

**Racialisation in the United Arab Emirates**

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The aim of this article is to explore and critically evaluate how racialisation occurs within the United Arab Emirates (UAE). The main areas of interest that will be analysed are: Arab racism, including the origins of slavery in the Middle East; general patterns of migration and racialisation within the workplace, moving on to look specifically at issues in the construction and domestic sector and finally the growing sex trade in the UAE. Racial hierarchies that exist in the UAE will be deconstructed with a particular focus to the classification of inferior races, which will be discussed accordingly. Evidence will be drawn upon from a range of sources including journal articles, books and an interview with Nigel Meany (April 2012), a British expatriate who is currently living and working in Dubai. In addition the United Nations (UN) Special Rapporteur findings, based on a visit to the UAE in 2009 to assess contemporary forms of racism, provides an important critically informed race perspective to current forms of racial discrimination and xenophobia. Primarily, labour migration patterns will be assessed in order to identify if certain ethnic groups are marginalised on entry to the UAE and if different races have equal opportunities when settling. In addition, analysis will be carried out that identifies how workplaces habitually use race as a marker of success. The piece will look at systematic racism within the UAE economy, with reference to the construction and domestic sector, to illustrate how racialisation functions. These spheres will be assessed in terms of how slavery is enforced within contemporary society; drawing on notions migrant labour is considered a commodity within the present capitalist economy. A case study of the informal sex industry in Dubai will be provided, exploring how it is racialised. Ultimately, the UAE formal and informal labour market will be scrutinized, with the aim to conclude if racialisation is present within employment and the growing sex industry, why it happens and provide clear examples where it occurs. Throughout the piece when discussing cases of racism and racialisation, similarities with other countries will be highlighted.

The UAE consist of several Emirates: Abu Dhabi (capital), Dubai, Sharjah, Ras Al Khaimah, Ajman, Umm Al Qiwain and Fujairah (UN Special Rapporteur 2009). Islam is the official religion and Arabic is the official language. From the outset, the UAE is perceived as a country that offers high standards of living, however behind these perceptions is a country that is home to racialisation and poor standards of living and working conditions for selected nationalities (Human Rights Watch HRW 2011). In order to address the issue of racialisation in the UAE the term racialisation must be defined. Garner (2010) denotes “the concept of racialisation is based on the idea that the object of study should not be ‘race’ itself, but the process by which it becomes meaningful in a particular context” (p. 19). The aim therefore will be to identify and explain how racism becomes embedded in different spheres of UAE society, particularly the economy. ‘Aracism’, simply denoting ‘Arab racism’, provides a fundamental basis for racialisation in the contemporary UAE. Aracism consists of xenophobic, racist attitudes of Arabic individuals, towards other races and ethnicities, particularly black or Indians. Jureidini (2003) highlights language that evidences Aracism in the UAE towards individuals with black heritage, the term ‘Abed’ is used when referring to both a slave and a black person. This association is made due to the vilification and stereotypes originating from Middle Eastern slavery (Lewis 1992). Despite the Abolition of Slave Trade Act in 1807, history records indicate slavery has always been prominent in countries such as the UAE and was viewed as a way of life, positioning black people in ‘slave roles’ (Degorge 2006). Traditionally racial segregation provides the foundation for slavery within the Middle East. Ethiopians constituted the majority of slaves (Lewis 1992),

which is reflective of contemporary roles undertaken by Ethiopians in the UAE such as domestic or construction work. Lewis's (1992) western approach to slavery exacerbates the role of Arabs and is therefore criticised by Edward Said in his concept of Orientalism (1978). Said argues Lewis is 'ignorant' to the Arab world and fails to recognise the complex history. The argument demonstrates how race plays a significant role in slavery and how different perspectives emphasise the role of the 'Middle East'.

Bales (1999) concept of modern day slavery can be applied to contemporary UAE society; slavery is existent in the UAE but in a different formation. His theory suggests the new global economic order facilitates slavery in contemporary society, which mirrors Degorge (2006) concept. "Slavery now refers to the situation of people who out of economic necessity enter into work relationships that either limit their freedom of choice or their mobility" (Degorge 2006: 664), which is a common occurrence in the UAE. However, Bales economic account fails to consistently iterate how slavery is substantially racialised instead focusing on economic aspects. Slavery is traditionally associated with labouring roles and dirty jobs (Degorge 2006; Lewis 1992), similar to many of the unskilled, subservient work undertaken by South Asian and Black African foreign migrants in the UAE secondary labour market. The practices today that emulate historic accounts of slavery will be further drawn upon when discussing construction and domestic work specifically.

When thinking about the features of Aracism it is important to highlight in the UAE, Emirati nationals often consider themselves superior, as a result, discrimination occurs. The term 'race' is often used by Emirati locals when describing nationality or referring to a migrant's country of origin, moreover race determines social status (Mahdavi 2010). However, it is important to deconstruct and recognise the complexities of the many different races that are referred to as 'foreign migrant workers' and how experiences differ according to race. For example, an Ethiopian female domestic worker will face different barriers than a Filipina domestic work due to her 'race'. Thus, racial hierarchies have been a consistent feature of the UAE, and Aracism, whereby structures are built based upon race classification. Emirati locals are positioned at the top, followed by Western expatriates (including British, American European), Arabs (including Egyptian, Syrian and Lebanese), South Asians (for example Indian, Pakistani, Bangladeshi and Sri Lankan) and Black Ethiopians (Jureidini 2003, 2010; HRW 2006; Sassen 1988). The fact the lighter skinned races are positioned higher promotes white supremacy (Hage 2000). Visual race markers determine ones position in society, individuals who appear aesthetically different with for example darker skin, are considered inferior. Although this is the usual pattern, it is important to highlight there are cases where for example Indians are successful, despite their perceived inferiority. Aracism vilifies darker skinned groups and consider 'them' inferior, creating xenophobic attitudes in the UAE, which originate from slavery stereotypes. Aracism and Arab superiority transmits to the economic market, in relation to the treatment of migrant workers in the construction and domestic sector. Discrimination occurs based on race, and is experienced particularly by South Asian and migrants of black heritage (Jureidini 2003; HRW 2011). Racism in the UAE is largely ignored despite its existence in society. The fact no specific legislation exists in the UAE that prohibits racism, xenophobia or discrimination based on race (UN Special Rapporteur 2009), demonstrates the lack of recognition of racialisation. This is similar to China and Japan; both countries take a passive approach to racism and racial discrimination, overlooking it as a current issue (HRW 2011).

When considering how racialisation of a particular group occurs in the UAE it is essential to examine the economic labour market; in terms of migration patterns and reasons for the influx of expatriates. Aracism is a key influence to racialisation in employment because racial hierarchies are eminent in the economic market, which determine the types of work individuals secure. In general, the UAE is heavily reliant upon foreign labour, due to the growth of the oil industry from the 1970's (Sassen 1988; UN Special Rapporteur 2009; Birks et al 1986). This is reflected, in the demographic imbalance on the indigenous Arab

people in comparison with expatriates (Kapiszewski 2006; UN Special Rapporteur 2009; Sabban 2004). Initially labour was imported from states within the UAE. However, migrant workers from outside the UAE became preferential as the local workforce lacked skill and enough workers to create a sustainable industry that would attract global investment (Manseau 2005; Malecki & Ewers 2007). Recent figures from the UN Special Rapporteur (2009) visit discovered out of the six million population; Indians constituted the largest group of non-nationals at 29%, followed by Pakistanis at 20.8%, Bangladeshis 8.3%, other Asian communities 16.6% and expatriates from Western Countries 8.3%. In these circumstances, it can potentially be argued that the Emirati nationals were becoming the marginalised race, as they are a minority in their own country. However, the Arab workforce is limited and saturated with many uneducated individuals and many who are unwilling to work (Attiyah 1996; Kapiszewski 2006). Furthermore, Emirati women are excluded from working because traditionally their role is seen in the home and socialisation within the UAE promotes men should have more power both inside and external to the home (Sabban 2004). This is supported by figures that show 80% of the female workforces employed in the UAE are expatriate women (Kapiszewski 2006). The above indicates why labour migration is necessary.

The demographic disproportions between Emirati nationals, and migrant workers, challenges social integration and national identity of the UAE, as well as creating economic implications (UN Special Rapporteur 2009; Kapiszewski 2006). The UAE is populated by over 180 nationalities and is regarded one of the most culturally diverse countries in the world (UN Special Rapporteur 2009). From an economic perspective, Daly (2001) suggests as a result of globalisation and the integration of former national economies, economic migration to wealthier countries increases. This is reflected by the migration patterns of Indian and Pakistanis from developing nations, whom are the largest groups, constituting 50% of the total population workers (Jureidini 2003). Daly (2001) denies a xenophobic dimension to migration, however critical race theory challenges him asserting economic migration is racialised on entry to the UAE and particular races are favoured within the migration process (Jureidini 2003,10; Manseau 2005). South Asian labour was initially preferential following the oil industry growth within the UAE. Wells (1996) suggests the UAE government favoured workers from the Indian subcontinent, over Arab countries, as they were regarded little threat politically, could be economically exploited and did not impose an ideological threat to the UAE, further exemplifying racialisation. Asian labour was also preferred as many were followers of Islam, the official religion of the UAE (Kapiszewski 2006).

Following the influx of South Asian migrants in the 1980's, different races began to settle in the UAE due to the economy offering tax free, high wages. The desire to make large amounts of money attracted both skilled, thus usually Western expatriates entering managerial/ professional roles and unskilled workers from for example Sub- Saharan countries occupying domestic or construction work. The UAE promotes an "exciting intercultural experience for expats" (<http://www.internations.org/dubai-expats>). However, emigrating to the UAE results in the loss of rights for expatriates and migrant workers; including the fundamental human rights received by Emirati nationals such as medical care (Wells 1996; UN Special Rapporteur 2009). In addition, migrant workers are not approved citizenship, which illustrates discrimination based on race (Jureidini 2003). Granting citizenship to the UAE remains a difficult and complicated procedure for non-Emirati nationals due to a 'xenophobic dimension' (Jureidini 2003). The UN Special Rapporteur (2009) found many responses about gaining citizenship suggested ones ethnicity or religion was the main prevention. Therefore illustrating racialisation in the citizenship process that fails to comply with relevant international law, which ensures non-discrimination based on race or ethnic origin (UN Special Rapporteur 2009). The view of Emirati nationals towards immigration policy in the UAE revealed a large majority desiderate to modify it "to allow for a better selection of people entering the country and above all to preserve the main features of

the Emirati society” (UN Special Rapporteur 2009: 9). In 2009, concerns were raised over the possibility the UAE would be controlled by foreign workers, particularly Indian and Pakistani (UN Special Rapporteur 2009). This duplicates similar xenophobic concerns that were acted upon in 1999 when the UAE government stopped the migration of unskilled Indian and Pakistani workers (Juredieni 2003). Therefore, indicating racialisation as the UAE attempted to restore nationalism; a demand many Emirati nationals seek to achieve today. These racially informed findings challenge ideas labour migration is controlled by economic demands and race does not play an active factor. Initially there has been a high demand for cheap Indian labour for economic purposes, however presently racial discriminations seeks to lower migration of this race, demonstrating how labour migration functions a racialised process.

A main area of concern in the UAE labour market, when considering the process of racialisation, is the construction sector that is dominated by particular ethnic groups. The construction sector is stigmatised by the Emirati nationals and is therefore deemed more suitable for Indian, Pakistani, Bangladeshi, Sri Lankan and more recently Black African migrants. Thus, reinforcing the inferior position these races hold, consequently racial hierarchies begin to emerge. The influx of cheap labour from Asian and African countries has saturated the secondary labour market; leading to certain types of jobs that are dirty and dangerous, such as construction and domestic work been associated with foreign workers, therefore indicating racialisation. Employers in the UAE favour South Asians and Indians migrant workers to fulfil roles in the building sector because they are viewed as more compliant than other races (Wells 1996; HRW 2006). Construction workers are also considered easier to exploit because they migrate from poorer developing nations, unlike British expatriates for example. The UAE functions as a capitalist nation and therefore labour is positioned as a commodity (Bales 1999; Polanyi 2001; Daly 2001). Construction workers are viewed as disposable commodities that are easily replaceable due to the abundant labour pool, leading to exploitative practices (Polanyi 2001). Market liberalism that functions in capitalist societies, such as the UAE, supposedly promotes freedom and self-regulation, whereby workers perceive themselves as commodities to which they can sell their labour (Bales and Robbins 2001; Polanyi 2001). Yet in the UAE, this is not always the case in employment, as employers often have control over workers particularly in the racialised construction sector. ‘Contract slavery’ is extremely common in the building sector whereby contracts include false promises in order to attract migrants from developing nations into slavery through employment (Bales 1999; HRW 2006). In reality, these contracts restrict freedom and are used as a tool to ‘trap’ foreign migrant workers. An economic perspective suggests capitalism and globalisation has prohibited enslavement in wealthier countries such as the UAE, exploiting migrant workers from developing nations in order to make profits. This is similar to Marxist perspectives that understand race through the economic structure and argue racism is intrinsically connected with capitalism. However, solely economic arguments fail to recognise the racialised elements whereby race pre determines success.

Examples of contract slavery that promote racialisation, in the constructions sector, are eminent in the ‘Kafala System’. Workers are required obtain sponsorship by employers in order to work and reside in the UAE (Al Tamimi & Co. 2012; HRW 2011). This system is applicable to all expatriates but does not affect Emirati nationals, thus demonstrating racialisation. Using contracts, employers control migrant labourers and the contracts incidentally favour the employer (HRW 2006). However unskilled worker, such as the South Asians who dominate the construction sector, are at a greater risk because they are already disadvantaged in comparison with other western expatriates who receive higher wages, an idea that will further be elaborated upon. For example if an Indian construction worker broke their contract, they would have to leave the UAE immediately and pay a substantial sum for the flight back home but as their wages are substantially low this would be extremely difficult to achieve. In addition, construction employers often obtain migrant workers wage in order to

repay recruitment loans and interest (Khalaf & Akobaisi 1999; HRW 2011), further illustrating racialisation towards South Asians. 'Debt' therefore emerges as a strategic method to maintain control for employers (Khalaf & Akobaisi 1999; Bales & Robbins 2001).

Another way modern day slavery functions is through the restricted freedom of construction workers. Passports and personal documentation is often withheld by employers, constituting forced labour, which formulates modern day slavery (HRW 2006; Bales 1999; UN Special Rapporteur 2009). Although this is an illegal practice, it is also experienced by domestic workers, and expatriates employed in the professional sector (Meany 2012), which will be discussed accordingly. Indian, Bangladeshi and Pakistani labour migrants are treated as racialised commodities; subjected repeatedly to exploitative working conditions that typify modern day slavery. Practices that emulate contract slavery and racialisation of South Asian and African construction workers is further illustrated by the fraudulent contracts that they receive which are often written in English (Abdul-Ahad 2008). This provides difficulty for construction workers that are often illiterate and therefore fail to understand the conditions they have committed towards, therefore increasing vulnerability (HRW 2006). Additionally contracts may differ between what they agreed to in their home country and the contract presented in the UAE, for example, a lower rate of pay (Khalaf & Alkobaisi 1999). However, they are forced to accept these conditions as they are financially trapped. This further demonstrates how 'debt' and contract slavery is used to racialise South Asian migrant workers.

Construction workers are subjected to extreme exploitative working conditions that do not affect other 'races' in different fields of work (UN Special Rapporteur 2009; HRW 2006; Bales 1999). The treatment of foreign migrants in the construction sphere is reflective of the racial hierarchies evident in UAE society. Substantial anecdotal and journalistic evidence reveals poor working conditions are the 'norm'. Ghaith Abdul- Ahad wrote an article for The Guardian 2008 revealing the living conditions for construction workers in Dubai. Within the piece he described the migrant workers as been 'treated little better than cattle', Abdul- Ahad emphasised despite economic progression in the UAE the labour and living conditions for migrant workers remains similar to previous practices. They reside in 'worker camps' that are isolated, dirty, overcrowded and often do not have a functioning sewage system (Khalaf & Alkobaisi 1999; Abdul- Ahad 2008; Atiyah 1996). Despite preventative measures been actioned by the UAE government to eliminate poor housing conditions, such as improving sanitation, migration workers remain susceptible to inadequate housing and potential health hazards (UN Special Rapporteur 2009). Furthermore, interviews with Pakistani and Sri Lankan construction workers, report long working hours that exceed UAE labour laws (Abdul- Ahad 2008). Although it has been made illegal for construction employees to work outdoors during sunlight in the hottest months (UN Special Rapporteur 2009; Al Tamimi & Co 2012), observations from expatriate Nigel Meany suggest this still occurs. The exploitative working and living conditions discussed are not reflected for Emirati nationals or expatriates from Britain, USA or Europe who are largely invisible in construction work. Rather than living in worker camps they often habituate in westernised suburbs in Dubai such as Jumeirah, whereby high standards of living are vastly experienced. Thus demonstrating racialisation in relation to how Indian, Bangladeshi, Pakistani and other South Asian and black labour migrants are treated in comparison to western expatriates. Racial inferiority of the constructions workers is further exacerbated.

Not only do labour migrants face poor working conditions because of their race, they also experience discrimination from the UAE government. Xenophobic, racist attitudes are apparent that stereotype unskilled workers from India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Ethiopia and the Philippines. They are viewed as racialised commodities, rather than individuals with political or social rights, and therefore can be exploited as an implication of their race and inferior status (Bales 1999). Sassen (1988) identified oil-exporting countries such as the UAE treat labour as a commodity and "nationality is the criteria by which foreign workers are located

within national labour hierarchies” (p. 6). The work culture promotes an inferior sense of status for unskilled migrants and as a result, they accept discriminatory labour law such as the ‘Kafala system’ that consolidates nationality as criteria for recruitment (Khalaf & Alkobaisi 1999; Sassen 1988). Expatriates in general also face discrimination because of their race when seeking employment. Nationalizing policies are created by the UAE government to increase Emirati participation in the labour market by restricting the recruitment of expatriates in certain professions (Kapiszewski 2006; Abdul- Ahad 2008). In addition, labour market strategies promote Emirati participation in public employment to ensure favourable conditions of work. These are dramatically different from experiences of migrant construction labourers or domestic workers. Emirati nationals are offered high salaries in exchange for limited working hours (Malecki & Ewers 2007; Kapiszewski 2006), which is reflective of their superiority within racial hierarchies. Emirati nationals fundamentally control the means of production, despite the largely foreign workforce, because they have the exclusive right to land and must control over half of all companies (Degorge 2006). Therefore demonstrating racial discrimination, as expatriates are not able to receive equal opportunities (Degorge 2006).

Race acts a marker of success in the UAE’s labour market and often determines the types of employment different foreign groups fulfil and the social status they receive consequently. Rates of pay in the UAE are based on race discrimination, whereby Emirati nationals and western expatriates receive the highest wages and workers from the Indian subcontinent receive the lowest (Atiyyah 1996; Sabban 2004). Thus, reflecting the UAE racial hierarchies. The wage differences at a skilled level, promotes white superiority as British expatriates usually earn a higher income than for example an Egyptian counterpart who is in the same role. This practice is evident in the company British expatriate Nigel Meany manages; he notes that it is widely recognised in the work environment employees with the same job role are paid according to their race. Therefore, migrant workers from developing nations, such as groups prevalent in the construction and domestic sphere, experience financial inequality and become vulnerable to economic exploitation due to their race. Therefore remaining disadvantaged in employment. Despite the wages of construction workers been higher than what they may receive in their home country, they are much lower in comparison to other UAE salaries and are not sufficient to meet living costs. Mohanty (1997) argues all labour and wages in the UAE is organised hierarchically according to perceived race. Furthermore, in relation to the racial hierarchies that are active in the employment sector, the employment process and advertising of jobs reflects the racial stereotypes linked to particular jobs. Malecki & Ewers (2007) claim attributes such as race or sex influence labour demand. Observations of job adverts by interviewee Nigel Meany revealed the race or ethnicity preferred for a role was often specified in accordance with the vacancy. This practice is evident on UAE recruitment websites such as ‘Emirate Ads’ whereby job candidates often state their race and some prospective employers stipulate race required. For example, a job posted as recently as 7<sup>th</sup> May 2012 advertises ‘Collection officer- Arab nationals only’. Additionally, construction work is heavily advertised toward potential employees from developing nations such as Bangladesh or Ethiopia. Thus indicating the racialisation of the recruitment process.

Following the deconstruction of the racialisation prominent in the labour market in general and in the construction sector; the domestic sector will be analysed. The purpose of foreign female domestic employment is to relieve the stress of housework and attain higher status for wealthy families, mainly consisting of Emirati, British or American (Sabban 2004). Domestic work in the UAE is dominated by Filipina, Indian, Indonesian, Sri Lankan and Ethiopian women (Jureidini 2003; HRW 2006). The fact most households that obtain domestic services are occupied by individuals whose race is positioned higher in the social structure than the domestic employee instantly reveals a racial division that discriminates inferior races. Emirati women, particularly, consider themselves, superior to foreign female domestic workers. The racialisation of the domestic worker can be explained as the

continuance of the “sexist division of labor by [women employers] passing on the most devalued work in their lives to another woman- generally a woman of color” (Romero 1992: 131). Therefore emphasising how the intersection of gender and race interact simultaneously and as a result socially generated oppressions are formed at multiple levels; sexism alongside racism (McCall 2005). Migration patterns of female domestic workers emulate construction workers; Indian women were the first group outside the UAE to migrate and fulfil domestic roles due to the strong intercultural relationship between the UAE and India (Sabban 2004). Similarly, to the construction sector racial hierarchies also exist within domestic work; in addition, the recruitment process is racialised. Demands for different nationalities have emerged and changed overtime. Initially women from the Philippines were highly sought after amongst the elite and were considered a symbol of status (Jureidini 2010; Moreno & Chammartin 2004). Presently Filipina women are climbing the social ladder and becoming prevalent in office work (Nigel Meany 2012), consequently other nationalities are becoming more popular in domestic labour such Ethiopian women. Rates of pay are determined directly by a domestic workers race rather than previous experience or educational attainments (Jureidini 2010; HRW 2007). Filipina women receive the highest wage followed by Indonesians, Indians, and Ethiopians respectively (Manseau 2005; UN Special Rapporteur 2009). This scale of pay is reflective of ‘Aracism’ whereby black people are considered the inferior, inadequate race and are associated with ‘dirty’, slave like jobs such as domestic work. The new migration of black domestic workers resignates with past slavery traditions, whereby black Ethiopians fulfilled subservient roles.

Manseau (2005) asserts, “domestic work can simply be described as a continuation of the social structure of slavery” (p. 29). Domestic workers are subjected to demeaning and exploitative working conditions, due to their racially inferior position and the servile nature of the work. Although domestic workers are victims of exploitation, they face different issues to construction workers. The domestic labour market is not regulated and therefore they are not protected by labour laws (Moreno & Chammartin 2004; Al Tamimi & Co 2012). The working conditions are similar to Bales (1999) concept of ‘contract slavery’ that consists of violence or possible threats of violence, physical restrictions and economic exploitation. Many work long hours every day for a small wage, and routinely experience humiliation and xenophobic behaviour (Jureidini 2009 ; Sabban 2004). They are subjected to demeaning verbal abuse, which often consists of racist insults that emulate slave like interactions between the employer and employee, similar to slave owner and slave. Domestic workers in the UAE are reported to feel isolated, lonely and controlled (Sabban 2004; HRW 2011). They are often prohibited to leave the house to engage in a social life, restraining mobility promotes control for the employer, again emphasising the slave like relationship (Jureidini 2003). The conditions experienced by foreign domestic workers in the UAE are emulated in countries such as Lebanon and Saudi Arabia (Jureidini 2009; Sabban 2004; HRW 2007). Furthermore, aspects of slavery in the UAE domestic sector are present under the current ‘Kafala system’, control is obtained by the employer and the domestic workers are viewed as their ‘property’ (Manseau 2005; Sabban 2004). Although it is illegal, many foreign domestic workers have their passports confiscated and official documents taken until their contract ends (Sabban 2004; UN Special Rapporteur 2009; HRW 2007), similar to practices enforced in the construction sector. These circumstances produce difficulties for foreign domestic workers to escape dependency (UN Special Rapporteur 2009). The fact Western expatriate women are virtually invisible in the domestic sphere, demonstrates how domestic work can be perceived to be racialised. The high levels of physical and verbal abuse amongst female foreign domestic workers, and experiences of contract slavery shows how racism is embedded in domestic work.

Due to the vulnerable and isolated position of foreign domestic workers in the UAE, cases of sexual abuse have emerged alongside the other forms of exploitative treatment (HRW 2007; Sabban 2004; Moreno & Chammartin 2004). Reports indicate sexual abuse is usually carried out by male employers and/or by other male members of the household;

older Emirati men are reported as the main perpetrators (Sabban 2004). Theorists argue this is a result of the sudden accumulation of wealth due to the successful oil industry in the Middle East (Sabban 2004). The racialised sexual exploitation of domestic workers often leads to the women fleeing their employers, as they often leave without personal documentation occupying work is difficult and their residency turns illegal. Consequently, many domestic workers enter the informal sex industry and begin work as prostitutes (Mahdavi 2010). In addition, Jureidini (2010) explains domestic work has provided a framework for the trafficking of foreign women from East Asia, Europe and sub Sahara continents to work in the sex industry, rather than occupy roles in the domestic sector. This shows how race plays an important part in the recruitment of sex workers.

The sex industry has grown in the UAE, particularly in the state of Dubai (Mahdavi 2010). Reciprocal of the construction and domestic labour markets, the commercial sex industry is racialised. Racial hierarchies are present based on localised Aracism embedded in UAE society, which determine rates of pay and success. "Demand for sex work in Dubai (as in many other parts of the world) is organised hierarchically according to perceived race" (Mahdavi 2010: 946), thus sex workers are categorised by skin colour. Iranian, Moroccan and Eastern Europeans are labelled 'white', East Asian, Filipina, Indian and Pakistani sex workers are labelled 'brown' and African women, such as Ethiopians and Nigerians are referred to as 'black'. The lighter the skinned women are the highest in demand and earn the highest wages, which promotes white supremacy (Hage 2000). Subsequently they occupy work in luxurious environments, such as expensive bars in wealthier areas of Dubai. In contrast, the darkest skinned 'black' women are the least in demand and receive the lowest pay (Mahdavi 2010; Mohanty 1997) which is similar to how rates of pay are justified in domestic work. They mainly work in the street in poorer more dangerous areas or are exploited and sent to "labour camps to provide sexual services" (Mahdavi 2010: 948). Thus, further resignate 'black' peoples inferior status in the UAE society, exuding Aracism. 'White' sex workers are limited whereas black women constitute the highest number of sex worker (Mahdavi 2010), possibly as a result of the hyper sexualised stereotypes associated with 'women of colour'. Mahdavi (2010) discovered Middle Eastern cliental favoured Moroccan and Iranian 'white' prostitutes as they were able to speak Arabic and were also considered culturally compatible. Furthermore, Eastern Europeans are sought after due to their visual resemblance of pornographic film actresses. Racial divisions are apparent when analysing the location of sex workers, research reveals African women, often prefer "working on the streets of Bur Dubai [a poorer region]...than the tense and racially charged atmosphere of the clubs" (Mahdavi 2010: 948). Ultimately, black women are more vulnerable in the sex industry in comparison to higher paid, white sex workers as an implication of their race.

The treatment and support offered to sex workers in the UAE differs according to race. In contrast to racial hierarchy, that alleviates lighter skinned women in the UAE, help and support is predominantly offered to black sex workers (Mahdivi 2010). In this instance Arab sex workers and Eastern Europeans are racialised. However, Emirati and western expatriates are the women who provide help and therefore remain the superior race. Support is restricted for Iranian women, as they are perceived by the Emirati women as guilty and occupying work out of choice (Mahdivi 2010). Black sex workers on the other hand are viewed as vulnerable and therefore require help. This demonstrates how sex workers are racialised in the UAE sex industry, in relation to the support provided.

In conclusion, the empirical evidence evaluates the different processes of racialisation that function in the UAE. It is evident that racial stereotypes emergent from Middle Eastern slavery directly influence how race is perceived in the contemporary UAE. This is apparent in relation to the types of work occupied by 'black' migrant workers in the secondary labour market. The main areas highlighted whereby racialisation occurs lay predominantly in the treatment of construction and domestic workers. As discussed throughout the piece both sectors are dominated by particular races such as Bangladeshis,

who are considered inferior in the UAE. Subsequently they are subjected to exploitative working conditions and contract slavery. As an implication of race, expatriates and migrant workers in the UAE are limited to the types of work they can occupy. Racialisation is present when assessing how wages are determined, thus usually by perceived race rather than experience or educational attainments. Also, the citizenship process is highly racialised. Racial hierarchies that promote Emirati nationals and white superiority influence the economic market within the UAE and the treatment and recruitment of particular races. Ultimately, the evidence outlined reveals working conditions and opportunities are pre determined by ones race, which reveals how racialisation is present in the UAE.

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