unsettling because women are appointed and supported by the government but they are not really making a difference by introducing equal pay legislation at work or advocating social change in general." (Interview 15, male, 21, AUS, Arts, Umm Al Qaywan)

As indicated from the majority of responses, it appears that the appointment of women in the political sphere supports the interventionist aspect of the state in the UAE (Gray, 2011). The issue of role assignment for women cannot be overlooked in the debate on putting women on the agenda. Women are appointed based on the rulers' perception of their merit and capabilities. Yet, the traditional appointment of women also supports the need to examine the consequent effect on the traditional

society in gradually accepting new careers for women. Moreover, it may appear that the definition of state feminism in the UAE suggests that appointment women to different positions is part of the government's attempt to control the influx of women into the public sphere (Krause, 2009; Carvalho Pinto, 2012). This perspective was voiced by the majority of the respondents. According to most respondents, career opportunities and paths for women may be a result of a tailored development agenda. Therefore, the participants emphasised a negotiation process, taking into account the traditional thinking in the UAE, and the alignment with the government's promotion of women. This topic is the focus of the next section.

4.4.2.1 Family Support and Women in the Workforce

Of particular interest was the familial preference towards traditional employment opportunities for their daughters. This was extremely relevant since most female students highlighted that their career ambitions were subject to their fathers' approval. In contrast, most bank employees saw that there was a positive shift in attitudes, especially their fathers' attitudes towards their daughters' choice of employment.

A female employee stated that despite her parents being uneducated, they had been very supportive of her career. She also added that her father's continuous encouragement helped her overcome challenges such as travel restrictions. According to her:

> "This change is evident. Take me for example, I am a working female who travels alone and commutes back and forth all by myself. My father is not educated but has accepted this change and, also, he never favored a son over a daughter. As a matter of fact, he has always encouraged me."
> (Interview 16, female, middle, late twenties, Dubai)

4.5 Women's Organisations: Possible Activism?

Respondents were asked if they thought that women's organisations were an advantage to enabling business roles for women. The question provoked a divide among female respondents. Certainly, we have seen in previous comments that pa-

triarchal attitudes were still entrenched among the students' attitudes especially the male students towards the traditional domestic role of women. The following excerpt is a conversation between two male students discussing the need for women's associations in the UAE that highlights two polar views towards women's rights.

A male respondent stated:

> "I think women's rights are guaranteed by the government so there's no need for women's associations."

The second male respondent said:

> "Maybe the women want to establish their rights. I do not agree with you at all. Women have entered the workforce-and definitely need an association or a union. It is not about women complaining of what needs to be done. Associations are important so women can act collectively,can ensure group support and guarantee their rights."

Respondents were asked if they were aware of women's associations across the UAE, if they were members and if their activities introduced them to business opportunities- "Are you aware of activities run by women's associations in the U.A.E? If so, what are your thoughts on the business roles available for Emirati women?" Fifteen female respondents out of 20 were unaware of activities run by women's associations and were not actively interested in the associations themselves. Whereas,5 female respondents stated that they were aware of women's associations and activities provided. According to a female student who is very active in setting up conferences for women at ZU:

> "I think Her highness Sheikha Fatima Bint Mubarak Al Ketbi has set up a lot of initiatives. Zayed University hosted the conference on the global leadership of women where I presented along with my friends. It was a good opportunity to engage with other women to become more aware of Emirati women's achievements." (Interview 32, female, 23, ZU, sciences, Sharjah)

It is interesting to note that most of the students were aware of their presence, but there was no obvious correlation to the impact on their lives. It is possible that these associations are tailored to a specific set of audience. Educated upper middle class to upper class women across the UAE will certainly have comment interests but when it comes to individual aspiration and commitment to different goals there is a great deal of variety. This can be seen especially among the young generation. For example, a lot of Emirati women travel abroad and are exposed to different work environments. Several female respondents travelled abroad for their final year internships and struggled with the traditional work environment options in the UAE.

> "Women's associations have helped women to set up businesses from home. Women should be encouraged to be more active in these associations." (Interview 13, female, 22, Abu Dhabi)

> "There is the women's union in Abu Dhabi and the women's associations in Dubai. These associations help women in need especially if they are looking for jobs or need support." (Interview 12, female, 23, Abu Dhabi)

At this critical juncture, the dominant question is: are woman being praised for their entrepreneurship and their occupation of senior managerial positions as a reflection of their ability to work deliverables or for the simple and apparent fact that they are women. This relates to the earlier discussion about the effectiveness of government's support for women.

> "Previously, women were only allowed to work in segregated work environments. It was usually frowned upon if a woman surpassed or overshadowed the role of the man even if they were more qualified." (Interview 37, male, management, Abu Dhabi)

He goes on to add:

> "Globalisation has positively affected the traditional attitudes and has supported mixed work environments."

"When Her highness Sheikha Fatima Bint Mubarak Al Ketbi supports projects for women empowerment, people accept the new roles for women." (Interview 25, female, 22, sciences, Abu Dhabi)

Yet another student simply stated:

"There is gradual change in our patriarchal society as a few women were appointed to the FNC." (Interview 21, female, 24, Abu Dhabi)

As was highlighted in the above interviews, the participants' particular reference to changing attitudes towards women offers an interesting alternative to the theory that state feminism sets the agenda and co-opts the integration of women into different sectors within the formal sectors (Krause, 2009). As was evident from the interviews, the younger generation was unaware of the agendas promoted by these associations. An argument could be made that the increased exposure to media depictions of female roles, presence of women in the private sector and social media following have greatly influential in agenda setting of the younger female generation. Fifteen female respondents were unaware or did not exhibit particular interest in the activities provided by women's associations. However, there was a clear emphasis that there should be more awareness of the role women associations play in society. This further supported the students' and bankers' attitudes towards the effectiveness of women's associations.

"Unfortunately, I have no idea about them. But, I think people should be more aware of their roles. There should be a more effective way to make the public aware of these associations. So, maybe through television or the social media, we would be aware of their roles." (Interview 4, female, senior, early forties, Dubai, 2 children)

"There is a gap between women's associations and needs of young women in the UAE.I say this because the youth are not active members in these associations so they believe that their concerns are not being addressed. Anyway, more campaigns are needed to make the young women aware of their roles." (Interview 8, female, basic, early twenties, Dubai)

There is a clear information gap between the various target audiences and activities run by women's associations. Only one female respondent out of 15 was able to list the different women's associations in the UAE. According to this employee:

"There are several women's associations such as the Dubai women's association headed by Sheikha Manal bint Mohammed bin Rashid Al Maktoum, Al Nahda headed by Sheikha Hind bint Maktoum bin Juma Al Maktoum. These associations create opportunities for divorced or elderly women. But, I believe few people know about these associations." (Interview 17, female, middle, early thirties, Dubai)

As was seen from the interviews with female students and employees, women's associations lack a direct engagement with young female Emiratis. They explained that direct activities in the community or collaborations with organisations would certainly help in better understanding their needs and communications beyond the assumptions of the state sponsored women's associations. The above interviews also showed that there was a lack of interest by employees in the activities designed by the women's associations the role of national women in society and the economy. According to the participants, there should be a professional communication between women on all different levels. This is key to creating a better and more cohesive framework for women's socio-economic needs.

The ruling families in the Arab Gulf States have implemented policy reforms to improve women's access to education and work possibilities, which has allowed women to gain skills and work experience. However, although women enjoy greater independence as a result of these acquired skills, the goals set by the state and its associations, have created a glass ceiling, limiting the progress of women. Krause does recognise the agency of individual women, but also suggests that associations in the UAE act as a collective subjectivity that value "familial, societal and state stability" (Krause, 2009, pp. 70). In other words, a woman cannot succeed without relying on a state authority to reach her goal. The diversity of women's interests in the UAE is reflected when certain women are perceived as a family member who is aligned with a certain tribe, as opposed to other groups of women in the society, who are not identified as an elite member of a certain tribe. For example, a woman's

interest should be to support the interests of her tribe rather than act individually to pursue her own individual interest; where a woman is "constantly reminded of the role of the ruling family in giving women their rights" (Krause, 2008, pp. 28). This is not to say however that women do not pursue their own interest, indeed, some elite women take a non-confrontational approach with the government, pursuing their own agendas while implementing the state's agenda (Krause, 2008). Certainly, Krause provides a much needed understanding of the way men and women in the UAE are traditionally polarised (Krause, 2008).

At a macro level, the division of labour in the public sphere is aligned with the division of labour that exists at the household level, with gender equality provisions in the UAE assuming traditional roles for women (Krause, 2009; Kelly, 2009; Gray, 2011). In the current reality, state feminism as described by Krause is in need of a fresh perspective. It needs to be reconsidered bearing in mind how present day Emirati women regard work, that is, as an economic necessity, while the increased support of the family and decreased segregation in the workplace serve to facilitate the presence of women in the workforce (Krause, 2008).

4.6   Role Models and Mentors in the Workplace

All female respondents replied with utmost certainty that the presence of role models across all positions would help as it would provide support, indeed, some women work in a mixed working environment without initially interacting with men in general except for male family members. In addition, all female students supported the idea of role models because according to them, role models have helped inspire them to new roles in the workforce, roles they previously had thought were unattainable.

> "I believe that having a role model is essential in any line of work
> and even more at universities. It gives me the strength to follow my
> dreams that I never thought were possible. For example, knowing that
> an Emirati woman is a successful CEO of a major news company makes
> me extremely happy and I am not afraid to pursue new avenues. Role

models can help develop the creativity of the younger generation. I think that women and youth are interested in change within a context of cultural and intergenerational mobility. There is an impressive appetite for a knowledge economy. Role models and mentors can contribute to the success of our hands-on passion for projects." (Interview 25, female, ZU, sciences, Abu Dhabi)

Another female student told me that she identifies herself as a young Emirati entrepreneur. She has established an online shirts company with her friend two years ago. She was very proud of her successful enterprise where she sells themed shirts. According to her, this has given her the entrepreneurial experience while she was at university. The student went on to say that she viewed her marketing professor as her role model who offered her guidance and support with the

"I am an Emirati entrepreneur. When I first mentioned that to my father, he was of course skeptical of the idea. However, I approached my Management course professor with the idea of starting up an online themed shirts company. She was extremely supportive of the idea and extremely proud of the initiative that I had shown. If it were not for her enthusiasm and belief in my creative capability, I would not have even considered establishing the company. I have always believed that the political, academic and entrepreneurial empowerment of women and youth lies at the heart of sustainable development." (Interview 20, female, AUS, sciences, Sharjah)'

Another female student shared her successful entrepreneurship story with me. She told me that she was brought up in a very conservative household and was expected to be a stay at home mother. After she attended a conference on role models and mentoring in the Arab World that was hosted at AUS, she recognised a different approach to life. According to the student, who was studying computer science, it was the first time that she was surrounded by a large number of female entrepreneurs and aspiring young leaders. Listening to the stories of those women and the success and challenges they shared throughout the day, inspired her to try something different. She had never imagined it was possible to create her own company, design and

sell dresses. At the conference, she approached a woman who had started her own company and asked her advice to pursue a career.

> "From my experience, having a mentor changed my life. I was in-
> vested in succeeding and creating my own brand. I was lucky to have
> had the opportunity to attend the conference, and the chance to work
> with my mentor as well as to learn from her. It is very challenging for a
> woman to create her own business in our society so having a mentor or a
> role model is an advantage. Yet, I think that it has allowed me to explore
> my leadership capabilities and increase my competitive advantage in a
> global market." (Interview 3, female, 21, AUS, sciences, Sharjah)

The student then stressed the importance of emotional and physical support she received from her mentor. According to her, she was initially overwhelmed when she was exposed to the successful stories that were recounted at the AUS conference. However, the presence of her mentor, helped her set her goals as well as balance her degree and work priorities. As she put it:

> "Balancing work and a university degree is very difficult. There were
> moments where I felt defeated and overwhelmed by the pressure of doing
> my best at both. I am committed to excel at both my goals. I want to
> graduate top of my class so my parents can be proud of the education I
> have received. I want to succeed with work. I want to show my family and
> friends that despite all the challenges such as dealing with start-up costs
> and most importantly being a woman and taken seriously. My mentor
> has helped my navigate some of these challenges and achieve both my
> goals." (Interview 3, female, 21, AUS, sciences, Sharjah)

This view is best understood through the lens of a senior female bank manager. According to her, there is a need to support and engage with the potential of an increasing number of females who are managing departments. However, for this to fully materialise, she stressed the importance of introducing policies of inclusion that would have a direct effect on the work environment. As such, the findings clearly show that although Emiratisation strategies have created a higher number of available

roles for Emirati nationals, the female respondents stressed the need to supplement the strategies with more inclusive and work friendly policies. Accordingly, this will facilitate the integration of female Emirati nationals into the workforce and allow them to actively contribute to private sector development. According to this senior manager:

> "Policies on sexuality, inclusion and equal treatment are adapted in multinationals to the country's culture and highlight the predominance of traditional views in contrast to a more relaxed approach to management line." (Interview 73, female, middle, late thirties, Dubai)

However, her experience with work-life balance policies in the Emirati work culture was not successful. She stressed the absence of day care centres and the inadequate length of maternity leave that negatively affects the presence of women in the private sector. The findings highlight that short period of maternity leave is a major challenge to retaining employees. This further supports the notion that if women were to invest in new positions in the workforce, Emiratisation strategies need to address the perceptions of Emirati nationals in terms of facilitating employee retention and maintaining the objective of Emiratisation, which is to reduce dependency on foreign employees. The following quote by a female bank employee, who had a negative experience due to insufficient maternity leave, said that she had struggled with maintaining her commitment to both work and taking care of her new born child.

> "Policies are absolutely shocking. Women need more than 45 days. I think short maternity leaves are not good for the fabric of society." (Interview 73, female, middle, late thirties, Dubai)

This was further supported by another senior female manager who described the inadequate length of maternity leave as "a grave concern". Paternity leave was seen as an unfamiliar concept and day care centres are still being introduced at a national policy level. This was further stressed by a senior policy advisor. As she put it:

> "We need to encourage more women to work in order to change this patriarchal environment. We have to be supportive of maternity leave. We

have to bring this environment to them." (Interview 68, female, senior, early forties, Dubai)

The above examples also reflect the preference of women to work in certain departments headed by Emirati females. The presence of an Emirati woman in an upper managerial position at the bank had led to ambitious career progress for female entry level employees. Mentoring would serve to increase female employees' confidence and ambitions. Overall, the presence of Emirati women in high level positions, whether in the government, media sector or entrepreneurs may help in attracting young Emirati women to different employment that are not available the public sector. As was explained in chapter 2, Gallant's research clearly shows that UAE polices have reinforced the conservative attitudes, which have consequently limited women's career choices (Gallant, 2008). However, the increased presence of women in higher education has also positively impacted women's ability to negotiate a new role in the Emirati workforce (Gallant, 2008; Schedneck, 2014). The gradual change in the workforce dynamics alongside more women entrepreneurs occupying senior positions at banks have revealed that women are actively seeking higher positions. All female respondents had a role model or a mentor but not necessarily in the banking sector.

"There was always a role model who helped me pursue my ambitions. Seeing women in senior positions is really inspirational." (Interview 16, female, middle, late twenties, Dubai)

According to the senior managers, mentoring and female role models are limited, which is a crucial point for the skills' development of employees. They expressed an emphasis on maintaining the quality of education across the UAE. According to both respondents, a change in the culture and economy is achievable only through gradual phases, "the cornerstone being education and awareness".

A senior female director of an international charity said:

"Women are key drivers of economic change in the MENA. Maternity leave benefits need to be increased and incorporated in the public and private sectors." (Interview 73, female, middle, late forties, Dubai-London)

Following on from that line of argument, I then asked respondents if their career choice was impacted by the prospect of having children, "What are your plans at work? (Occupation? Family? Geographical location?), Do you see having a family as impacting on career projections?" As indicated in table 5.2, maternity leave benefits across the MENA region, and especially in countries such as the UAE and Qatar, do not offer women more than 40-60 days leave.

4.7   Career Plans or Children

The UAE's report "Women in the United Arab Emirates: A Portrait of Progress"(UAE Ministry of State, 2008) emphasised the achievements of Emirati women across different domains. In fact, the report acted as a state imposed medium that promoted acceptable norms and values for women at work. This section explores whether children impacted upon career projections. Eight employees (6 females and 2 males) thought that women had to make a choice between having children and pursuing a career. A female employee with two children said that she found the public sector to be an ideal career choice because of the flexibility it offers. According to her, family needs were a priority.

> "My answer depends on the following factors: first factor is my husband's approval and if he does approve, I would definitely choose to work in the public sector because the working hours are flexible. The second factor is if my mother is always present at home during my absence."
> (Interview 62, female, middle, late twenties, Dubai)

The following example highlights several factors that were discussed previously, including traditional patriarchal attitudes and employees' aspirations.

> "Children will definitely impact my career. My son's needs are my first priority and not work. I will readjust my work hours or even relocate based on what is best for my son in terms of school for example."
> (Interview 67, female, middle management, one child)

"I am married and pregnant. I definitely want to move to a new industry. I am looking for new opportunities and better flexible hours at work." (Interview 66, female, senior, early forties, Dubai, 2 children)

A senior female manager said that although it was difficult she had managed to find a balance between spending time at work and taking care of her family. According to her, family support was crucial and allowed her to maintain her career and the long working hours involved.

"I manage to strike a balance between work and family demands and in particular being there for them and spending quality time with my children and my husband. This proved to be too difficult. To be able to do it, one has to rely on family support. This support is crucial for any working mother." (Interview 15, female, senior employee, one child)

However, one senior female manager with two children stated:

"When I got married, I took a sabbatical leave and pursued a higher degree. Both my husband and I knew that I was not going to put my career on hold because I got married." (Interview 4, female, senior, early forties, Dubai, 2 children)

Interestingly, the same manager was referred to by some female employees as their role model and mentor at work.

"Women are key drivers of economic change in the MENA. So, maternity leave benefits are extremely important and need to be increased and available in the public and private sectors."(Interview 73, female, senior, late forties, Dubai-London)

Career planning has impacted gender definitions in the UAE as women are increasingly participating in public spaces, and renegotiating their role in a gloablised Emirati economy. The UAE is an example where government's support for national employment has provided a space for newly available roles for women in the Emirati workforce. Yet, women continue to face traditional attitudes towards female employment that prevent them from occupying various positions that require long working

Table 4.1: Maternity Leave Benefits for Women, MENA Countries, 1990s

Country	Length of maternity leave	Percentage of wages paid in covered period	Provider of coverage
Algeria	14 weeks	100	Social Security
Bahrain	45 days	100	Employer
Egypt	50 days	100	Social Security/Employer
Iraq	62 days	100	Social Security
Israel	12 weeks	75 [a]	Employer
Kuwait	70 days	100	Employer
Lebanon	40 days	100	Employer
Morocco	12 weeks	100	Social Security
Qatar	40-60 days	100 (civil servants)	Agency concerned
Saudi Arabia	10 weeks	50 or 100	Employer
Sudan	8 weeks	100	Employer
Syria	75 days	100	Employer
Tunisia	30 days	67	Social Security
Turkey	12 weeks	66.7	Social Security
UAE	45 days	100	Employer
Yemen	60 days	100	Employer

Note: [a] Up to a ceiling.
Source: UN, The World's Women 2000, Table 5.C

hours and long shifts instead of part time positions or jobs that require less hours a week (Kandiyoti, 1991; Joseph and Slyomovics, 2001; Gray, 2011). The government's investment in employment opportunities for women was further reinforced as women became increasingly aware of their rights through major international conventions such as the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women (UN General Assembly, 1974).

In assessing the importance of work policies, some respondents felt that taking care of their children would be their priority, and this would consequently limit their career preference in the competitive environment of the private sector. Clearly, a broader approach would be necessary to incorporate the objectives of Emiratisation and the needs of women, especially those who have children, into the workforce. It is clear from these interviews that issues of maternity leave, day care centres and employment benefits are central to attracting and retaining Emirati nationals in the private sector. However, this will require organisations to gradually restructure and accommodate the needs of employees, who are dependent on sufficient funds and space. The new employment opportunities supported by Emiratisation indicate

that the state supports women taking on new jobs in non-traditional sectors such as tourism and telecommunication. However, while policies have been introduced regarding education and the employment of women, women remain the subject of patriarchal and tradition control by the state (Gallant, 2008; Carvalho Pinto, 2012; Al Rasheed, 2013). This chapter has identified the absence of work policies that coincide with an emerging educated class of women who want to maximise their chances in the UAE workforce.

Certainly, globalised employment opportunities have created a space for women to renegotiate their roles in society and their contribution to the economy (Gray, 2011). Massey (2007) highlighted that gender role negotiations vary, especially within an area of uneven regional development. However, despite the uneven progression of national economies, and the traditional traditional groups in power in some MENA countries, women have established a strong platform for action despite government restriction, as in the case of countries like the UAE (Krause, 2009).

As table 4.1 shows that the length of maternity leave in MENA countries do not provide women with as much time compared to the length of maternity leave in the a European context for example (Moghadam, 2013; Darhour and Dahlerup, 2013). As the interviews have shown, many women struggle in maintaining their careers in the UAE due to inadequate length of maternity leave. The Emirati government supports women's entry into the economy; however, women continue to struggle with an accommodating work environment (Khoury and Moghadam, 2006; Moghadam, 2013). As the interviews have shown, it is important to establish employment policies to foster female participation in the workforce. The absence of social policies in the UAE workforce emphasises the lack of work-life balance policies, and the limited maternity leave quota which thus restrains the roles available for women in the workplace. Therefore, despite the government's introduction of Emiratisation, the economic transition in the UAE highlights the absence of the gender specific processes and dynamics that challenge gender discrimination at work.

According to 22 male respondents who were wither married or single, having a family would not impact on their careers except that they would take fewer financial risks. The following example best illustrates the majority of the male respondents'

ambivalent attitudes towards balancing a career and a family;

> "I believe I will be married for I firmly believe in family life and values
> for they provide balance in our daily lives as well as in our society. I can
> achieve this balance only if I have a proper job." (Interview 5, male, 22,
> AUS, sciences, Abu Dhabi)

The above example underlined the culturally embedded ideals in UAE's society where women are traditionally expected to take care of the family while the husband is considered to be the traditional bread-winner. Such realities reflect negatively on women's negotiation process in terms of retaining their jobs while fulfilling their expected roles in the private sphere. To further examine this issue, the following section will highlight the challenges faced by women in the workforce.

4.7.1   Work-Life Balance Policies

Having collected the students' views on the effectiveness of work-life practices such as the length of maternity leave and flexible working hours, the bank employees were asked to consider the polices on offer at banks. Female employees were especially asked to comment on their experiences as mothers or potential mothers.

Certainly, all respondents stated that the presence of day care centres would help their career prospects. Some respondents clearly stated that they preferred to have a less demanding job so that they could spend time with their families. Those respondents explained that day care centres had been introduced at their workplace. This is best illustrated in the example below. According to a female respondent who had previously struggled with balancing her children's needs with work demands said that day care provision were fundamental to her career progress in the private sector. She said:

> "That is great because I do not need to worry about leaving my children
> with nannies. And thus, I would not have this guilt feeling, but, on
> the contrary, I would be more relaxed at work knowing that my children
> are in the same building with me." (Interview 22, female, middle, late
> twenties, Dubai)

One female manager with one child said that since the length of maternity leave in the UAE is only 45 days, day care centres offer a degree of flexibility for working mothers that has not been readily available.

> "Day care centres are an advantage. The length of maternity leave in the UAE is not a lot compared to other countries in Europe. I had to combine it with my annual leave. Recently, the law was modified and the maternity leave is now 45 days so that was good." (Interview 15, female, middle, early thirties, one child, Dubai)

After establishing that the majority of the female respondents supported the introduction of more day care facilities, respondents were asked to consider their experiences thus far, and to comment on whether new policies were needed to ensure a better work-life balance at work.

4.8   Possible Solutions

Two female respondents stated that longer maternity leave was extremely relevant. The introduction of day care centres was seen as crucial to female employees with children, although there were several comments on the quality of services provided.

> "One of my best friends used to work at a bank. But, when she got married, she found it really difficult to work and take care of her child, so she quit." (Interview 16, female, middle, late twenties, Dubai)

However, two senior female managers (who did not have children) thought that the offered maternity leave in the UAE of 45 days was more than adequate and day care centres would add a financial burden to the bank.

> "I think the offered maternity leave is adequate. Mothers who come back after their maternity leave are allowed an extra hour during the day to rest." (Interview 17, female, middle, early thirties, Dubai)

> "Some government offices have introduced day care centres. The bank
> offers flexible working hours for employees. The maternity leave is 45
> days and can be extended to six months but unpaid and under special
> circumstances." (Interview 64, female, senior, late twenties, Dubai)

It is important to note that some of the respondents (both students and bankers) were ambivalent towards the introduction of new policies or the amendment of existing WLB policies as they did not see a need to change the offered. The following quote sums up most of these responses:

> "Well, I have seen a lot of women who have had to reassess their
> priorities. It is very difficult to have a balanced life because my work will
> not allow me to relax because it is too demanding and there are no flexible
> hours." (Interview 16, female, middle, late twenties, Dubai)

Overall, the findings show that it is important to develop a rapport between female employees, the private sector and government officials to highlight the needs of mothers and potential mothers in taking care of their children and maintaining a career. In particular, both female participants highlighted that Emiratisation initiatives need to be address issues related to opportunities available for women in the workforce. Overall, there was a recommendation that policies tailored towards offering women, especially mothers, with possible flexible work arrangements, the chance to fully negotiate the new offered positions, be implemented.

The attitudes of Emirati nationals in the northern emirates were more positive towards identifying new employment opportunities. Respondents from those emirates have stressed that most graduates have either relocated to wealthier Emirates such as Dubai or Abu Dhabi or commute daily. According to the respondents, the government has yet to invest in the infrastructure of some emirates such as Ras Al Khaima or Fujeirah. In addition, those emirates are not attractive to foreign labour and the respondents stressed that the absence of major foreign companies in those areas is a major obstacle as it leads to the creation of more employment opportunities to the Emirati workforce in the poorer emirates.

I then asked respondents if Emiratisation initiatives succeeded in creating work opportunities would that improve women's chances in the job market across the northern emirates? Most respondents, and in particular students, stated that economic competition in the UAE is not solely dependent on state programs to improve employment opportunities. Most students emphasised that conservative attitudes towards women's employment restrict their opportunities to positions in the public sector that are not fulfilling or desirable. According to the respondents, women across the northern emirates recognise the importance of their contribution to their household income but they are competing for a limited number of private sector positions. In addition, female respondents stressed that Emiratisation initiatives fail to address the reality that highly educated women in the poorer emirates struggle to invest in stable career opportunities unlike those in the wealthier emirates. Some respondents pointed out that to address nationals' struggles in the labour market, Emiratis should invest in the potential of educated national women rather than current foreign labour. In particular, female respondents were concerned strengthening the efforts towards implementing employment policies that would increase their employment prospectus such as creating private sector initiatives across the northern emirates that would offer work opportunities that were not previously available. Some female respondents stressed that they were struggling with the challenges of investing in a career and changing the traditional view of private sector employment. As discussed in earlier themes, the traditional stereotype of the competitive private sector is not seen as suitable for female Emirati nationals however the need for dual income as well as the increased career investment of educated women presents a new reality that employment initiatives have yet to address in the poorer emirates.

4.8.0.1 Emiratisation: Success or Failure?

Emiratisation is a broad concept that needs to be broken down in order to define its scope and to evaluate its impact on available opportunities, for Emirati men and women, and especially youth. I asked the respondents about their awareness of the definition of Emiratisation: "Are you and aware of these policies? [explain if not]".

A senior manager of a multinational operating between London and Dubai said

that she viewed Emiratisation initiatives as successful, especially in the field of entrepreneurship. She further explained that the initiatives are going to introduce change into the traditionally segregated working environment, making it friendlier, both for men and women across the UAE.

> "Emiratisation initiatives have offered women entrepreneurial schemes allowing them to pursue a wide range of activities. I think this is instrumental to changing the traditional work environment and eradicating gender segregation in the workforce." (Interview 70, female, senior, early forties, Dubai-London)

Students were asked if Emiratisation was important for integrating Emirati nationals into the workforce. Some students stated that they were unaware of the details of Emiratisation strategies and their long term impact. The respondents also explained that the policy did not have any set guidelines, but rather that it kept on changing throughout recent years.

The following quote by a final year Emirati undergraduate at AUS illustrates this:

> "Emiratisation is a recently added concept in the UAE different societies. The local citizens are a minority in the UAE population; therefore, each citizen could have a job and Emiratisation encourages the individuals to work in the government or in the private sector. But, some of the foreign companies that operate in the UAE do not hire Emiratis in the private sector. Emiratisation forces the foreign companies to hire both foreigners and Emiratis in the private sector. Thus, the Emiratis end up working in the public sector because they feel it guarantees their future." (Interview 11, male, 23, AUS, humanities, Abu Dhabi)

> "My parents told me about Emiratisation. But, the first time I was exposed to Emiratisation after was when I realised that my sponsoring company was trying to recruit UAE nationals to meet Emiratisation quotas." (Interview 3, female, 21, AUS, sciences, Sharjah)

Despite the respondents' emphasis on the vagueness of Emiratisation, the majority of the respondents thought it was effective since it ensured employment in the

private sector. However, 32 (17 females and 15 males) out of 40 students empha-
sised the overall importance of Emiratisation in providing opportunities for Emirati
nationals. This view may be seen as rather at odds with the principal importance of
a strategy that is seen as vague. According to a female student at Zayed University,
Emiratisation strategies focus on the capacity building of Emirati nationals, to gain a
competitive edge in a globalised work environment. She stressed that:

> "Emiratisation has benefitted a lot of people but at the same time some
> were unlucky and remained unemployed. It requires initiative and an
> active follow- up on the part of the citizen." (Interview 31, female, 22, ZU,
> arts, Abu Dhabi)

As indicated by the examples above, the overwhelming response was positive.
Yet, despite respondents stating the importance of Emiratisation, they also high-
lighted some structural challenges. The public sector offers better pay and benefits
which are difficult to maintain in the private sector. In addition, Emiratisation mecha-
nisms need to address favorable working conditions and so attract nationals towards
careers in the private sector (Badam, 2013).

4.9   Structural Challenges to Emiratisation

To further investigate the challenges involved, I asked respondents: "In your opin-
ion, how effective are these sorts of policies?" According to the tallied responses,
Emirati nationals are stereotyped in the workforce. This will be discussed further
in the next section. A further significant point was the subject of stereotyping the
work ethics of Emirati nationals. Twenty students (11 females and 9 males) out of 40
stressed that stereotyping and the implementation of quotas in employment led to a
focus on hiring nationals to meet the allocated quota without enhancing their skills
at work.

> "Actually, I would like to see it spread across more sectors. I mean
> even in the aviation sector such as Etihad they are implementing an Emi-
> ratisation program where they recruit Emiratis and train them. My friends
> are in a graduate training program where in a period of two years, they

become managers in the department of their choice. Emiratisation is defi-
nitely helping across tourism, banking, and semi government sectors such
as Mubadala and Masdar." (Interview 21, female, 24, AUS, business, Abu
Dhabi)

"I do not think Emiratisation is effectively contributing to women's
rights in the workplace because it has not introduced work flexibility poli-
cies. Even if the person does not explain, you can add a couple of words to
make it clearer to your reader. The government has introduced Emirati-
sation to encourage Emirati youth to work such as internship schemes.
But I think social acceptance and family support are crucial to facilitat-
ing women's entry into the workforce." (Interview 13, female, 22, AUS,
business, Sharjah)

The above interviews identified the vagueness of Emiratisation as being the main
structural challenge to its potential impact. Moreover, 25 employees (13 females and
12 males) agreed that Emiratisation was a vital strategy for the employment of Emi-
rati national, whilst it also suffered from several weaknesses. According to the re-
spondents, the challenges include the lack of proper implementation for hiring a
certain number of Emirati nationals across various sectors. This notion supports the
timeline in chapter 1 which traced the state's approach to Emiratisation over the past
few years. Indeed, the respondents' attitudes are indicative of this.

"I joined the private sector five years ago. As far as I am concerned,
Emiratisation has not resulted in any substantial change. However, all of
my colleagues said that it has led to a slight improvement in private sector
employment." (Interview 1, male, basic, mid-twenties, Abu Dhabi)

"When I graduated, the college registered me with Emiratisation through
Tanmia. I am unaware of the process of its implementation and how a
fresh graduate benefits from it. The public sector is full of Emirati na-
tionals but the private sector is not." (Interview 6, female, basic, early
twenties, Dubai)

"Emiratisation is brilliant but it needs to focus on a specific demographic. We, as Emiratis, are a minority therefore we have to compete with experienced foreign hires so we face serious employment challenges. That is why Emiratisation strategies offer job opportunities to locals." (Interview 5, male, basic, early twenties, Dubai)

The Emiratisation decree issued in 1997 relied on the introduction of quotas to hire Emirati nationals and maintain their presence in organisations. However, market needs across the UAE have changed, especially following the 2008 economic crisis, which resulted in an increase in the level of youth unemployment. The rentier economy subsequently attempted to address the issue of unemployment through Emiratisation (Forstenlechner and Rutledge, 2010; Gray, 2011; Schedneck, 2014). According to a senior female manager:

"Emiratisation should focus more on employees' talents and skills. As a manager, I want to nurture talent and not indiscriminately hire employees to meet the Emiratisation targets set for the banks. So, implementing Emiratisation has its drawbacks such as retaining highly skilled employees in senior position." (Interview 64, female, senior, late twenties, Dubai)

An argument could be made that this will lead to failure of Emiratisation long term objectives of creating a knowledge based economy with a higher number of Emirati nationals occupying senior positions. Therefore, instead of Emiratisation advocating for an overall increase in available job opportunities for Emirati nationals in the workforce, transferable skills strategies, for both men and women, will increase the long-term investment of employees in reaching senior level positions.

According to two bank employees, Emirati nationals must be willing to go undergo training at all levels in order to maximise their competitive advantage at work. Both employees stressed that for Emiratisation strategies to be effective and result in an increase in number of Emirati employees, a greater emphasis needs to be placed on skills development.

"As an Emirati national, Emiratisation must be effective. We should have Emirati locals working at banks at least for it gives fair chances

among the locals and the foreign hires. At this branch, Emirati employees
make up 35 percent of the employees which is acceptable but not enough."
(Interview 20, male, senior, early forties, Dubai)

"Emiratis only apply to white collar jobs. That is the main challenge.
When one wants to work, he/she needs to gain experience and therefore
not choose the job they like for it suits their social status." (Interview 8,
female, basic, mid-twenties, Dubai)

According to Norris (2011), economic stagnation in the Arab world can be at-
tributed to the underutilisation of women as a human resource because of traditional
cultural values.This challenge was the catalyst for Arab Spring movements that have
shown that both men and women suffer from unemployment (Gray, 2011; Gengler,
2013). Thus, in the case of the UAE, the integration of women into the workforce
through Emiratisation, for instance, is important to tackle the issue of national un-
employment. Nevertheless, the issues of cultural values that constrain women in
the labour market remain an economic hurdle that limit the active contribution of
women in the Emirati workforce (Marcel and Mitchell, 2006; Kelly, 2009; Norris, 2011;
Moghadam, 2013).

4.9.1   The Viability of Emiratisation

The topic of the viability of Emiratisation was central to the discussion held with
the university students in terms of examining their attitudes towards the effective-
ness of Emiratisation. However, interviews with the employees at the banks offered
a deeper evaluation of the practical implementation of, and challenges to, Emiratisa-
tion.

The interviews aimed to identify the scope of Emiratisation initiatives and quotas
in different sectors. The findings show that Emiratisation has set a number of quotas
across different sectors within the UAE. For example, banks are expected to have at
least 15 per cent of their workforce as Emiratis, and companies operating in trade and
commercial activities, and with more than 50 employees, are required to maintain an
annual 2 per cent Emiratisation quota. Moreover, an increase in private sector holi-
days and a minimum salary entitlement for UAE nationals can be seen as potential

incentives, according to the Ministry of Labour.[2] The following sections examine the challenges to the effective implementation of Emiratisation.

4.9.1.1   Lack of Knowledge of Emiratisation

Four (3 females and 2 males) out of 30 employees were unable to define Emiratisation. Indeed, they explained that they did not understand how Emiratisation initiatives were formulated and implemented. In addition, they were unable to determine whether the main aim of Emiratisation was to meet the assigned quotas and to hire nationals in different companies or whether it was about nurturing the skills of nationals.

> "Emiratisation, as it stands, is a very vague concept. From what I understand it aims to help UAE nationals locate job opportunities, and give them a chance to prove themselves in different fields and sectors. Honestly, I am unaware of how Emiratisation is implemented and when."
> (Interview 55, male, basic, mid-twenties, Dubai)

This view was further supported by a female employee who was unaware of Emiratisation before venturing into the job market.

> "I had no idea about Emiratisation until I started my Master's degree. So, when I was looking for a job, I relied on career fairs in finding a job."
> (Interview 9, female, basic, mid-twenties, Dubai)

Emiratisation has varied effectiveness across the public and private sectors. As indicated, it appears that respondents had a cultural awareness of the policy, and realistic expectations regarding the outcomes of the government's attempt to nationalise its workforce. They explained that it would have an impact in the long term. For example:

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[2]The Cabinet passed a decree in 2005 for Emiratisation quotas across banks, trade and insurance companies. Read more: http://www.thenational.ae/business/industry-insights/economics/abu-dhabi-faces-emiratisation-challenge-as-nationals-shy-away-from-private-sector-jobs#ixzz2acaaFLLD

"Emiratisation is effective across the public sector where Emirati nationals receive high salaries and are given fair chances to excel at work." (Interview 19, 22, male, AUS, arts, Dubai)

Similar observations about Emiratisation were made by students, who stressed the positive change in employing Emirati nationals within the private sector. An Emirati student stated that after the economic crisis he felt there was a sense of fear among students regarding the UAE maintaining its global role and strong economy. He said that most employees in the public sector are Emirati nationals. However, Emiratisation has also introduced some kind of job security for Emirati nationals. especially young graduates in the private sector. According to this graduate:

"In the public sector, most of the employees are Emirati nationals. It does not have a major impact on employment because the government encourages Tawteen. It is effective in the private sector. The mentality has changed: everyone has to work and contribute to society. I feel happy because Emiratis are working at the mall or at Carrefour [an international hypermarket].This indicates a gradual change in the values and accepted norms." (Interview 16, male, 21, AUS, business, Abu Dhabi)

While two students echoed their support for the effectiveness of Emiratisation programmes in the private sector, both emphasised that students need to be equipped with the qualifications that are needed in the labour market.

"Since Emirati graduates could not find jobs easily, the government introduced Emiratisation to help them find jobs. As a result of Emiratisation, companies hire locals in private sector. This has created friction between foreign employees and Emiratis on so many different levels." (Interview 12, male, 23, AUS, sciences, Sharjah)

"Emiratisation needs to build on the qualifications of employees. Emiratisation initiatives have encouraged women to work but it has not literally opened doors for an array of talents and capabilities. For example, women are still largely present in the education sector." (Interview 20, female, 22, AUS, sciences, Sharjah)

The majority of students supported the introduction of Emiratisation initiatives. According to a student at Zayed University, he was pressured to take a science instead of an arts degree because his parents thought that will not help him secure a job in the workforce. Despite his parents disapproval, he did pursue an arts degree, stating that:

> "There has been a shift in the traditional Emirati view." (Interview 29, male, 22, ZU, arts, Dubai)

The position taken by the majority of students was that the education system in the UAE should focus on matching graduates' skills with the needs and skills of the market. The main issue emphasised by the students was that the education system in the UAE needs to equip the younger generation with the right skills and competencies in order for them to compete in a globalised labour market. Clearly, this emphasises the mismatch of skills that was previously addressed in the Global Competitiveness Report (World Economic Forum, 2013). The efforts of the UAE government to diversify its oil based economy have contributed to alternative investments in sectors such as education, tourism and the media (Gray, 2011). In support of the need to revisit the classical analysis of a rentier state, "public policies should create a business enabling environment, in order to nurture enterprise creation and expansion, in particular by fostering the potential of the young and women entrepreneurs. This in turn will further the efforts by MENA governments to engage in the diversification of their economies" (Ehlermann-Cache, 2012, pp. 4). As the next section will show the accessibility of Emiratisation programmes is important to engage with the employment potential of Emirati nationals.

4.9.2 Accessibility of Emiratisation Programmes

Another main factor highlighted by the participants was the accessibility of Emiratisation programmes, in particular across the banking sector. The students stated that they were aware of Emiratisation programmes at banks across the UAE, the aim being to attract Emirati university graduates and thus build their capacities. As one Emirati manager, who has been working on developing these programmes at the

bank, put it, the programmes are tailored to introduce graduates from all disciplines to the different employment grades used in banks. The manager also said that:

> "The culture itself and the mindset of managers have changed. Managers are taking the initiative to hire a percentage of UAE nationals and to develop their skills. We have hired 11 Emirati graduates. The CFO initiated this approach- through introducing a training model at the bank." (Interview 25, female, middle, mid-twenties, Dubai)

The programs are focused on the importance of developing skills. Another female manager who worked at a different bank said that the training programs have been successful in terms of hiring young graduates and job seekers. As was discussed earlier, LRS theory has emphasised that the job sector needs to accommodate the influx of educated Emirati youth outside the saturated public sector. According to the majority of respondents from the banks, there has been a gradual acceptance and positive approach by Emirati nationals to accept different roles at the banks. According to a senior manager who had been working for 30 years in the banking industry:

> "Emirati employees should be groomed through suitable career planning. Emiratisation programs should build partnerships with universities. This is the only way to improve because we cannot rely on expatriates to pass on their knowledge and experience." (Interview 44, female, senior, early forties, Dubai, 2 children)

Another senior female manager was proud to have been among the first recruits for the banks Emiratisation program. She pointed out that her husband was very supportive during the process, especially since there were only two females and 11 men in the program. She said:

> "I was among the first batch of Emirati nationals who were a part of the bank's Emiratisation initiative. It was helpful but it was not widely accepted by foreign employees. They are aware that Emirati nationals are treated differently in terms of a career path investment." (Interview 66, female, senior, early forties, Dubai, 2 children)

However, an interesting point was made by a female employee, who had been working at the bank for the past eight years, and stressed the importance of setting a career path as a long term investment for Emirati employees. This view refers to a previous statement by a female bank employee who stressed that for Emiratisation strategies to be effective the question of social status and the attitudes towards employment must be recognised.

> "One major disadvantage of Emiratisation is that Emirati graduates directly apply for a managerial position instead of gaining experience through the employment ladder. And I believe this is a major hindrance in implementing Emiratisation." (Interview 15, female, middle, early thirties, one child, Dubai)

The issue of skills development was a recurrent theme. According to bank managers, human resources departments are introducing training programmes for employees across all levels. The overall aim of these programmes is to facilitate communication between senior level employees and entry level employees in the hope of facilitating promotion of employees from within the banks. In addition, female employees suggested that training programmes should also focus on mentorship schemes that would facilitate individual training and identify certain challenges faced by employees. A senior manager was highly supportive of the potential of the suggested skills development programs and expressed the importance of the long term objective of retaining employees in the bank.

4.10   Conclusion

To sum up, the qualitative interviews established the participants' attitude towards the effectiveness of Emiratisation and the available business opportunities for women. The interviews also painted an overview of the notion of a work-life balance according to employees; this included the introduction of day care centres in organisations as well as the notion of flexible work hours.

In addition, the main themes identified are important in understanding whether Emiratisation can create some form of agency for Emirati nationals, and in particular

for Emirati women. Each theme offered contexts in which Emiratisation may operate as a barrier or as a motivating factor for Emirati Students or bankers in terms of negotiating new and available roles in the workforce. In this study, there were several references to Emiratisation initiatives and programmes in attracting Emiratis to public and private sectors. Many of the responses supported Gray's claim of LRS theory, thus keeping with the theoretical claim that there is a need to refer to an emerging economy (Gray, 2011). In order for economic diversification to survive, the rentier state should recognise women as active agents of social and economic change. The case of Emiratisation highlights the increasing presence of educated Emirati women breaking the traditional social barrier of women in public sector employment. The social and economic challenges to sustain the long term effectiveness of Emiratisation, will be further discussed in the next chapter.

Most of the students addressed the issue of flexible time in the public and private sectors, while the majority of bank employees referred to the importance of benefits and flexible work arrangements in determining sector preference, and coping with the difficulties they faced in retaining their jobs. In relation to the globalised society of the UAE, we can observe a preference towards private sector employment. Emiratisation, as well as appointing women in key positions, highlights the importance of women as human capital in the national workforce. The transition from a traditional rentier and tribal society to a more globalised society posits the need to engage with women directly, as they represent vital human capital (Heard-Bey, 1996). This also sheds light on the importance of creating more employment opportunities in the private sector.

The findings of this study show that Emirati women's main concern was the availability of day care centres and flexible work arrangements thus ensuring the safety of their children. Women were willing to seek alternative work options to secure this safety. This supports the findings of previous studies that suggest that the introduction of diversity and work-life balance policies in the private sector may contribute to attracting and retaining UAE nationals (Siim, 2009; Forstenlechner et al., 2012; Darhour and Dahlerup, 2013). For example, according to Badam, the government has narrowed the number of holiday differences between the public and private sec-

tors in an effort to attract nationals to private sector employment (Badam, 2013). In addition, the findings confirm that Emiratisation initiatives have introduced a multiplicity of roles to Emirati nationals. Previous research also highlights that, in practice, the benefits provided by Emiratisation have not been fully interpreted. In addition, it also appears that Emirati women in particular still face societal and cultural barriers. Furthermore, the findings show that female participants are also negotiating their roles, with a change in employers' attitudes that was previously just the representation of a male dominant workforce (Kelly, 2009; Carvalho Pinto, 2012; Schedneck, 2014).

Overall, and despite the training programs offered in the private sector, some nationals prefer to relocate to the public sector if a work opportunity presents itself. In this sense, the private sector is seen as a transitory field. The trend towards public sector employment underlines the entrenched rentier mentality where public sector employment is a guaranteed option. According to the respondents, the continuity of Emiratisation strategies is very important in both building a mutual beneficial relationship between the government and its citizens, as well as encouraging women's and youth's contribution to the workforce within a transitional rentier state such as the UAE. The gradual change in gender roles, and women's roles in particular, is extremely important. However, it is insufficient for the state to introduce gender and work reform initiatives without incorporating a policy framework of gender based inclusion and work-life balance policies (Al Mughni and Tetreault, 2000; Elkoglai and Al-Bassusi, 2001; Kelly, 2009; Carvalho Pinto, 2012). This will be further discussed in the policy recommendations and theoretical implications in the next chapter.

Chapter 5

Conclusion and Recommendations

The previous chapter highlighted the gap between Emiratisation and the work-life balance and the practices that exist, according to selected UAE graduates and bankers. As the interviews have shown, women in the UAE see themselves as modern, negotiating new opportunities and roles for themselves (Hollway, 1984; Gray, 2011; Schedneck, 2014). In addition, the findings show that the male dominated work practices in the UAE are laced with issues of intergenerational mobility. This has allowed Emiratis to manoeuvre within the structurally framed and established institutions of a classical rentier state. This thesis argues that instances of familial patriarchal control in the UAE are gradually coming round to support the idea of women entering the private sector. Since this research has examined the impact of Emiratisation on the participation of the female labour force in the UAE, it has assessed whether Emiratisation has led to some form of agency for Emirati nationals, and in particular women in the UAE workforce. The research findings are instrumental to the policy recommendations suggested below. Chapter 1 provided an overview of the UAE's Emiratisation policy, and contemporary gender perceptions in the MENA region. Many respondents' positions clearly show the active participation of women in the workforce and in Emirati society. The findings illustrate that women are present in the public sphere and actively contributing to education, politics and the workforce. Certainly, there is a risk about generalising across various societies, and about women across the MENA region in particular. However, issues such as changing educational curricula and increasing women's economic participa-

tion are also addressed in this research, emphasising the importance of the social and economic rights of women. Chapter 2 investigated the claims of classical rentier theory which mainly focused on an oil dominant labour market, and the social consequences of a rentier state mentality. The dependency of Emirati citizens on the government to provide employment has created a socio-economic reality that underscore the importance of understanding the gender and employment framework of the MENA region. In investigating a work-life balance for women alongside Emiratisation, this study has provided a fresh perspective on the need for gender friendly policies in the UAE. Chapter 3 set out the methodological approach and the interview selection process across the UAE. Chapter 4 presented data collected from interviews with 40 university graduates: 32 interviews with bankers and 5 interviews with policy makers and top UAE managers. The main differences in themes between the two sample groups were the job sector preferences, and attitudes towards work-life balance policies. The attitudes and career aspirations of students underscored a generational change which can be seen in the differences between themes that emerged in chapter 4. Although variables such as historical political culture, tribal lineage and religion are crucial to understanding the UAE, this research focuses on its contemporary labour market, the current political environment, and Emiratisation in terms of negotiating new business roles for women within the UAE workforce. The empirical research has focused on identifying UAE's contemporary work culture, issues of occupational segregation, and women's perceptions regarding flexibility options in the public and private sectors. The following section addresses the inadequacy of the current labour law in relation to newly promised gender equality at the workforce.

5.0.1 UAE's Labour Law

In terms of evaluating the existing labour law, as it stands, this thesis has shown that it does not offer women equality at work. Indeed, Emiratisation employment initiatives need to be re-examined and to incorporate issues such as maternity leave, day care centres and flexible working hours, while taking into account the lack of structural support within UAE labour law and the company policies offered in the private sector (World Bank, 2004*b*). The interviews offer a snapshot of maternity

leave options in the UAE and how they link to power dynamics at work and home. Women's career progression is limited by strong patriarchal constraints such as familial preference for working in the public sector, which is evident from the interviews. A main feature in relation to women and work is the absence of employment contracts that identify women's double duty, that is, duty both at home and at work (Moghadam, 2013). In most Arab countries, and in the case of GCC states specifically, the importance of employed women as vital human capital is not recognised. The sections below discuss the theoretical contribution of this thesis with regards to late rentierism theory, and its contribution to scholarship on women and the MENA labour market.

5.1   Theoretical Contribution to LRS

This research builds on Gray's theory of LRS, whereby GCC states, and, in particular, the UAE, are seen to import a contemporary rentier approach through the introduction of Emiratisation, and the support of educational attainment for women (Gray, 2011). However, the UAE's attempt at economic diversification, and women's economic empowerment, is constrained by the patriarchal employment culture embedded in the norms and attitudes of traditional rentier society (Krause, 2009; Gray, 2011). Both Emirati women and Emiratisation initiatives need to address contemporary work-life balance policies within the UAE labour law to effectively integrate women in the UAE workforce. In sum, UAE's attempt at a work life balance still means that employees are attracted to work in the public rather than the private sector.

The research has elaborated on three features of Gray's theory of LRS, identifying the challenges women face in the workforce, that is, in terms of Emiratisation creating some form of agency for women (Gray, 2011). It has also identified globalisation as an interesting site for examining students' job sector preferences, and how it has aligned itself with Emiratisation strategies (Gray, 2011). In this context, I further developed the strand of transitional rentierism by identifying the career aspirations of Emirati youth. Moreover, the empirical work addresses the importance of increased flexibility in the workplace, allowing those who are under-represented

to gain more exposure, and reducing the rigidity of policies. Following on from this line of argument, this research has further developed two aspects of Gray's transitional rentierism theory by attempting to identify the career aspirations of Emirati youth, and addressing work-life balance policies in the banking sector (Gray, 2011). The empirical work has addressed the importance of maternity leave and increased flexibility in the workplace, which would allow women to gain more exposure and for policy rigidity to be reduced. Since Emiratisation has primarily focused on the UAE's banking sector, this research has attempted to draw general policy recommendations based on the positive impact and challenges that have emerged in order to better address the restructuring of the UAE labour market.

This research has advanced the claim that rent distribution is hierarchical and influenced by UAE's class structures; this is critical to understanding current gender dynamics in the UAE, and the region as a whole. Marcel and Mitchell (2006) identified glass walls as barriers to female participation in male-dominated or "dirty/rough" industries like those in the UAE that deal in oil and gas (Marcel and Mitchell, 2006). Further supporting Luciani, they also underlined the rentier mentality that emerged as a result of 1970s oil booms; this occurred across the Arab Gulf States and Iran, with the state becoming the principle economic actor in distributing its wealth to citizens (Beblawi and Luciani, 1987). The overarching conservative and patriarchal attitude of the state led to the creation of a predominantly patriarchal society. In addition, the dominance of oil related jobs led to a largely dominant male workforce across the Arab Gulf State which deterred women from participating in the labour market (Beblawi and Luciani, 1987; Sultan et al., 2011; Carvalho Pinto, 2012). Yet this research supports the position that Emiratisation contradicts the patriarchal attitudes which restrict women's advancement in society, the workplace and politics (Kelly, 2009; Gray, 2011; Carvalho Pinto, 2012).

This thesis supports Gray's approach to rentierism as dynamic, shifting over time and according to context, rather than an overarching explanation for a state's political economy (Gray, 2011). According to Gray, as GCC states have become more globalised, they have attempted to diversify away from oil reliant sectors (Gray, 2011). Therefore, there is a need to examine the transition of a rentier state through a socio-

economic lens. The impact of the oil economy has resulted in a male intensive oil sector, regional oil economy, and capital flows across the region (Gengler, 2013). In terms of existing gender discrimination in the workforce, gender ideology, norms and stereotypes are critical factors pointed out by both students and bankers. Moreover, traditional gender stereotypes and Emiratisation have further reinforced employment challenges. For example, as the data has shown, some Emirati managers have reservations about the efficiency of Emirati employees. Moreover, Moghadam argues that encouraging women's economic participation can be seen as a prerequisite for greater societal participation (Moghadam, 2013). This thesis suggests a revision for RST, while not disputing the powerful impact rents have had on state-society relations. It has attempted to develop some elements of Gray's idea of transitional rentierism, while, in particular, identifying the challenges facing women's participation and the influx of educated youth in the UAE labour market (Gray, 2011). As indicated in chapter 4, the data collected highlights the reasons behind the graduates' sector preference, attempting to identify factors which would help attract and retain them in the workforce, and decrease unemployment levels in the UAE. This research has shown that to sustain this level of development, policies to support work life balance (such as mothers in the labour force, paid maternity leave and day care centres) need to be introduced and examined more closely. In the context of the UAE, a closer analysis of the increased number of women in higher education and women entrepreneurs was able to demonstrate regime responsiveness to societal concerns. This research examined the impact of Emiratisation strategies and their potential impact on some form of agency for Emirati nationals.

5.1.1 Possible Emiratisation Strategies

This research has argued that employment related gender equality laws need to be implemented in both the public and private sectors. Although states are introducing new legislation, and upgrading existing legislation, private sector companies are not being held accountable for implementing gender friendly employment policies. The economic rationale of the UAE government's investment in Emiratisation has focused on maximizing national human capital by introducing women into the UAE work-

force. This research has identified the fluid state-society relation across the UAE that focuses on internal dynamics such as unemployment rates, youth's career aspirations and women's entry into the workforce. This internal focus of LRS theory contradicts some of the traditional assumptions of a rentier state, which highlight the impact of external rents and governance to understand state-society relations (Gray, 2011). The establishment of government initiatives such as the UAE 2030 economic vision, national childcare standards and women on board quotas, emphasise the vital role of women for the economic sustainability of the state. However, contemporary official state discourse is also faced with embedded patriarchy, in terms of workplace discrimination. Paramount to women's empowerment and the economic development of the state, there should be greater awareness of women's rights in those policies introduced by the government and its ratification of the ILO's decent work program as well as the UN's CEDAW (UN General Assembly, 1979; International Labour Organisation, 2010). According to the Global Gender Gap Report, the national educational enrolment figures for women have reached nearly 100 per cent and women are increasingly entering the UAE workforce (Hausmann et al., 2014). More importantly, the lack of exceptionally rich gender equality legislation motivates the necessity to further study gender policy legislation in the UAE.

According to the findings of this research, this is a major challenge to the effective implementation of Emiratisation initiatives. The Global Gender Gap report has ranked the UAE as the top regional performer in relation to women's accessibility to education, employment and politics (Hausmann et al., 2014). The findings have also shown that inadequate maternity leave and work policies continue to restrict women in the workforce, despite the signing of international conventions such as the ILO's Maternity Protection 2000(No. 183) or Workers with Family Responsibilities 1981(No.156).[1] Instead, what is needed is a closer alignment between labour nationalisation policies and work-life balance policies so as to normalise the presence of women in companies across the UAE workforce.

As set out in chapter 4, participants highlighted the following issues as critical to their work life balance and their visibility in the workforce:

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[1] For more information please refer to `http://www.ilo.org/gender/Informationresources/WCMS_192554/lang--en/index.htm`.

- Geographical proximity of relatives;

- Stability of employment;

- Access to the labour market;

- Opportunities for career development;

- Better maternity leave and flexible working arrangements; and

- The attitudes and values of their community.

Following on from the recognition of these factors for a more effective Emiratisation policy, the research claims that although the state has introduced Emiratisation, the constraints of gender inequality remain significant and will continue to result in lower levels of productivity. This is pivotal to understanding the restructuring of gendered organisations in both sectors (Acker, 1998; Lewis and Cooper, 2005; Lewis et al., 2009; Lewis and Humbert, 2010). As the data has shown, structural constraints and gender stereotypes constrain the presence of women in the UAE workforce. However, transitional rentierism clearly indicates that integrating gender policies into a largely patriarchal workforce can positively impact the effective integration of UAE nationals, across in both public and private sectors.

In the context of the Arab Gulf States, labour nationalisation strategies focus on attracting nationals into the workforce, and reducing their dependency on foreign workers to a superficial level, without directly addressing the gender dynamics of the labour market (Gray, 2011; Forstenlechner et al., 2012). The overall findings show that there has been a change in the social and cultural support available to women entering the semi government and private sectors. Therefore, a more inclusive approach to gender issues within the UAE labour market would contribute to diminishing stereotypical assumptions about women's productivity and employment. In that regard, Emiratisation is part of the overall economic diversification strategy of the UAE that sheds some light on new business opportunities available for women. As was set out in chapter 2, the relationship between women's employment and their investment in employment positions that has occurred in the social and political arena, has caused

us to examine the career ambitions of the younger generation as well as specifically female employees (Hollway, 1984).

This research argues that the emergence of a generation of women who are actively investing in a career reflect some form of Hollway's theory of investment, whereby females are negotiating a role in the UAE workforce (Hollway, 1984). In the Emirati context, women are being enabled to work in mixed working environments across various domains in the private sector. Traditional views of women and Islam fall short of the current reality where employment and the social integration of women in the workforce are increasingly addressing inadequate work policies. In this respect, the issue of the double burden, where women are required to take of children whilst simultaneously fulfilling their working needs, is to be addressed through work-family balance policies (Bailyn et al., 2001; Elkoglai and Al-Bassusi, 2001; Kelly, 2009). As more women join the UAE workforce, the findings of this research highlight the main challenges to Emiratisation strategies as;

- Addressing career ambitions of women in the UAE;

- Re-examining the work culture mentality to increase work flexibility options;

- Introducing options such as location flexibility, telecommuting arrangements and job sharing options to facilitate women's contribution across all the emirates; and

- Implementing closer follow-up of flexibility options across all departments in the public sector.

As suggested by the above findings, the private sector companies are more accommodating in offering a higher number of flexible work options and better maternity leave. According to a 2012 study by the DSG, "Microsoft Gulf FZ LLC tops the list and ever since 2011 they proposed extending their flexibility options to include compressed hours scheme" (Dubai Women Establishment, 2012, pp. 9). Yet, for these schemes to be productive, they require an understanding among the mindsets of future and present employees about the nature of flexibility schemes, and productivity rates in working environments. The spread of educational attainment and

Emiratisation initiatives have increasingly offered Emirati nationals opportunities for negotiating offered positions in the labour market (Davidson, 2009; Madichie, 2010). In order for Emirati nationals to better realise new roles in the traditional Emirati culture, this research stresses that Emiratisation strategies should also focus on:

- Addressing gender segmentation in the workforce through encouraging young men and women to apply for a wide range of Emiratisation internships and initiatives across all emirates;

- Engaging with students and the role of career fairs in delivering support from employers;

- Expanding the government's internship programs to include students from all majors;

- Identifying the needs of students with disabilities; and

- Raising awareness of hubs such as Tawteen and Tanmia to help students and job seekers make informed decisions about job opportunities.

The implications of labour nationalisation strategies across Arab Gulf states highlight the complex alignment of female participation in the current labour force. According to Hausmann et al. (2014), the quantity and quality of childcare and other public services across the UAE have improved such that all maternity leave benefits are provided by the employer although the length of the leave remains at 45 days. As previous research shows, there has been an influx of women into the workforce, while the UAE and other GCC states have experienced rapid economic growth (Gray, 2011; AlMunajjad and Sabbagh, 2011; Carvalho Pinto, 2012). In addition, the lack of exceptionally rich gender equality legislation stresses the need to further study the introduction and implementation of gender focused policy in the UAE (Gray, 2011; AlMunajjad and Sabbagh, 2011; Carvalho Pinto, 2012). The interviews in this thesis illustrate that work-life balance policies and gender quota policies need to be effectively designed in order to have a positive impact on retaining Emirati employees.

Following on from this line of argument, Gray emphasises that the state is both patriarchal and rentier in nature," rents and rentierism are central to an understand-

ing of the nature of Gulf regimes, their durability, their behavior, and the nature of their relationship with society" (Gray, 2011, pp. 36). According to Gray (2011), empowerment of both sexes and gender equality are global issues that need to be addressed. This is supported by the Arab Human Competitiveness Report that explains that the region is not capturing a large part of the return on its female labour force investment (World Economic Forum, 2013). Thus, this research has argued that a critical issue is the change in the established gendered division of labour, which posits the need to create more jobs and so increase women's participation in the workforce. Therefore, the empirical results have highlighted limitations to the respondents' investments in the various roles promoting Emiratisation. The next section summarises the main social pressures that limit the impact of Emirati nationals' contribution to the workforce.

This research argues that the ever increasing presence of women in the labour force needs to be addressed through the introduction of work life balance policies. This may prove difficult to achieve but is a necessary platform to obtain, nonetheless. As Gray (2011) point outs, the paradoxes of contemporary rentierism, where states are responsive to society, undertaking economic reform and empowering women through legislation, underscores the need for women not to depend solely on the government's commitment, but also to focus on socio-cultural and familial dimensions, thus encouraging and maintaining a commitment to women's interests. The impact of transitional rentierism has transcended boundaries set by traditional rentierism and led to the emergence of unprecedented roles for Emirati women and youth. As highlighted in chapter 4, the first tier of interviews has addressed the career aspirations of Emirati youth subsequently allowing for an assessment of the effectiveness of Emiratisation initiatives from the viewpoint of university graduates. For example, most students interviewed, highlighted the following:

- The social stigma they face when entering the private sector;

- The social expectation that men will be the breadwinners in traditional Emirati society;

- The social expectation that women will work in the public sector;

- That the traditional work dichotomy is undergoing a major change as a result of Emiratisation; and

- A change in labour force dynamics as more university graduates enter the private sector.

The findings support scholarly efforts to move beyond religion, tribalism and patriarchy in order to explain gender roles in the MENA region (Ayubi, 1995; Moghadam, 2005; Al Rasheed, 2013). Yet, this is not to say that they are unimportant factors. However, as was mentioned in chapter 2, current economic realities, women's aspirations, and high levels of unemployment shape the contemporary gender paradigm of this area. In addition, in order for the environment to adapt to the career aspirations of a new UAE generation, the interviews have shown the necessity of companies including working arrangements such as work hours that are compatible with women's other roles, in order to retain female talent. Accordingly, work-life balance scholarship can be divided into two categories: one that recognises the need for the introduction of polices based on the premise that women are important examples of human capital, and the other predicated on the premises of equality and ethics (Moghadam, 2013). As was elaborated in chapter 2, the state's introduction of Emiratisation and social provisions can be seen as necessary for assessing the impact of a globalised economy (Gray, 2011). This research has aimed at identifying possible policy recommendations, and negotiating gender dynamics within the workplace. The European context would offer a beneficial comparative model to enhance policies in the UAE. For example, the increased presence of women in board rooms has been an important aspect of gender policy in the European Union (EU) (Arthur, 2012; Browne, 2013). However, according to the Vice-president and Commissioner responsible for Justice, Fundamental Rights and Citizenship in the EU, Vivienne Reding, the introduction of legislation might force companies to actively promote women and thus speed up progress in relation to women's representation (Arthur, 2012; Browne, 2013). In addition, she has urged European countries to set themselves a target whereby women make up 30 percent of board members by 2015, and 40 per cent by 2020 (Arthur, 2012; Browne, 2013); certainly, there have been mixed responses towards the use of quotas that ensure the representation of women and ethnic mi-

norities, as well as diversity, including sexual orientation.

The European approach to the implementation of quotas in the workforce relies on different reason to those of the UAE, which will be elaborated in this section. For example, the use of quotas have in some cases, been considered diversity management techniques that "are contentious as they seek to change the demographic composition of workplaces" (Forstenlechner et al., 2012, pp. 299). What is of relevance to this research is the Arab governments' use of quotas to increase the labour force participation of nationals in each country (Forstenlechner et al., 2012, pp. 299). The UAE introduced quota systems to address a demographic imbalance in the workforce as a result of the country's dependency on foreign workers, and the saturated recruitment situation experienced by the public sector. According to Forstenlechner and Rutledge (2010), reducing the unemployment rate and introducing nationals into the workforce remains a key domestic challenge, despite the fact that quota requirements were introduced over a decade ago. The importance of career fairs for students has shown that career aspirations of the younger Emirati generation is more focused, which is in contrast to Forstenlechner and Rutledge's overview of domestic challenges. This also supports the research findings whereby government policies, including the use of quotas, are being coordinated by the government and private sector companies to overcome a key workforce challenge. In addition, the findings have underscored that the importance of identifying trends in the career aspirations of youth is vital in maintaining private sector jobs for Emiratis, and in meeting Emiratisation targets in the private sector.

The complexity of interests that underpin the acceptance of quotas for increasing the labour force participation of Emirati nationals is made clear in the private sector. A limited study of diversity management practices in the UAE stressed the interwoven influences at both macro and micro levels, as well as the socio-cultural and historical contexts regarding the challenges of quota systems across the UAE workforce (Davidson, 2008; Forstenlechner et al., 2012). In this context, the findings reflect a distortion of preferences in the recruitment process as a result of Emiratisation. For example, the implementation of quotas has resulted in indiscriminate hiring, regardless of experience and qualifications. Since there is a limited recruit-

ment pool for UAE nationals, the quota system as it stands has improved women's contribution to the workforce; however, there needs to be concrete indicators to help organisations promote and maintain women's presence in the workforce (Davidson, 2008; Forstenlechner et al., 2012). For example, each organisation may face unique challenges related to gender parity and quota implementation. Therefore, as the findings in chapter 4 suggest, all organisations should use these indicators as benchmarks to optimise the selective hiring of qualified Emirati nationals.

The interviews with the Emirati university graduates have shown that the younger generation is competing for the available jobs despite status taboos. Many female respondents stressed that there are practical advantages to the presence of a role model or mentor. In addition, the majority of female respondents underscored the importance of maternity leave and flexible working hours as vital to women working, and more importantly argued that this affected their work sector preference. The discrepancies in holiday time and maternity leave between the public and private sectors are also a major challenge to Emiratisation initiatives. Increasing the length of maternity leave to meet international ILO standards can help ensure a woman's return to the workplace after maternity leave, for example. This will help to create an accommodating environment, as Emiratisation attempts to support more Emirati women in the private sector. It can be seen that private sector initiatives targeting Emirati nationals may have a positive impact on their social inclusion. For example, the top down approach of Emiratisation and basic compliance carried out by organisations has proven weak. This research has promoted the need to amend the labour law and the implementation of its articles pertaining to maternity leave and flexible work hours and so increase the opportunities for women to actively contribute to the UAE's workforce.

5.2   Women as Economic Drivers of Change

Unemployment in the UAE may be addressed through the changing mentality towards private sector employment, with Emirati nationals, especially women, being considered as untapped human potential (Kelly, 2009; Gray, 2011). It is argued here that in order to optimise human capital, much needed investment in educa-

tion, skills and women's empowerment is required across all sectors. From a critical perspective, grassroots activism is limited as women have to act within an already established institution that imposes a form of state imposed feminism (Krause, 2008). What is needed is a stronger engagement by students with the state. Activism at the grassroots level serves to change the predominant patriarchal mentality (Krause, 2009; Forstenlechner et al., 2012; Schedneck, 2014). However, as set out in chapter 2, previous research on women's education and employment opportunities has highlighted that in some Arab societies girls' education is a high yield investment since it allows women to explore various employment options (Hoodfar, 1997; Al Mughni and Tetreault, 2000; Kelly, 2009; Joseph et al., 2013). Emiratisation initiatives as mentioned in chapter 1 focus on education and supplying graduates with the right skills needed by the market (Davidson, 2005). The research findings show that young Emirati graduates are displaying better education skills and a more competitive approach to acquiring jobs in the private sector. In addition, the findings also support the Global Gender Gap Report's research whereby the gender gap in educational attainment has substantially narrowed and revealed the increased investment of women in career opportunities (Hausmann et al., 2014).

This research has identified the importance of career opportunities in the private sector in order for female participants to negotiate new realities in a traditionally conservative society. As the interviews have shown, parents have long preferred their daughters to enter the public sector; however, nowadays, families support and encourage their daughters to also enter the private sector, which is proving a more attractive location as Emiratisation initiatives are seen as great employment incentives. This further supports Moghadam's analysis, highlighting the incongruity of women in education and their presence in the labour force (Moghadam, 2013). Thus, there is a need for policy makers to identify the gap between what is proposed by Emiratisation, and the embedded socio-economic constraints such as conservative attitudes, that exist towards women working in the private sector. It is also essential to recognise the potential of "women's socio economic contribution and overall development in the Arab world" (Khoury and Moghadam, 2006, pp.1). This research suggests that equality of opportunity within the workforce in the context of Gulf nationals can be

further enhanced by the introduction of pro-family policies.

Quotas, and especially gender quotas, defy the traditional understanding of workforce representation. There is a need to establish 'pro-family' policies and laws in Arab Gulf States, and MENA countries, more generally. Until recently, MENA countries did not have the kind of transfers that Europe developed for families in need; rather, what remained were family support systems (Moghadam, 2005). Future research should therefore address the following:

- Designing quota policy with particular reference to legislative diversity and gender quotas;

- Assessing women's greater numerical presence in higher education as well as in UAE's FNC;

- Exploring quota diffusion throughout the UAE; and

- Transforming policy outcomes and the gendered structure of UAE's political power.

Paid maternity leave, and maternity benefits, as well as quality child care remain inadequate in the GCC labour market, despite the support mechanisms being introduced by the state (Moghadam, 2005; Kelly, 2009; World Economic Forum, 2013). This research has argued that gender friendly policies should be incorporated to help retain and augment female economic participation. It follows that in other GCC states, as well, these policies will actively add to the impact of labour nationalisation policies, and increase female talent within the workforce. The empirical part of this research examined the provisions for maternity leave and child care in the UAE in order to identify potential labour market patterns in oil economies, and, more specifically, opportunities for women entering the UAE workforce. Furthermore, it identified much needed policies to attract and retain women within the UAE workforce, taking Emiratisation as a starting point for enhancing women's role in the economy.

The aim of this thesis was to investigate late rentierism in the UAE through the advancement of women's economic participation, and whether women's active participation is challenged by work-life balance policies (Gray, 2011). Moghadam (2005)

argues that "The achievements of health and education policies that took place in the 1960s and 1970s were undermined by the gender bias implicit in the MENA's economic strategies and explicit in its family law, both of which served to widen the gender gap in education and employment access" (Moghadam, 2005, pp. 26). MENA states' developmentalism was undermined by a neopatriarchal approach to women, gender, and the family (Sharabi, 1988; Kelly, 2009; Moghadam, 2013). Together with the effects of oil wealth, the regional family laws prevented women's labour commodification, in contrast with other regions in the world economy. Indeed, until the end of the last century, the vast majority of MENA women constituted an untapped labour resource. Consequently, the characteristics of the regional oil economy, that is, the rentier and neopatriarchal nature of the states, has needed to be revised, especially given the socio-economic developments that have taken place since the 2011 Arab movements (Gray, 2011). Conditions specific to the regional oil economy have rendered female labour peripheral to the productive process, resulting in both a masculine labour force and highly gendered social policies. According to Dahlerup , the notion of a fast track model in the Arab world would serve to better promote work policies and the status of women. For example, as chapter 1 highlighted, the UAE was established in the 1970s so Dahlerup's fast track model of implementing policies would allow the UAE to adapt the successes and challenges of diversity and inclusion policies faced by women in Nordic countries to date (Dahlerupe and Friedenvall, 2010; Darhour and Dahlerup, 2013). An interesting project would be to compare the Nordic social democratic model, focusing on worker rights and women's participation, to the status of women in the UAE and establish a benchmark for implementing diversity policies in the UAE's labour market (Dahlerupe and Friedenvall, 2010; Darhour and Dahlerup, 2013).

This research has addressed the challenges facing the implementation of Emiratisation, aiming to identify the policies needed to ensure women's participation, and to enhance work and family balance in the work place. Previous scholarship has emphasised the patriarchal constraint that has limited women's mobility in the UAE workforce; however, as the research has shown, women are increasingly changing the gender dynamic of the UAE's workforce (Moghadam, 2013). The state's invest-

ment in education and focus on nurturing human talent offers a new perspective in a transitioning oil economy (Gray, 2011). Proactive work policies are merely the first step towards retaining female talent in this region. For example, according to Dubai's ruler, Sheikh Mohammed, Emiratisation targets should be doubled in the private sector (Al Khoori, 2014). This is indicative of the government's awareness of the plethora of challenges involved in achieving a highly skilled and youthful Emirati workforce. Further, women's economic progress should not only rely on state incentives but on women's negotiation of their investment in available employment opportunities, which would prove instrumental in the long term (Hollway, 1984; Gray, 2011).

5.3   Future Research

This study was designed to assess Emiratisation initiatives and work-life balance policies in the UAE labour market. It aimed to establish the current gender framework in terms of employment, and to assess the careers and aspirations of men and women in the UAE work place. A future study conducted with young female graduates on the factors affecting their leadership aspirations, would likely tell us much more about the difficulties and constraints faced in developing the skills, contacts and support needed for improved gender dynamics in the workforce. The findings would offer integral research, keeping in mind the current lack of up to date statistics, and difficulty in accessing data and material in the Arab world. Generally, to enhance the mobility of graduates in the private sector, business support mechanisms should be introduced to complement business entrepreneurship initiatives in the UAE (Kelly, 2009; World Economic Forum, 2013). Young graduates would also benefit from the creation of gender specific organisations that offer assistance to female graduates. This would help identify the performance and productivity of emerging youth leaders in the UAE's business sector, and allow for the examination of current generation's social characteristics, as well as the level of gender bias in employment.

The interviews across tier 2, as highlighted in chapter 4, have addressed the challenges faced by full time working mothers. In order to address the structural challenges of gendered stereotypes, better work life balance policies are crucial to maintaining and retaining human capital if the UAE is to progress towards limiting

gender segregation in the workforce (Gray, 2011; Schedneck, 2014). For example, to increase and maintain Emirati women's investment in their careers, there should be a focus on the following:

- Investment in human capital, which is key to integrating women into the workforce; and

- Introduction of friendly work policies in the private sector, such as day care centres, which would broaden career options for Emirati women.

The positions offered for Emirati nationals as a result of Emiratisation have resulted in changing economic relations in the UAE (Kelly, 2009; Gray, 2011; Schedneck, 2014). Nevertheless, the data has shown that there is much work still to be done regarding the implementation of policies, so as to impact a smooth transition in the gender dynamics of the UAE's labour market. The lack of identified needs for men and women in the Arab Gulf states, and the influx of women into the MENA region workforce will eventually lead to an imbalance in the choices available for both men and women. Thus, it is only on the basis of identifying the career aspirations of its youth, and ensuring tracked progress of policy implementation, that gender equity can be reached in social and institutional procedures across the UAE.

Appendix A

Profile of the American University of Sharjah (AUS)

The American University of Sharjah (AUS) is an independent, not-for-profit co-educational institution founded in 1997 by His Highness Sheikh Dr. Sultan Bin Mohammad Al Qasimi. It is a coeducational university in the Gulf that is grounded in Arab culture despite it being affiliated with American higher education institutions. The language of instruction across all courses at AUS is English (AUS official website, 2011).

AUS offers undergraduate and graduate degrees. The university is composed of the College of Arts and Sciences, the College of Engineering, the College of Architecture, Art and Design and the School of Business and Management. The university offers 25 majors and 48 minors at the undergraduate level and 13 Masters level degrees across the colleges. The College of Arts and Sciences offers Bachelor of Arts degrees in English Language and Literature, International Studies, and Mass Communication, alongside Bachelor of Science degrees in Biology, Chemistry, Environmental Science and Mathematics.

A.1 Degrees Offered

1. The College of Engineering;

    - Bachelor of Science in Computer Science

- Bachelor of Science in Chemical Engineering

- Bachelor of Science in Civil Engineering

- Bachelor of Science in Computer Engineering

- Bachelor of Science in Electrical Engineering

- Bachelor of Science in Mechanical Engineering

2. College of Architecture

- Bachelor of Architecture

- Bachelor of Interior Design

- Bachelor of Science Design Management

- Bachelor of Science in Multimedia Design

- Bachelor of Science in Visual Communication

3. The School of Business and Management

- Bachelor of Science in Business Administration

4. The graduate programmes

- Master of Arts Degree in Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages (MA TESOL)

- Master of Arts in Translation and Interpreting (English/Arabic/English) (MATI)

- Graduate Certificate in Museum and Heritage Studies

5. College of Engineering

- Master of Science in Engineering Systems Management (MSESM)

- Master of Science in Mechatronics Engineering (MSMTR)

- Master of Science in Chemical Engineering (MSChE)

- Master of Science in Civil Engineering (MSCE)

- Master of Science in Computer Engineering (MSCoE)

- Master of Science in Electrical Engineering (MSEE)

- Master of Science in Mechanical Engineering (MSME)

- College of Architecture, Art and Design

- Master of Urban Planning (MUP)

6. School of Business and Management

- Master of Business Administration (MBA)

- Gulf Executive Master of Public Administration (GEMPA)

- Executive Master of Business Administration (EMBA)

For the academic year 2010, the enrolled male students at the American University of Sharjah represented 53.68 per cent of the entire student population, while female students represented 46.32 per cent (see Figure 8).

Appendix B

Profile of Zayed University (ZU)

Zayed University (ZU) is a government supported institution accredited by the Middle States Commission on Higher Education in 2008. It was established in 1998 with an overall mission of contributing to the future of the United Arab Emirates. The university has three campuses located across two cities, Abu Dhabi and Dubai. The Abu Dhabi campus hosts both male and female students; the male students are located on the North Campus, with the female students on the South Campus.

According to the latest figures from Zayed University, enrolment on each campus (Abu Dhabi and Dubai) is approximately 26002900 students (ZU catalogue, 2010). There are around 400 students on the Abu Dhabi male campus. In 2010, the Dubai campus admitted 300 male students for the first time (Zayed University official website, FAQ, 2010).

B.1 The Zayed University Mission Statement

Zayed University seeks to prepare students for meaningful and successful twenty-first century personal and professional lives; to graduate students who will help shape the future of the region and the world; to support the economic and social advancement of the U.A.E.; to lead innovation in higher education through teaching, learning, research, and outreach; and to do so in a culturally diverse, humane, technologically advanced, and increasingly global environment (Zayed University Catalogue, 2010).

B.2 Colleges

ZU has five colleges: the College of Arts and Sciences, the College of Business Studies, the College of Communication and Media Sciences, the College of Education and the College of Information Technology. The university is an internationally accredited higher education institute where the language of instruction in all courses is English (Zayed University Catalogue, 2010).

B.3 Degrees Offered

The university offers a wide range of undergraduate Baccalaureate degrees in the College of Arts and Sciences, these include: Art and Design, Health Sciences, International Studies, Emirati Studies and Multi Media Design. The Business Sciences College offers degrees in Business Sciences. The College of Communication and Media Sciences is among the 54 programmes worldwide accredited by the International Advertising Association (IAA). The College of Education focuses on student-centered learning and offers undergraduate degrees in Education as well Technology and Education. The College of Information Technology (CIT) offers practical and computer-based CIT degrees (Zayed University Catalogue, 2010).

A range of graduate programmes are also offered, including Executive Masters in Health, Care Administration (EMHCA), Executive Masters in Public Administration (EMPA) and Master of Arts (M.A.) in Diplomacy and International Affairs. The graduate degrees offered in the College of Business Sciences are: Executive Masters in Business Administration (EMBA), Master of Science (M.S.) in Finance, Master of Science (M.S.) in Innovation and Entrepreneurship and Master of Science (M.S.) in International Business (MSIB). The College of Communication and Media Sciences offers a Master of Arts (M.A.) in Communications with a specialization in Tourism and Cultural Communication. The College of Education has a Master of Education (M.Ed.) with a specialization in Educational Leadership, School Administration and Special Education. It has also introduced a Master of Science (M.S.) in Teaching and Learning. The College of Information Technology offers a Master of Science (M.S.) in Information Technology. Alongside the graduate programmes, the university also

has graduate-certificate programmes.

B.4   Student Quotes from the ZU official website

Female student, studying for a Bachelor degree in Information Systems and Technology Management:

> Studying for my Information System and Technology management degree was a difficult and challenging journey for me, but it has made me a leader and a strong person who has the ability to change things.

Female Accounting and Finance Graduate:

> When I first joined Zayed University, I had no idea how five years of studying would change my whole perspective about life. Now I have joined the workforce, and I am currently working for the Lloyds banking group. The real world is difficult and different, but it is worth the challenge.

الجـــامـعـة الأمـيـركـيـة فـي الـشـــارقـة
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1. Date of application:

2. Title of research project:

3. Name, email address and telephone number of principal investigator:

4. Name(s), email address (es) and telephone number(s) of co-investigator(s):

5. Source of research funding (write none or self, if applicable)**:**

6. Abstract: In up to 200 words, this section must answer these questions:

(1) What is the purpose of the research?

(2) What strategies will be used to protect human participants of the research?

(3) What are the benefits of the research?

(4) What are the risks to human participants?

(5) In what ways are benefits greater than risks?

7. Participant selection: Describe participants of this research and how they will be recruited. This

includes number of participants, age, sex, minority status, health status and inclusion and exclusive

criteria for participation (for US federally funded research, also include a discussion of efforts being

made to include women and minorities in the research, or provide a justification for their exclusion). Include copies of all recruitment materials.

8. Research procedures: Provide a detailed description of exactly what will be done to and with

participants. Include information about methods and procedures used, who will conduct procedures

and measurements, what data is needed and how data will be collected. Indicate the number and

duration of each contact with each participant. Indicate whether (and which) personnel identifiers

will be attached to data. Include copies of questionnaires or handouts used in experiments.

9. Compensation and costs: Discuss whether participants will be compensated or given inducements for participation in this research. If monies will be offered, specify the amount and

payment schedule. Identify all costs to participants.

10. Risks to participants: Describe all risks—whether physical, psychological or social. It is important

to consider risks associated with breach of confidentiality. Describe strategies, activities and facilities used to minimize risks. Describe procedures for follow up if participants are found to be in

need of medical or psychological assistance.

11. Human rights: List which human rights could be violated by the proposed research and demonstrate how none of these will be violated.

12. Benefits: Describe the direct benefits of the research to the participants in this research, and the

benefits of this research to society in general.

13. Procedures for obtaining informed consent: Describe how consent will be obtained from

participants. Include a copy of the consent form you propose to use. Furthermore, include the waiver of documentation of informed consent if applicable. A sample consent form may be found on

iLearn-Community-Office of Research and Graduate Studies (ORGS)-Research-IRB-IRB Forms-Consent. It is very important to discuss the safeguards you will use against coercion.

14. Confidentiality of data: Describe what will be done to protect the privacy of participants and to

maintain confidentiality of identifiable information. Provide information about data storage (including location and duration), persons who will have access to data and when or if data will be

destroyed.

15. Public release of data: Will data from the research be released to others at some time? If yes,

what additional steps will be taken to protect confidentiality?

[If your research includes an analysis of already existing data (secondary data), also answer the

following:]

16. Description and source of secondary data: What is the source of the data, and what are the

data about? (For example, the data source is Medicaid Records and data are patient hospital admission records.)

17. Public data: If secondary data are publicly available to anyone without restriction state that. If

not, describe access restrictions and any confidentiality agreements required by the provider of the

data.

18 Personal identifiers in secondary data: Do secondary data contain personal identifiers? Do the

data contain elements that might permit deductive disclosure of identity? Does a name/ID linking

file exists? If so, who has access to this file?

Signatures

Investigators

By signing this form, I/we, the investigators, confirm that I/we possess (a) valid NIH ethics

certificate(s). I/we ensure that all people working in this study possess valid NIH ethics certificates.

Certificates may be obtained by completing a web-based course on 'Protecting Human Research

Subjects' at http://phrp.nihtraining.com/users/login.php

Signature Date

Principal investigator _____ _____

NIH certificate Number _____ _____

Co-investigator(s) _____ _____

NIH certificate Number(s) _____ _____

Routing

Department Chair _____ _____

Dean, School/College _____ _____

Vice Provost for Research and

Graduate Studies _____ _____

Checklist (clickable in Word format): items to include with application:

   Signed and completed application (if student, include faculty signature)

   Copy of written research protocol, grant application, thesis proposal or other research proposal

   Consent form

   Waiver of documentation of informed consent (if applicable)

   Recruitment materials, fact sheets or other materials to be distributed to research participants

   Focus group or interview guide (if applicable)

Appendix D ZU IRB

EXEMPTION FROM FULL APPLICATION
FOR ETHICAL CLEARANCE

If your research involves human subjects[1], please read the *Ethical Clearance Guidelines* before completing this form to determine whether you should complete the *Full Application for Ethical Clearance*. Exemption is only awarded where the proposed research meets one or more of the Section B criteria.

Completed forms must be submitted electronically to the Office of Research. Researchers should visit the Research Website for more information, or contact the Office of Research with any specific questions regarding their application.

SECTION A

Project Title:				
Principal Investigator (PI):	Name:		College:	
	Title:		Degree(s):	
	Telephone:		Email:	

List all Co-Investigators below, including those from other institutions:				
Name	Responsibility on Research Project	Highest Degree	University/ College	Email
1.				
2.				
3.				

SECTION B

The proposed research is exempt from the full ethical clearance process based on the following criteria:	
1. Research is undertaken by students at Zayed University This includes both undergraduate or graduate student-led projects. Graduate research thesis which are	☐ YES

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[1] Involvement of human subjects includes as recipients of surveys, interviews or focus groups, as well as more invasive or clinical research activities.

considered externally, are subject to ethic review and NOT exempt. "Thesis" refers to the traditional instrument that is reviewed by a panel and catalogued/accessible to the public in the library or other sources.	
2. Research is primarily focused on quality assurance or process improvement Such projects are generally backwards looking within an institution, comparing reality/practice to established standards, and are carried out and applicable only within the institution, and not intended for publication. Eg: seeking staff opinions about IT or library services; SELEs; annual faculty surveys etc.	☐ YES
3. Research involving the collection or study of existing data etc, if these sources are publically available *Existing* means existing before this research is proposed, and at the time of this exemption request. For example data, documents, records, pathological specimens, or diagnostic specimens, if these sources are publically available or if the information is recorded by the investigator in such a manner that subjects cannot be identified.	☐ YES
4. Research conducted in established educational settings, involving normal educational practices For example research on regular and special education *instructional strategies*, or research on the effectiveness of or the comparison among *instructional techniques, curricula, or classroom management methods.* Research is NOT exempt if subjects involved are children.	☐ YES
5. Research involving the use of educational tests (cognitive, diagnostic, aptitude, achievement), survey procedures, interview procedures or observation of public behavior Effective as long as human subjects CANNOT be identified directly or indirectly at any time, and that disclosure of responses could not reasonably place the subjects at risk including potential damage to financial standing, employability or reputation. Research is NOT exempt if subjects involved are children.	☐ YES
6. Research does NOT involve children as participants, or participants who are known to be prisoners. *Children* are defined as those under 18 years old.	☐ YES

If you have answered YES to any of the above questions, and you are **seeking exemption** from *Full Application for Ethical Clearance, please complete Sections C-F.*

SECTION C

Describe (maximum 300 words) what your **research aims** to achieve, **who are the research subjects**, and in what ways it will or will not involve **human or animal subjects**.

It should be clear in this statement if your project involves the collection of **culturally sensitive information**.

Please provide details:

SECTION D

Complete the following questions in relation to this research project, if applicable:		
Research activities do not present more than minimal risk to human subjects Minimal risk means that the probability and magnitude of harm or discomfort anticipated in the research are not greater in and of themselves than those ordinarily encountered in daily life or during the performance of routine physical or psychological examinations or tests. Reference 45 CFR 46.102 (i).	☐	TRUE
Selection of subjects is equitable No segment of the population should be unfairly burdened with research involvement; unfairly discriminated against or neglected. It is strongly recommended that teachers do not use their own students as subjects in their research, unless the necessity of this is clearly argued for a particular project.	☐	TRUE
If there is recording of identifiable information, **there are adequate provisions to maintain the confidentiality of the data**	☐	TRUE
If there are interactions with subjects, **there will be a voluntary consent process** (including some type of documentation) that will disclose such information as: • That the activities involve research • The procedures/activities in which subjects will be involved • That participation is voluntary • Name and contact information for the investigator It is strongly recommended that teachers do not use their own students as subjects in their research, as student may feel undue pressure to participate. All subjects must give consent, however **documentation of consent may be waived** if there is no more than minimal risk to subjects; the information collected is not personal, private or culturally sensitive; and the release of the information would not cause harm to the subject. ☐ I request that documentation of the consent process is waived	☐	TRUE
There are adequate provisions to maintain the privacy interests of subjects	☐	TRUE
I have completed the required **CITI human subjects research online training** modules	☐	TRUE

SECTION E

Attach all relevant documentation:

Copies of all data collection instruments, including surveys, interview questions, etc	☐ YES
Copy of all consent and information forms, including translated forms, as appropriate	☐ YES
Copy of any wording, advertisement or script etc intended to use when recruiting subjects	☐ YES ☐ NA
Copy of any ethical approval for co-investigators external to ZU, or collaborative institutions	☐ YES ☐ NA
Copy of CITI human subjects research completion report	☐ YES

SECTION F

I am aware of the relevant health authority requirements for research involving human subjects and the possible consequences and sanctions for non-compliance.

I agree to a continuing exchange with the ZU Research Ethics Committee (REC) and to obtain approval before making any changes or additions to the project.

I will provide progress reports at least annually, or as requested and a final report within 60 days of project completion. I agree to report promptly to the REC all unanticipated problems or serious adverse events involving risk to human subjects.

Signature of PI: _____ Date:

OFFICE USE ONLY

Date received		Date PI notified	
Date checked and accepted		Date of change notification	
Date(s) of committee review		Date of progress report	
Date of meeting eligibility		Date of progress report	
Date committee approved		Date of final report	

Is documentation of the consent process waived?	☐ Yes ☐ No ☐ NA
Is demographic information collected with cultural sensitivity?	☐ Yes ☐ No ☐ NA
Does the research involve psychological studies or the study of health-related behaviors?	☐ Yes, (HAAD requirements for human subjects research may apply) ☐ No
Has the PI (and Co-PI) completed CITI training?	☐ Yes ☐ No

Is the activity exempt?	☐ Yes ☐ No ☐ Revisions required	Which exemption category(s) apply?	
Detail any revisions or additional information required:			
Name of reviewer(s):		Date:	

Appendix E

First Gulf Bank

We announce on Tuesday from this place that the year 2013 will be a year of creating jobs for UAE nationals. This will be a national priority for which all efforts must unite (Mohammed Bin Rashid, DATE?).

The First Gulf Bank is a national bank located in the United Arab Emirates. It has branches across the seven Emirates. It initiated the Nujoom Program which aims at providing careers in the banking sector for Emirati nationals. FGB has also collaborated with Tawteen on training schemes for UAE nationals. FGBs business strategy highlights the integral capacity building and development of the leadership program. The Nujoom Program is one of many Emiratisation schemes that aim to train and equip Emirati graduates by introducing them to the skills required in the banking sector.

Ayadh Farooq, Head of National Development at FGB, said:

> FGB appreciates that it is not alone in striving to enhance the capabilities
> and opportunities for the youth of this country; not only are we enhancing
> programmes that we have run up to now aimed at the professional devel-
> opment of fresh Emirati graduates, but we are also encouraging more na-
> tionals to consider jobs in the banking sector. We see Nujoom as different
> in that, it is a pivotal part of our business strategy, and we have integrated
> it into our five year plan for enhancing our structure and growth. This
> makes it much more potent than many other similar programmes being
> run elsewhere in the sector.

Appendix F

Emirates National Bank of Dubai

ENBD is a leading national bank in the UAE. It was formed in 2007 as a result of the merger between Emirates Bank International (EBI) and the National Bank of Dubai (NBD); it combines the second and fourth largest banks in the UAE. ENBD won the 2011 award for Human Resources Development in Banking and the Financial Sector for the year 2010. In addition, the bank also took part in Tawdheef, a recruitment show held in Abu Dhabi during 2011. Accordingly, more than 358 UAE Nationals submitted applications to join the bank.

ENBD highlighted its commitment to nationalisation across the UAE. Similar to the Nujoom program, ENBD has created the Program of Accelerated Learning (PAL), a six month program aimed at enhancing the professional and personal growth of Emirati national graduates. In addition, other programs such as Al Mishaal and Al Shehab aim at developing banking careers for high school diploma holders, that is, from a supervisory role to the front line role of a teller. Further to the development of these programs, the bank has also aligned its recruitment policies with Tanmia , Zayed University and the Higher Colleges of Technology, as well as the various Emiratisation organizations in order to maximize the recruitment potential of Emirati nationals. ENBD planned to invest Dh50 million in hiring and training UAE nationals in 2011 .

Appendix G

Informed Consent Letter

University of Cambridge

Centre for Gender Studies

Gender and the UAE Workforce

My name is Mona Hamade and I am a first year PhD student at the University of Cambridge. As part of my research on Gender and the UAE Workforce, I would like to conduct a series of interviews with university students about their aspirations in the United Arab Emirates labour market.

My focus in on how national policies of the UAE facilitate men and womens employment opportunities. One particular issue of interest is that of work life balance. I would be very interested to speak to you about your experiences and views on these issues. I would be very grateful if you would agree to take part in a one-to-one interview with me at a suitable time for you. The interview would be about 40 minutes long and you are of course free to end it whenever you wish. Your identity will remain **completely confidential**.

With your permission, I would like to record the interview on an audio file in order to make sure that I can fully concentrate on what you are saying. The audio file will be identified by a code rather than your name and the information recorded will not be made available to anyone, but me and will be deleted as soon as I have finished analysing data. In addition, if at any point during the interview you feel that you would prefer for me to take written notes just let me know and I will cease to record.

Thank you for considering to take part in this important area of research.

Sincerely, Mona Hamade

University of Cambridge, Centre for Gender Studies

Sir William Hardy Building Downing Site, CB2 3EN

mh635@cam.ac.uk

By my signature I acknowledge that I have understood the content of this letter and agree to voluntarily take part in the interview.

Signature   Date

Appendix H

Aide Memoire

University of Cambridge

Centre for Gender Studies

Gender and the UAE Workforce

Mona Hamade

Aide-memoire

1. What is your age?

2. What is your sex?

3. What is your degree? (After response - I will not record the actual course but I would like to know if you are studying Sciences, Social Sciences or Humanities and Arts?)

4. What is the profession of your parents?

5. What are your plans at work? (Occupation? Family? Geographical location?)

6. Where do you see yourself in ten years?

7. *If family* - in an ideal world, when would you think would be a good time to have children?

8. Do you see having a family as impacting on career projections?

9. The government has introduced Emiratisation policies. Are you aware of these policies? [explain if you are not aware]

10. In your opinion, how effective are these sorts of policies? Have you heard of Tanmia? What are your thoughts about it?

11. What are your thoughts on balancing work and home life? Would it be easier to work if there were day care centres at work? Or flexible work hours?

12. What are your thoughts on maternity/paternity leave?

13. According to the 2011 World Economic Forums Global Gender Gap Report, the UAE was ranked 103th out of 135 countries. Both men and women have equal opportunity to study and work. What are your thoughts on the countrys classification? Is it going to get better? What are the reasons for this better access to education and work? (Vision of rulers, society, etc.?)

14. Are you aware of activities run by womens associations in the UAE? If so, what are your thoughts on the business roles available for Emirati women?

15. Are there any female role models in the UAE workforce?

Appendix I

Gender Gap Diagram 2011

Figure I.1: UAE Country Profile 2014 Source: Global Gender Gap Report 2014, Geneva: World Economic Forum

United Arab Emirates

Gender Gap Index 2014	
Rank	Score
115	**0.644**
(out of 142 countries)	(0.00 = inequality, 1.00 = equality)

Key Demographic and Economic Indicators

GDP (US$ billions)..221.65
GDP (PPP) per capita (constant 2011, international $)......................57,045
Total population (millions) 9.35
Population growth (%) 1.51
Overall population sex ratio (male/female) 2.26

Country Score Card

	Rank	Score	Sample average	Female	Male	Female-to-male ratio
ECONOMIC PARTICIPATION AND OPPORTUNITY	123	0.515	0.596			
Labour force participation	125	0.51	0.67	47	91	0.51
Wage equality for similar work (survey)	7	0.79	0.61	—	—	0.79
Estimated earned income (PPP US$)	96	0.54	0.53	21,565	40,000	0.54
Legislators, senior officials and managers	115	0.11	0.27	10	90	0.11
Professional and technical workers	120	0.28	0.65	22	78	0.28
EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT	83	0.988	0.935			
Literacy rate	1	1.00	0.87	91	89	1.02
Enrolment in primary education	113	0.98	0.94	90	92	0.98
Enrolment in secondary education	1	1.00	0.62	79	73	1.09
Enrolment in tertiary education	—	—	0.88	—	—	—
HEALTH AND SURVIVAL	132	0.961	0.960			
Sex ratio at birth (female/male)	1	0.94	0.92	—	—	0.95
Healthy life expectancy	138	1.00	1.04	66	66	1.00
POLITICAL EMPOWERMENT	96	0.111	0.214			
Women in parliament	84	0.21	0.25	18	83	0.21
Women in ministerial positions	77	0.18	0.20	15	85	0.18
Years with female head of state (last 50)	64	0.00	0.20	0	50	0.00

Country score within income group

Country score vs sample average

216

Figure I.2: UAE Country Profile 2014 Source: Global Gender Gap Report 2014, Geneva: World Economic Forum

	OVERALL		ECONOMIC PARTICIPATION		EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT		HEALTH AND SURVIVAL		POLITICAL EMPOWERMENT	
	Rank	Score	Rank	Score	Rank	Score	Rank	Score	Rank	Score
Gender Gap Index 2014 (out of 142 countries)	**115**	**0.644**	**123**	**0.515**	**83**	**0.988**	**132**	**0.961**	**96**	**0.111**
Gender Gap Index 2013 (out of 136 countries)	109	0.637	122	0.467	1	1.000	112	0.961	81	0.121
Gender Gap Index 2012 (out of 135 countries)	107	0.639	122	0.475	1	1.000	111	0.961	81	0.121
Gender Gap Index 2011 (out of 135 countries)	103	0.645	119	0.490	59	0.991	111	0.961	62	0.139
Gender Gap Index 2010 (out of 134 countries)	103	0.640	120	0.461	37	0.998	110	0.961	60	0.139
Gender Gap Index 2009 (out of 134 countries)	112	0.620	126	0.415	67	0.992	116	0.961	76	0.111
Gender Gap Index 2008 (out of 130 countries)	105	0.622	121	0.420	46	0.996	112	0.961	72	0.111
Gender Gap Index 2007 (out of 128 countries)	105	0.618	119	0.421	68	0.987	110	0.961	65	0.105
Gender Gap Index 2006 (out of 115 countries)	101	0.592	109	0.403	61	0.986	100	0.964	112	0.015

Trend 2006–2014

Legend:
- Overall Index
- Economic Participation and Opportunity
- Educational Attainment
- Health and Survival
- Political Empowerment

Selected contextual data

EMPLOYMENT AND LEADERSHIP

Female, male adult unemployment rate
(as % of female, male labour force)......................................10.8, 2.4
Female, male part-time employment
(as % of total female, male employment) .... —, —
Female, male workers in informal employment
(as % of non-agricultural employment).................................... —, —
Share of women employed in the non-agricultural sector
(% of total non-agricultural employment) 20
Average minutes spent per day on unpaid work (female, male).................... —, —
Percentage of women, men with an account
at a formal financial institution..47, 69
Ability of women to rise to positions of enterprise leadership[1]............................ 5.6
Firms with female top managers (% of firms) .... —
Share of women on boards of listed companies (%) .... —
Firms with female participation in ownership (% of firms) .... —

SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY AND RESEARCH

Percentage of Internet users (female, male).................................83, 86
Women, men who used a mobile phone in the last 12 months (%)............100, 100
Percentage of tertiary-level STEM students (female, male) 42, 58
Percentage of tertiary-level STEM graduates (female, male).........................46, 54
Percentage of PhD graduates (female, male) .... —, —
Percentage of total R&D personnel (FTE) (female, male) .... —, —

HEALTH

Cardiovascular disease age-standardized deaths
per 100,000 (female, male)...264.2, 315.6
Cancer age-standardized deaths per 100,000 (female, male),
excl. non-melanoma skin cancer......................................94.1, 103.6
Diabetes age-standardized deaths per 100,000 (female, male) 39.4, 35.1
Respiratory diseases age-standardized deaths
per 100,000 (female, male)...33.2, 33.7
HIV age-standardized deaths per 100,000 (female, male)............................0.0, 0.0
Malaria age-standardized deaths per 100,000 (female, male) 0.0, 0.0
Tuberculosis age-standardized deaths per 100,000 (female, male)...............0.4, 1.6
Malnutrition prev., weight for age (female, male) (% of children <5).............. —, —

MARRIAGE AND CHILDBEARING

Singulate mean age at marriage (years) (female, male) 25, 27
Early marriage (% of women aged 15-19) 8
Maternal mortality ratio (per 100,000 live births)[2] ....8 [4-16]
Total fertility rate (children per women) 1.8
Adolescent fertility rate (births per 1,000 girls aged 15-19)............................. 27.6
Mean age of women at the birth of the first child .... —
Antenatal care coverage, at least one visit (%) 100
Births attended by skilled health personnel (%) 99
Contraceptive prevalence (% of married women or in-union)............................. —
Legislation permitting abortion to preserve a woman's physical health............... No

CHILDCARE ECOSYSTEM

Length of maternity leave (calendar days) 45
Maternity leave benefits
(% of wages paid in covered period) 100
Provider of maternity benefits...Employer 100%
Length of paternity leave (calendar days) .... —
Paternity leave benefits
(% of wages paid in covered period) .... —
Provider of paternity benefits... —

RIGHTS AND NORMS

Parental authority in marriage[3]... 1.0
Parental authority after divorce[3] 1.0
Female genital mutilation (% of women aged 15-49).. —
Existence of legislation punishing acts of violence
against women in case of domestic violence[3]............................... 1.0
Existence of legislation prohibiting gender-based discrimination .... Yes
Inheritance rights of daughters[3] 1.0
Women's access to land ownership[3] 0.5
Women's access to credit[3] 0.5
Women's access to property other than land[3].................................. 1.0
Year women received right to vote.. 2006
Quota type (single/lower house)... —
Voluntary political party quotas.. —

[1] Survey data, responses on a 1-to-7 scale (1 = worst score, 7 = best score)
[2] Bracketed numbers show the range between the uncertainties, estimated to contain the true maternal mortality ratio with a 95% probability
[3] Data on a 0-to-1 scale (1 = worst score, 0 = best score)

Appendix J

Gender Gap Diagram 2012

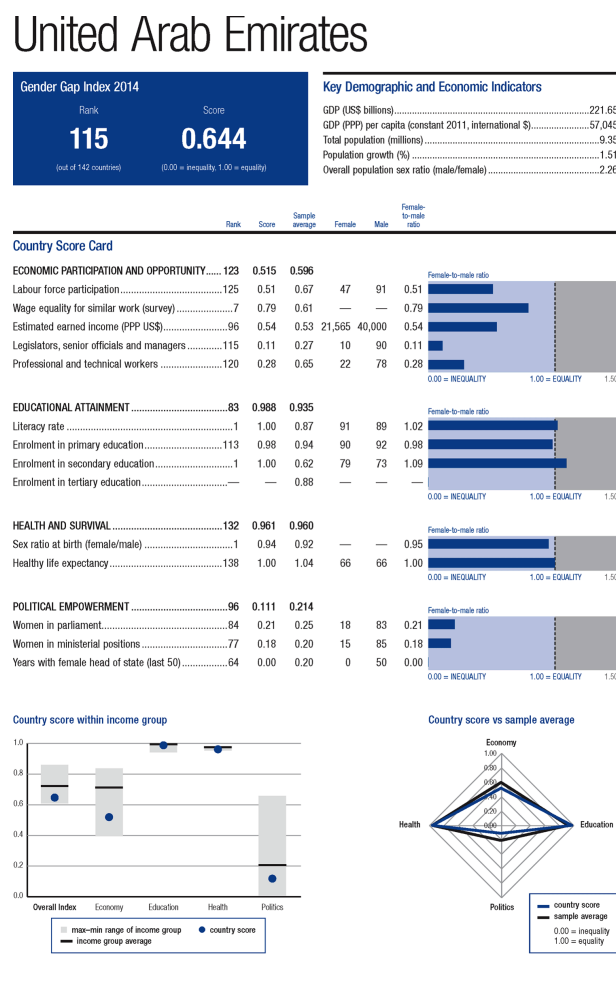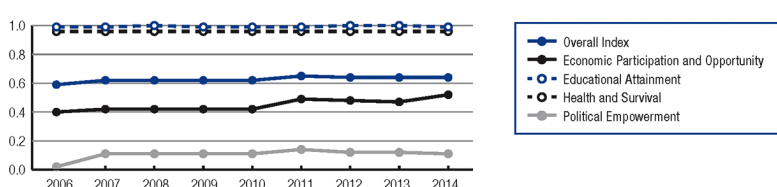**Figure J.1:** UAE Country Profile 2014 Source: Global Gender Gap Report 2014, Geneva: World Economic Forum

Figure K.2: UAE Country Profile 2014 Source: Global Gender Gap Report 2014, Geneva: World Economic Forum

United Arab Emirates

Figure K.3: UAE Country Profile 2014 Source: Global Gender Gap Report 2014, Geneva: World Economic Forum

	OVERALL		ECONOMIC PARTICIPATION		EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT		HEALTH AND SURVIVAL		POLITICAL EMPOWERMENT	
	Rank	Score	Rank	Score	Rank	Score	Rank	Score	Rank	Score
Gender Gap Index 2014 (out of 142 countries)	**115**	**0.644**	**123**	**0.515**	**83**	**0.988**	**132**	**0.961**	**96**	**0.111**
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Gender Gap Index 2006 (out of 115 countries)	101	0.592	109	0.403	61	0.986	100	0.964	112	0.015

Trend 2006–2014

- Overall Index
- Economic Participation and Opportunity
- Educational Attainment
- Health and Survival
- Political Empowerment

Selected contextual data

EMPLOYMENT AND LEADERSHIP
Female, male adult unemployment rate
   (as % of female, male labour force)......................10.8, 2.4
Female, male part-time employment
   (as % of total female, male employment) .... —, —
Female, male workers in informal employment
   (as % of non-agricultural employment)...................... —, —
Share of women employed in the non-agricultural sector
   (% of total non-agricultural employment) 20
Average minutes spent per day on unpaid work (female, male)...................... —, —
Percentage of women, men with an account
   at a formal financial institution......................47, 69
Ability of women to rise to positions of enterprise leadership[1]............................ 5.6
Firms with female top managers (% of firms) .... —
Share of women on boards of listed companies (%) .... —
Firms with female participation in ownership (% of firms) .... —

SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY AND RESEARCH
Percentage of Internet users (female, male)....................................83, 86
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Percentage of tertiary-level STEM students (female, male) 42, 58
Percentage of tertiary-level STEM graduates (female, male)..........................46, 54
Percentage of PhD graduates (female, male) .... —, —
Percentage of total R&D personnel (FTE) (female, male) .... —, —

HEALTH
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   per 100,000 (female, male)..264.2, 315.6
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   excl. non-melanoma skin cancer.......................................94.1, 103.6
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Respiratory diseases age-standardized deaths
   per 100,000 (female, male)..33.2, 33.7
HIV age-standardized deaths per 100,000 (female, male)............................0.0, 0.0
Malaria age-standardized deaths per 100,000 (female, male) 0.0, 0.0
Tuberculosis age-standardized deaths per 100,000 (female, male)..............0.4, 1.6
Malnutrition prev., weight for age (female, male) (% of children <5)............. —, —

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Births attended by skilled health personnel (%) 99
Contraceptive prevalence (% of married women or in-union)............................... —
Legislation permitting abortion to preserve a woman's physical health............... No

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   (% of wages paid in covered period) 100
Provider of maternity benefits.......................................Employer 100%
Length of paternity leave (calendar days) .... —
Paternity leave benefits
   (% of wages paid in covered period) .... —
Provider of paternity benefits.. —

RIGHTS AND NORMS
Parental authority in marriage[3].. 1.0
Parental authority after divorce[3] 1.0
Female genital mutilation (% of women aged 15-49).. —
Existence of legislation punishing acts of violence
   against women in case of domestic violence[3]... 1.0
Existence of legislation prohibiting gender-based discrimination .... Yes
Inheritance rights of daughters[3] 1.0
Women's access to land ownership[3] 0.5
Women's access to credit[3] 0.5
Women's access to property other than land[3]................................... 1.0
Year women received right to vote... 2006
Quota type (single/lower house)... —
Voluntary political party quotas.. —

[1] Survey data, responses on a 1-to-7 scale (1 = worst score, 7 = best score)
[2] Bracketed numbers show the range between the uncertainties, estimated to contain the true maternal mortality ratio with a 95% probability
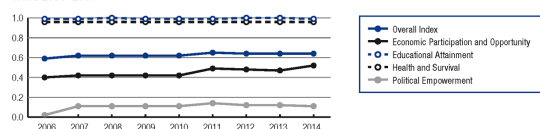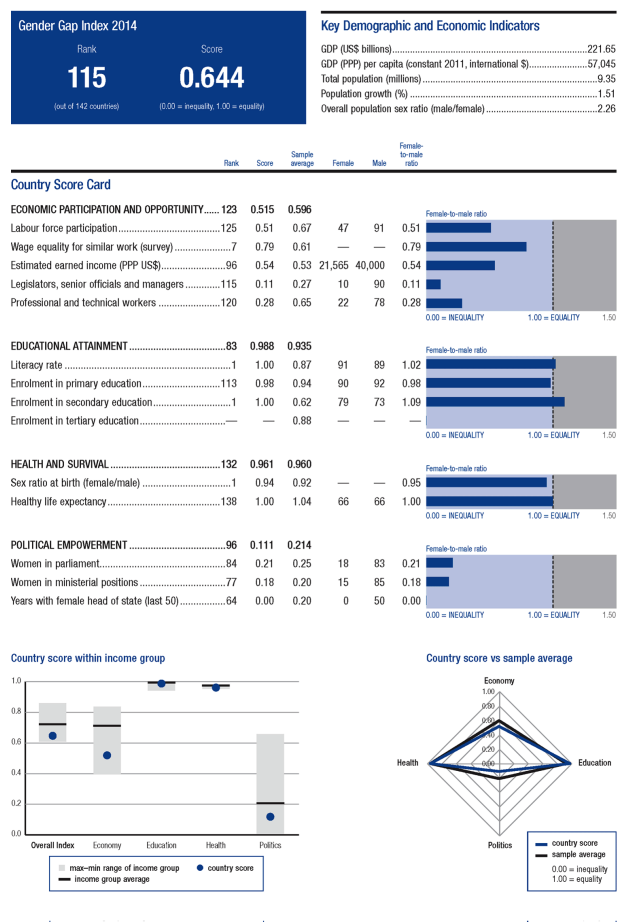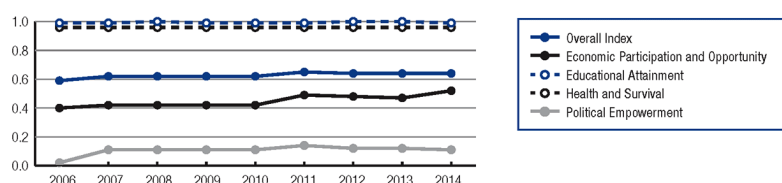[3] Data on a 0-to-1 scale (1 = worst score, 0 = best score)

Figure L.1: UAE Country Profile 2014 Source: Global Gender Gap Report 2014, Geneva: World Economic Forum

	OVERALL		ECONOMIC PARTICIPATION		EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT		HEALTH AND SURVIVAL		POLITICAL EMPOWERMENT	
	Rank	Score	Rank	Score	Rank	Score	Rank	Score	Rank	Score
Gender Gap Index 2014 (out of 142 countries)	**115**	**0.644**	**123**	**0.515**	**83**	**0.988**	**132**	**0.961**	**96**	**0.111**
Gender Gap Index 2013 (out of 136 countries)	109	0.637	122	0.467	1	1.000	112	0.961	81	0.121
Gender Gap Index 2012 (out of 135 countries)	107	0.639	122	0.475	1	1.000	111	0.961	81	0.121
Gender Gap Index 2011 (out of 135 countries)	103	0.645	119	0.490	59	0.991	111	0.961	62	0.139
Gender Gap Index 2010 (out of 134 countries)	103	0.640	120	0.461	37	0.998	110	0.961	60	0.139
Gender Gap Index 2009 (out of 134 countries)	112	0.620	126	0.415	67	0.992	116	0.961	76	0.111
Gender Gap Index 2008 (out of 130 countries)	105	0.622	121	0.420	46	0.996	112	0.961	72	0.111
Gender Gap Index 2007 (out of 128 countries)	105	0.618	119	0.421	68	0.987	110	0.961	65	0.105
Gender Gap Index 2006 (out of 115 countries)	101	0.592	109	0.403	61	0.986	100	0.964	112	0.015

Trend 2006–2014

Legend:
- Overall Index
- Economic Participation and Opportunity
- Educational Attainment
- Health and Survival
- Political Empowerment

Selected contextual data

EMPLOYMENT AND LEADERSHIP
Female, male adult unemployment rate
(as % of female, male labour force)..10.8, 2.4
Female, male part-time employment
(as % of total female, male employment) .... —, —
Female, male workers in informal employment
(as % of non-agricultural employment).. —, —
Share of women employed in the non-agricultural sector
(% of total non-agricultural employment) 20
Average minutes spent per day on unpaid work (female, male).................. —, —
Percentage of women, men with an account
at a formal financial institution 47, 69
Ability of women to rise to positions of enterprise leadership[1]..........................5.6
Firms with female top managers (% of firms).. —
Share of women on boards of listed companies (%) .... —
Firms with female participation in ownership (% of firms) .... —

SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY AND RESEARCH
Percentage of Internet users (female, male)...83, 86
Women, men who used a mobile phone in the last 12 months (%).............100, 100
Percentage of tertiary-level STEM students (female, male) 42, 58
Percentage of tertiary-level STEM graduates (female, male)..........................46, 54
Percentage of PhD graduates (female, male) .... —, —
Percentage of total R&D personnel (FTE) (female, male) .... —, —

HEALTH
Cardiovascular disease age-standardized deaths
per 100,000 (female, male)..264.2, 315.6
Cancer age-standardized deaths per 100,000 (female, male),
excl. non-melanoma skin cancer..94.1, 103.6
Diabetes age-standardized deaths per 100,000 (female, male) 39.4, 35.1
Respiratory diseases age-standardized deaths
per 100,000 (female, male)..33.2, 33.7
HIV age-standardized deaths per 100,000 (female, male)..........................0.0, 0.0
Malaria age-standardized deaths per 100,000 (female, male) 0.0, 0.0
Tuberculosis age-standardized deaths per 100,000 (female, male)...............0.4, 1.6
Malnutrition prev., weight for age (female, male) (% of children <5)............. —, —

MARRIAGE AND CHILDBEARING
Singulate mean age at marriage (years) (female, male)................................25, 27
Early marriage (% of women aged 15-19) 8
Maternal mortality ratio (per 100,000 live births)[2]..8 [4-16]
Total fertility rate (children per woman) 1.8
Adolescent fertility rate (births per 1,000 girls aged 15-19)............................ 27.6
Mean age of women at the birth of the first child .... —
Antenatal care coverage, at least one visit (%) 100
Births attended by skilled health personnel (%) 99
Contraceptive prevalence (% of married women or in-union)............................... —
Legislation permitting abortion to preserve a woman's physical health............... No

CHILDCARE ECOSYSTEM
Length of maternity leave (calendar days) 45
Maternity leave benefits
(% of wages paid in covered period) 100
Provider of maternity benefits...Employer 100%
Length of paternity leave (calendar days) .... —
Paternity leave benefits
(% of wages paid in covered period) .... —
Provider of paternity benefits... —

RIGHTS AND NORMS
Parental authority in marriage[3]... 1.0
Parental authority after divorce[3] 1.0
Female genital mutilation (% of women aged 15-49)... —
Existence of legislation punishing acts of violence
against women in case of domestic violence[3]... 1.0
Existence of legislation prohibiting gender-based discrimination .... Yes
Inheritance rights of daughters[3] 1.0
Women's access to land ownership[3] 0.5
Women's access to credit[3] 0.5
Women's access to property other than land[3]... 1.0
Year women received right to vote... 2006
Quota type (single/lower house).. —
Voluntary political party quotas.. —

[1] Survey data, responses on a 1-to-7 scale (1 = worst score, 7 = best score)
[2] Bracketed numbers show the range between the uncertainties, estimated to contain the true maternal mortality ratio with a 95% probability
[3] Data on a 0-to-1 scale (1 = worst score, 0 = best score)

Appendix M

Report on ASHRM conference 2012-Tawteen

Amongst its many roles, ADTC acts as the central pool for tracking unemployed Emiratis and helping them find a job. Their database is therefore the most representative to define the profile of the officially unemployed UAE Nationals, even though enrolment in the list is not mandatory.

1. 80% of Nationals enrolled in the database are fresh graduates.

2. 10% maximum has 10-15 years of experience.

3. Most of ADTC database is made up of females in Al Ain.

4. Emiratis represent 74% of leaders in government entities.

5. Emiratis represent 33% of leaders in semi-governmental entities.

6. Less than 5% of leaders are female Emiratis.

I dont find these statistics surprising, they represent the demographics of the citizens, the fact that most Nationals work for the government, and some restrictions that females face all over the world but also in other GCC countries such as Saudi Arabia, as I reported recently from the ASHRM conference 2012.

The main challenges that face Emiratisation (in the private sector)

1. Poor career path and support

2. Lack of awareness of the nature of work in the private sector

3. Non-matching skill requirement with job seeker profiles

4. Prevailing perceptions

5. Lack of coordination between supply and demand

6. Pay differential with the public sector

Beyond the lack of technical English proficiency for a lot of the Emiratis in their database, ADTC also acknowledges some education-related issues which they called business ethics in general and covering topics such as attitudes and behaviors. For example they have to educate the young on how can males and females interact in the workplace, given the relative scarcity of social interaction between genders outside the family boundaries.

They noted this was especially important for female Nationals coming from the Western region, an area more traditional and socially conservative and where sometimes, the females dont understand what is appropriate in the workplace compared to the family environment.

They also discussed with us the need to shift mentalities from preferring being unemployed to working in the private sector even if with a lower pay, so that the National can gain the experience that will make him/her successful. They mentioned the importance of having role models in the private sector, some nationals who started as a trainee and then grew as they were mastering the demands of the job, and moved into managerial positions in the private sector.

As you can see, Tawteen makes an honest assessment of the challenges to successful Emiratisation and does not shy away from acknowledging the actual situation. I have to command them for their integrity. Defining the issue helps in finding the solutions to correct the situation.

Their approach to helping companies find Emiratis for some of their open positions is very structured, in less than 2 weeks they create action plans with employers that have fewer than 50 vacancies (it takes more time for the larger employers of course), they help define specific training programs for Nationals (for example in Al Ain with Strata and a call centre for Etihad), and they give 2 weeks to a company to give feedback on a candidate before presenting that person for another position it helps avoiding overlaps of candidates between different organisations.

There is a lot more that needs to be done, and still many challenges ahead especially as we are talking about changing a whole culture. I believe however that they have good intentions and that they are on a right path to supporting the vision of having more Nationals in the private sector, through sustainable approaches and also trying to work with the education sector so that the school system produces more UAE Nationals with the skills relevant in the workplace today and in the future.

Table N.1: Gendered Socio-Demographic Features, MENA, circa 2010

Country	Female tertiary enroll-ments, 2011	Proportion female teaching staff at tertiary level, 2011	Age at first marriage, 2010		Contraceptive prevalence, % married women aged 15-49, 2005-09	Total Fertility Rate 2005-10
			Male	Female		
Algeria	34	38	33	29	61	2.4
Bahrain	n.a.	33	30	26	62	2.7
Egypt	32	n.a.	n.a.	23	60	2.9
Iran	49	19	26	24	79	1.8
Iraq	n.a.	n.a.	28	25	50	4.9
Israel	62	n.a.	29	26	n.a.	2.9
Jordan	38	24	29	25	59	3.3
Kuwait	n.a.	27	30	25	52	2.3
Lebanon	58	38	31	27	58	1.9
Libya	n.a.	n.a.	32	29	45	2.7
Morocco	13	17	31	26	63	2.4
Oman	29	30	26	22	32	2.5
Qatar	32	38	28	26	43	2.4
Saudi Arabia	37	35	27	25	24	3.0
Syria	n.a.	n.a.	29	25	58	3.1
Tunisia	34	42	30	27	60	2.0
Turkey	34	40	n.a.	23	73	2.2
UAE	n.a.	31	26	23	28	1.9
West Bank and Gaza	51	n.a.	27	23	50	4.7
Yemen	n.a.	17	25	22	28	5.5

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