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Racial Hierarchies and Migrant Labour in Dubai – a critical analysis of processes of racialisation

Introduction

Dubai is located in the United Arab Emirates and its population is made up by largely non-nationals, making nationals a minority in their own country (United Nations Special Rapporteur, 2009). Dubai is one of seven Emirates (United Nations Special Rapporteur, 2009). This essay will provide a critical analysis of racialisation through hierarchies of work, healthcare and levels of pay, providing an insight into the neo-liberal market that Dubai has become, the challenges that arise from the governing state and how these racial issues can be resolved. Social integration has proven to be difficult due to the massive influx of migrant workers over a short period of time. Jureidini (2005) identifies that racism and xenophobia will result in individuals that ostracise people who stray away from their culture, values and beliefs. This furthers the concept of social groupings and how humans will identify groups of “others” which produces a strong bond within the original group. Dikötter (2008) identifies how world history is based around strict hierarchy of race originating from politics and how this has only been reworked and reshaped in modern times. Racism legitimises these hierarchies. Multi-culturalism is not something that can be avoided by a state, or for any country with open borders (Nye, 2007). This increased diversity has transformed Dubai from a barren desert to a global elite with a “self-constructed crossroads for globalisation” (Harris, 2013).

Dubai is also reported as being “the clash between dreams and reality” (Thornton, 2012). When the United Nations Special Rapporteur visited the United Arab Emirates in October 2009, certain areas of concern were identified (United Nations Special Rapporteur, 2009). Strong networks form the community of Dubai, these are based on ethnicity, nationality, gender and class categories (Kathiravelu, 2012). The large influx of foreign workers who have helped build Dubai have also brought challenges. These challenges are linked to a society based on the Emirati national identity, the changing culture of Dubai and the lack of integration between the migrant groups and the local nationals (United Nations Special Rapporteur, 2009).

These areas of concern are linked to institutional racism due to the economic control and large disparity of wages that are shown through the control of the state through racial hierarchies within the workplace and the way that they interconnect in order to facilitate racism. These transnational flows within a multi-cultural society make it clear how state management is controlling diversity and the influx of migrants (Nye, 2007). The social and political responses shape how racialisation manifests itself in the different dimensions of society (Nye, 2007). This racist and xenophobic behaviour is primarily exemplified through the treatment and stigmatisation of uneducated migrant construction workers (United Nations Special Rapporteur, 2009).

The four categories chosen to explore the racialisation of ethnic minorities within Dubai are as follows; 1) racism through exploitation of migrant workers and the (lack of) implementation of labour laws and their overall inherent lack of human rights; 2) the levels of exploitation in the workforce by looking at the dimensions within the workplace; 3) the prevalence of racism in terms of healthcare, medical tests and visa applications; 4) how media acts as a platform for drawing attention to the issues of racism within Dubai and how it can begin to tackle the income disparities. These four areas were picked because they exemplify the economic aspect of expatriates’ struggle with racism in Dubai. The government is a major factor in understanding racism and how the workplace has been limited to certain ethnic groups leading to ethno-racism. By focusing on the labour workers from primarily India, Pakistan and Ethiopia, the ethnical structure of the labour workforce of Dubai can be understood and a clear pattern will emerge in regards to difference in treatment, wages and conditions compared to the white, male dominated supervisor and management labour market can be analysed.

Racism through exploitation of migrant workers and the (lack of) implementation of labour laws and their overall lack of human rights

The promise of a better life invites labour migrants to come to Dubai (Kathiravelu, 2012). However, the reality is starkly different. Dubai is considered to have many elements of modern day slavery within the labour market of migrant workers. Degorge (2006:664) points out that modern day 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” within society. Bales (1999) explains that due to the global economic boom that the United Arab Emirates experienced, modern day slavery was facilitated for economic purposes.

Explanations are rooted within Dubai’s history and as an Islamic state, Dubai’s rules and regulations rely heavily on Islamic teachings. However the Holy Koran acknowledges that all creatures have been created equally worthy, but will occupy different roles within society based on their differences (Gallant, 2006). People from different social backgrounds, classes and genders are taught not to discriminate and the pursuit of knowledge and success should not be based on your social standing (Al Faruqi, 1988). This entails that the mistreatment of ethnic minorities is not religiously based and should not be linked to scripts, but rather be linked to the governing state.

Racism is based upon categorisations, usually justified by negative characteristics of certain groups and requiring the existence of dominant and inferior groups. There is an attempt of certain groups to dominate over another, indicating that racism is the denial of equal co-existence in society. This can either be intentional or unintentional - created by present society or being a by-product of historical circumstances that have shaped the social connections within society (Jenkins, 1986). In the case of Dubai it is seen to be the result of present society. Global investment required workers, and the local workforce were deemed to be inadequate, unwilling to work and uneducated (Attiyah, 1996; Kapiszewski, 2006).

The population of Dubai is largely made up of Indians, making up 42% of Dubai’s population in 2009 (Kapur, 2012). The labour population is described to be “sweat-stained migrants who make local citizens a minority in their own country” (NY Times, 2007). Allen (2009) reveals a glimpse into the workforce conditions of a labour worker in Dubai in a publication called the *Dark Side of the Dubai Dream*, discussing how labourers work 12 hour shifts, receive monthly wages of GBP 120 and live on a limited diet of lentils and bread. Furthermore, labour camps are gated and guarded, found in the desert and outskirts of Dubai’s inner city, completely separate from the Dubai skyline.

An undercover investigation into the Dubai authorities had concluded that one of the labour camps, set-up and owned by Arabtec, one of the largest construction companies in Dubai, had been labelled as critical in terms of health regulations (Allen, 2009). Arabtec had consequently been fined DHS 10,000, the equivalent of approximately GBP 2,000 due to the breach of health regulations. The problem did not end with overflowing sewage, it also included overcrowding and poor ventilation. Conditions showed that 7,500 labourers were sharing 1,248 rooms, resulting in an average of 6 labourers per room. (Allen, 2009).

The problem is often blamed on the labourers and with Arabtec threatening to send the workers back to Bangladesh, stating that their “standards of cleanliness and hygiene are not up to your or our standards” (Allen, 2009). Arabtec completely denied responsibility, ignoring the health issues of the labour camps. This again confirms the racialisation of labourers. Bangladeshis are considered to be an inferior race; dirty and unable to comprehend how to act appropriately even with adequate training provided by the company. This could however be due to the labourers not feeling any respect for the large companies and their substandard surroundings, which could be linked to their low wages and poor treatment.

There is no prescribed minimum wage by law, although there is a minimum monthly income needed to be able to sponsor a spouse or children residing in the country of 4,000 DHS which is roughly the equivalent of 770 GBP with additional accommodation allowance (UAE Labour Law, no date).

This is an interesting indication of the money needed to be able to support a family of two or more as seen by the government, while male labourers effectively currently are working all over the UAE to support families with much lower wages. Furthermore, the UAE Labour law clearly states that passports may not be held by an employer but this is common practice within Dubai, where employers handle the employees’ passports, making it impossible for workers to leave the country without permission (Government UK, 2016).

The Dubai government has attempted to tackle some of the inhumane conditions for their labour workers. For example, they have introduced work breaks from 12:30 pm to 3 pm to decrease cases of dehydration within the labour force during the summer months where temperatures can rise to 50 degrees centigrade or higher (DeParle, 2007; Al Jandaly, 2011). However, this is only after public outcries in newspapers and even with this new law, employees sometimes chose not to take the midday break as even if they did (Mannan, 2015), no shaded area is provided on the worksite allowing for no real break from the sun. This is the case even though the Minister of Labour Saqr Gobash identifies that this is part of the new legislation (Salem, 2013). Mandeep, interviewed by *7Days*, a tabloid newspaper in Dubai, elaborates “We do not have any rest areas, and spend most of our breaks sitting inside neighbourhood shops asking whether we can sit in the AC for a while” (Mannan, 2015). This exemplifies how the law implemented stems from public unhappiness and once finalised, is not taken seriously by the government to ensure that conditions improve. The wide media coverage from a range of newspapers such as *7Days* (2015), *New York Times* (2007), *The National* (2013) and *Gulf News* (2016) shows what a well-publicised issue the conditions became and the coverage that continued after the new law received great feedback from the public such as Giselle Dmello feeling “... very good that there is someone to take care of all these construction workers, as their salary is low and some of them don't have health insurance. Thanks very much for caring for these people” (Al Jandaly, 2011).

The levels of exploitation in the workforce by looking at the dimensions within the workplace

Opportunities in the workplace are not fairly distributed between ethnic groups. Multi-layered and multi-faceted challenges are faced by expatriate workers in both moving across and within borders for employment, and within the employment itself. This includes facing the challenges of working in a hierarchical based system of pay and opportunities in an environment which is ethno-racial (Ehrenreich and Hochschild, 2008). Employment within the Dubai workforce is predominantly male dominated and almost nine out of ten of those individuals involved in the labour market are expatriates (Fitch, 2010). Emiratis only makeup 3 percent of Dubai's workforce making them a minority in their own country with wages that could cover up to 5 people in comparison to 1 (Fitch, 2010). Non-Emiratis make up approximately 1,273,000 workers compared to Emirati nationals who make up 52,783 of the working population in 2011 (Gulf Labour Markets and Migration).

The number of workers who accept the lower wages and the lack of humane living conditions leads to a solid foundation of intolerance from the general middle class public and government, both within the migrant labour community and within better job areas such as hospitality, which will be discussed further in terms of racism within the workplace. The influx of cheap labour from Asian and African countries lead to the acceptance of horrible conditions, and people start to associate those ethnic groups as inferior and allow them to only enter labour markets which are perceived to be too dangerous for others, such as construction. This indicates racialisation of foreign workers from these specific areas being favoured and assumed to take on these labour roles (Wells 1996; HRW 2006). Employers in large construction companies will then see these migrant workers as well suited for the job and will favour them in employment. The Government-level interaction between Dubai and the countries sending workers is the basis of the problem with a racial neo-liberalistic market situation. The state is providing regulatory context which is explicitly about facilitating the process of discrimination and racialisation.

Discrimination within employment is difficult to notice from the outside and if noticed, can be difficult to control and hinder (Stratford, 2009). Racism within employment occurs as soon as different ethnic groups are treated differently, in turn changing the opportunities for certain groups, resulting in the suffering of disadvantaged groups both in terms of financial gain and choice of work (Jenkins, 1986) with wages differing by up to Dhs11,000 a month between expatriates and Emiratis. Emiratis can earn more than Dhs14,000 a month, the equivalent of 2,696 GBP. A whole 67.7 percent of them earn this while expatriates are offered wages at around Dhs3,000, the equivalent of GBP 578 per month, the average wage for almost 69 percent of the expat population (Fitch, 2010). These figures are most definitely indicative of the labour population within Dubai in term of expatriates, with 42.9 percent of expatriates working within the construction industry, making up almost 580,000 workers (Fitch, 2010).

As Jenkins (1986:5) points out, “intentionality is not a necessary component of racism” and there is a “hierarchy of desire” (Winddance and Gardener, 2013:19) in Dubai. The difference of treatment continues with migrant workers with lighter and whiter skinned individuals becoming more desirable, allowing them to perform their labour in safer and more elite neighbourhoods of the city. This

may be a product of cheap labour moving in, making certain workers suited economically to certain jobs. At the very top Emirati locals can be found; followed by Western expatriates such as British and Australian; followed by Arabs such as Syrian or Lebanese; then South Asians including Indians, Pakistanis and Sri Lankans; and lastly Black Ethiopians (Jureidini 2003, 2010; HRW 2006; Sassen 1988). These lighter skinned individuals act as race markers, and promote the idea of white supremacy within the workplace (Hage, 2000).

Racial Arabisation is the fundamental basis of difference in attitudes of other ethnic groups in the eyes of the Arabs. These can be reflected in the wages that labour and migrant workers receive, indicating racialisation with the differing amount of values placed on each worker.

Arabs have been constructed as forming racialisation through lineage and creating a complex hierarchical structure that can be exemplified through the hierarchy of pay (Law, 2014). This hierarchy of pay is evident with the Filipino population receiving the highest wage due to the perception of them as service minded and with a compliant way of working, followed by Indonesians, Indians and Ethiopians (Manseau 2005; UN Special Rapporteur 2009). Indians and Ethiopians will often find themselves working in construction and factories (dirty and unsafe), Filipinos and Indonesians will typically work in domestic jobs, such as cleaning and child-care.

This leads to the concept of 'othering' as previously discussed with Jureidini (2005) identifying the concept and now Law (2014) establishing how Arabic discourse has established this racialisation process. The acceptance of ethnic hierarchy leads to racialisation and black workers find themselves at the bottom of the pecking order with subservient and inferior roles in the workplace. Racial Arabisation creates xenophobic attitudes that are then reflected in the stereotypes of work placement and dark skinned groups face the largest difficulty, with a historic basis in slavery.

In terms of acquiring a job, a website called *Dubai.dubizzle.com* (2016) provides job listings usually within sales, hospitality and customer service. Jobs can provide specifications as far as stating which ethnicity should apply. This leads to racialisation in the jobs that are offered to different ethnicities, with stereotypes for each job sector. For example, a job listing posted on April 1st, 2016, was looking for a "good looking male masseur from Philippines, Sri Lanka, Thailand or Nepal". Another example is a job for a part time sales agent for a cleaning company posted on March 2016 requesting "sales agents with experience in Cleaning Services Needed (1-2 yrs in UAE) and Indian Nationals are preferred". This continues with: "we are looking for smart Indian pharmacists and trainees" posted March 30th, 2016 and "well established cleaning services company in Dubai, looking to hire Filipino female cleaners" (Dubizzle, 2016).

This racism is thus facilitated through job applications, allowing the process to begin even before migrants find themselves working in Dubai. This is another challenge faced by workers within the Dubai workforce. A BBC Panorama report on Dubai (Hewitt, 2009), states that what every tourist believes; that "if there is a paradise on earth, then Dubai is it", is a fallacy. The rapid development of Dubai from an arid desert dwelling into a booming business place is not filled with unlimited opportunities for its workers. This is all an implication of the quick and fast paced changing nature of Dubai. The social and civic systems are largely open for abuse in regards to workers (Malik, 2011). The starting point for analysing and tackling any form of racism within employment is to look at the present situation of the labour workers who are most vulnerable and most attacked (Jenkins, 1986). If racism is a product of the state's involvement in terms of work and opportunities, it becomes an issue of migration and it is clear that the conversations that need to happen are surrounding migration, forced labour and the racial implications of decisions made and opportunities offered (Mahdavi, 2011).

Prevalence of racism through healthcare, medical tests and visa applications

Health and medical checks play a major role in gaining a work visa with blood tests, x-rays, tests for HIV-Aids, Hepatitis B and C, tuberculosis, leprosy, syphilis and pregnancy being the most common (Everything Dubai, 2016). If tests are found to be positive, individuals may be treated, quarantined, deported, or a combination of the three (Everything Dubai, 2016). There is largely no appeal process for positive results of any test (Government UK, 2016). Interestingly, many diseases are often linked to certain marginalised groups within society. For example, according to statistics published by the World Health Organisation in 2015 (World Health Statistics, 2015), diseases targeted for testing are more prevalent in low income groups.

HIV/Aids prevalence by population groups of 100,000 people were explored with statistics from 2013 showing that 843 Ethiopians were affected, 166 Indians, 3606 Kenyans and 278 Eritreans (World Health Statistics, 2015:63). Tuberculosis is another disease that results in deportation from Dubai and the denial to work, travel through or visit the country as part of a vacation. In 2013, 211 Ethiopians were affected, 281 Kenyans, 153 Eritreans, 103 Sri Lankans, 409 Zimbabweans whereas in Western countries such as Sweden, only 9 per 100,000, 4 in the United States of America and 17 in the United Kingdom (World Health Statistics, 2015:63,71). Mortality rate based on the income group bracket is also interesting, with low income, meaning rates of individuals affected by HIV are 150 per 100,000 while lower middle income are 23 per 100,000 and upper middle income are only 14 (World Health Statistics, 2015:74). This would indicate that the higher the wage bracket for an individual, the higher chances of survival from disease.

This is concerning, as those most vulnerable to diseases such as HIV Aids, Tuberculosis, and high mortality rates are the individuals from countries with the least governmental support, wage equality and opportunity for progress within their employment. This includes Sub-Saharan Africa, Sri Lanka, India and Pakistan. The African region is affected the greatest with figures showing cause specific mortality at 122 per 100,000 with a large disparity towards e.g. the Western Pacific region showing only 3 per 100,000 (World Health Statistics, 2015:74). This confirms the idea as discussed that coloured workers originally were and still remain to be the group that face a multitude of challenges within the labour market (Jenkins, 1986). Now not only within the labour market but also in terms of healthcare and potential treatment with a knock-on effect of losing job prospects.

The fact that all medical tests will not be accepted by the UAE government if done in a foreign country facility makes it difficult for testing to be done prior to ensuring a job application being successful, with a large sum of money that must be paid in advance of even getting a work visa for tests to be carried out in the government facilities on location (Everything Dubai, 2016). Funds will have to be spent before ensuring that the job is available to the individual. This indicates that racialisation occurs not only financially with wages and payment, but also with the treatment within the workplace emotionally and the lack of standards met for all employees.

The wider health implications are even greater once these minorities have been granted a working visa and the World Health Organisation has deemed it to be “an issue of human displacement at length, referring to it as a top global public health priority” (World Health Organisation, 2010:2). These minorities suffer from forced labour, potential sexual exploitation and the emotional factors from being separated from family. According to the 1946 constitution by the World Health Organisation, “the enjoyment of the highest attainable standard of health is one of the fundamental rights of every human being...health is defined as a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being and not merely as the absence of disease or infirmity” (2010:3). This proves how state control over immigration is aimed at preserving a healthy nation but also wanting to simultaneously build a nation. It can finally be concluded that racialisation through healthcare is a large factor in getting the access to healthcare through both funds and accessibility of society.

How media acts as a platform for drawing attention to the issues of racism within Dubai and how it can begin to tackle the income disparities

Dikötter (2008) explains how the process of racial discourse works and splits it into two distinct ways, firstly that some groups of people are deemed to be inferior from birth and from there on deemed to be unworthy of equality within society and secondly, that people could be elevated into higher and equal social stability despite any differences. Furthermore, these distinctions of class rankings cement how the “concern with ‘racial’ differences expanded, all the more as the movement of people was facilitated by increased openness across the earth, a process still unfolding today” (Dikötter, 2008:1494).

Indian’s salaries improve drastically by the time they come to Dubai, dependant on the job they receive and hence Indians have started to accept lower wages than other ethnic groups as in comparison, their situation has already improved compared to the salaries they would enjoy at home (DeParle, 2007). This acceptance of lower wages creates an impact on the living standard and wages for others within the same ethnic minority, which can be seen with the example of engineers.

On average, Indians occupying a higher position within companies can earn up to ten times the salary than at home and this is even while accepting lower wage contracts than their white counterparts

(DeParle, 2007). Whilst those statistics are comparing the United States and India, the tax free pay in Dubai would reflect the same disparity in wage. This occurs in many European countries as well, with migrant labour forces taking jobs that locals would not be willing to do. This means a specific labour force is accepting lower wages and employers are favouring certain ethnic groups to carry out certain jobs.

Although this is the case for many high end job opportunities such as engineers, the lower class labourers are the ones who suffer the most due to this change in wage. They come over from their country of origin in the hope of acquiring enough money to send back home and for living in Dubai. Nobody is forced to come to Dubai, educated or uneducated, but the workers with the largest need for a stable income are usually not the ones who receive it. Both labour workers and taxi drivers, the two main areas of work for unskilled or semi-skilled workers in Dubai, work long hours with close to no human rights. Webster (2015) reported that from the six different taxi companies that were approached for his article, the majority worked seven days a week and 12 hour days with some working ten months straight. They receive no basic salary and are only paid in commission (Webster, 2015). The ethics of the workers are also tested, an unknown idea for any large scale company with employees. Undercover officials find it necessary to leave large sums of cash in the taxis and can even include diamonds to test the driver to see whether it would be returned or not (Kantaria, 2015).

This unfair treatment and exploitation of the fact that certain ethnicities will settle for a lower pay does raise questions of what the government are actually doing to overcome the racialised aspects of Dubai's society. These notions of spatial hierarchy can be discussed in terms of privilege. This is central to reducing racism and inequality within the labour market and allowing for a fair spreading of opportunities, resources and financial equality (Winddance and Gardener, 2013).

In terms of public opinion, a blogger (Quiroga, 2012) moved away from Dubai and stated that she could not "stay in Dubai earning a great salary knowing that, while I earn those figures, people around me are being exploited that way". This shows how everyday discourse and racism is now becoming a talked about topic in Dubai. Undercover reports as previously mentioned at Arabtec labour camps revealed that when labourers were interviewed, no one had been paid the money they had been promised by their respective recruitment agencies and that they "cannot eat properly - living on a diet of potatoes, lentils and bread" (Allen, 2009). An interview conducted through Gulf News (Stratford, 2009) found that a Pilipino waitress, despite having over two years more experience and being able to speak English more fluently than her Romanian colleagues, was earning less.

Change must start in homes, schools and workplaces to encourage the elimination of racism within society (Ghazal, 2012). Through social media the change has already started in Dubai, with many newspapers and blogs beginning to openly discuss the problems of racism, not only within the workplace but also within social settings. Polls indicate that 70 percent of people thought they had been turned away from a club due to racism with one individual commenting that "I believe that they have also been told to treat any dark skinned men, i.e Asian or African, like an animal, while they graciously open the door to any white clubbers" (Gulf News, 2006).

In response to tackling racism, an anti-discrimination law was created in 2015 across the entire United Arab Emirates which criminalises "all forms of discrimination on the grounds of religion, caste, creed, doctrine, race, colour or ethnic origin" (The National, 2015). This covers all forms of social media as well as free speech and written words. The law is intended to provide the United Arab Emirates a means to safeguard all individuals residing in the Emirates, and to develop a foundation of tolerance despite differences in culture, religious beliefs or race. This should in turn decrease the intolerance, racial abuse and hate (The National, 2015). This anti-discrimination law is proof that the government bodies of the United Arab Emirates are working together in the aim and hope of decreasing racial stigmatisation within the community and workplace. However, the reality is different from the aim. The governing bodies are producing and implementing laws but in reality racism can be difficult to prove and the victims are most commonly the expatriates who have jobs at stake which makes them reluctant to press a case (Gulf News, 2009).

Furthermore, Dubai is a part of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, and the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women. However, one of the most important Conventions they should aim to be a part of is the Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families

(United Nations Special Rapporteur, 2009). This labour is predominantly being taken from outside Dubai with both the educated and uneducated labour being advantageous for the growth of Dubai.

The cheap labour from outside Dubai became superior both economically and in terms of amount of labour (Manseau, 2005; Malecki & Ewers, 2007). Labourers lacking citizenship rights is the case for the majority of Dubai's residents and results in a Gulf aristocracy by consciously not fully integrating chosen groups into society and disregarding them and isolating them from the main city (Harris, 2013). This advantageous use of cheap labour can be considered to be exploitation, as Ms. Whitson of Human Rights Watch said "that's what exploitation is- you take advantage of someone's desperation" (DeParle, 2007). The Government are keen to hide these internal contradictions that are revealed through the subtle norms of society and discriminative policies that are put in place.

The social media platforms allow for the expression of racism to be clearly defined, not only within the workplace but also within social settings. By publically speaking of the tragedy of the foreign labour workers, highlighting it through Twitter, using documentaries released on Youtube and via discussion forums on Facebook, the difficult topic of racism can begin to be tackled (Nihal, 2014). Although social media is difficult as they are not fully academic, they can offer an insight into the everyday racist discourses that occur within Dubai. The public's opinion is very clear cut and in order to offer sides from both the government and the public, it is clear that the discrepancy is far too wide between what the government say and their actions.

The laws do not protect those who need it the most. Anti-discrimination laws exist, as do laws which prohibit the practice of depositing passports and working more than the maximum of six days a week and eight hours a day (Webster, 2015).

Conclusion

The four aspects taken into consideration when understanding and analysing the process of racialisation and the related connection between state and private exploitation and economic and racial hierarchies and the way in which they interconnect, were; 1) racism through exploitation of migrant workers; 2) the levels of exploitation in the workforce; 3) the prevalence of racism in terms of the visa process and; 4) how media acts as a platform. Collectively they provide an insight into the systematic state sponsored marginalisation that occurs not only within Dubai, but within the United Arab Emirates as a whole. With the large influx of labour workers in the construction and service sectors of Dubai and with Dubai becoming a worldwide wanted travel destination within decades, the legal framework to protect the vulnerable members of this growing society could not keep up. This leads to racialised views and stigmatisations resulting in ethno-racialised groups with challenges of how to tackle it in terms of basic human rights and security within the workplace.

The challenge continues with the multi-faceted challenges that need to be tackled and the difficulty of moving forwards and upwards in a country where the state is adamant of keeping groups separated, stigmatised and disregarded by society. By placing certain ethnic groups within certain career paths and certain areas of Dubai, mostly the labour workers living in sheds on the outskirts of Dubai far away from the properties where they will spend the majority of their lives building and working, the racial stigmatisation of these groups lead to them being regarded as dirty, inferior and slave like members of society. Once placed in this category, it is difficult to change the perceptions and integrate migrants effectively into society, regardless of the public's views.

The public have time after time again voiced the problems of worker's rights and conditions within Dubai, but the state as a whole can easily suppress or prohibit any public discourse or enact Laws that are not followed even when they have been made and this means that reducing racism is difficult even from within the government. Dubai has control over what is published and is made public to society and they are in control over the different spheres of Dubai. This means that even if workers want to speak out, as they did in the BBC Panorama documentary, if found out by camp supervisors or security, they can face losing their job and being deported, leaving them in the same or worse situation than before. This makes it difficult to uncover the truth and in turn recognising what needs to be done to decrease the instances of low income, sub Saharan African groups bearing the brunt of racism within Dubai, along with other marginalised groups such as Indians, Sri Lankans and Filipinos.

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