

UAE National Women at Work in the Private Sector: Conditions and Constraints

Caren Nelson

Centre for Labour Market Research & Information (CLMRI)
The National Human Resource Development and Employment Authority (Tanmia)

PO Box 9505, Dubai, United Arab Emirates · Tel: + 971 4 331 1114 · Fax: + 971 4 331 7771
Email: clmri.res@tanmia.org.ae · Website: www.tanmia.ae

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ABSTRACT

Based solely on secondary research, drawing on previous CLMRI studies and other sources, this paper looks at the labour market experiences of UAE National women employed in the private sector. The paper divides this demographic cohort into two groups – those in paid employment and female business owners.

The paper examines the social, cultural and economic factors that influence the jobs that women occupy and how these factors dictate, to some extent, the occupations that are virtually closed to them. It then looks at the particular conditions of work that exist in the private sector, with reference to factors such as wages/earnings, hours of work, employee profiles and career/business development.

In the final section of the paper, the policy implications that are identified in earlier sections are translated into a set of recommendations for improving the experiences of the target cohort.

1.0 INTRODUCTION

In 1995, the total UAE population was 2,411,041, of which UAE Nationals comprised 24.4 percent or 587,330 people (1995 Population Census). Current estimates¹ for 2003 place the total population at 4,041,000, with Nationals accounting for 19.5 percent or 788,210 people (Centre for Labour Market Research and Information (CLMRI), Tanmia) (see Table 1a). Showing little percentage change in comparison to 1995, women comprised one-third of the 2003 population and National women held a share of just below 10 percent or an estimated 390,260 individuals. The widely disparate male/female distribution of the population is in large part attributable to the high incidence of predominantly male immigrant labour. This feature of the UAE population serves also to skew the labour force strongly in favour of men, notwithstanding the cultural norms that limit women's labour force participation. In 2003 an estimated 73 percent of the population was in the 15-59 age-group and the labour force participation (LFP) rate for the same year, was approximately 61.5 percent,² ranging from a low of 47.7 percent for Ras al Khaimah to a high of 68.6 percent for Dubai. Disaggregation by gender shows that the male LFP rate is more than twice that for women, with 2003 estimates of 77.2 percent and 28.2 percent, respectively.

UAE Nationals accounted for just 8.3 percent of the overall 2003 (estimated) labour force, down from 9.1 percent at the 1995 census. Female Nationals in the labour force numbered 51,580 based on the 2003 estimate, which was more than three times their 1995 total. Nevertheless, they accounted for only 2.1 percent of the overall labour force. When considered as a separate cohort, UAE Nationals' LFP rate, based on 2003 estimates, is 37.9³ percent overall, with individual rates of 65.9 percent for male Nationals and 9.9 percent for female Nationals.

The data presented above points to the fact that UAE National women's participation in the labour force is increasing dramatically. However, they still form a very small percentage of the overall labour force. Several socio-cultural and legal-political factors influence the position of women in the UAE. These have a strong impact on their activities, geographic mobility and labour market participation and experiences. These factors are also very important determinants of UAE women's low labour force participation rate. Changing economic circumstances, global influences, as well as changes in attitudes have led to a drive for less dependence on imported labour and greater employment of Nationals. These factors have also meant greater acceptance for the employment of women; however, several barriers still remain.

¹/ All 2003 demographic data is based on estimates resulting from projections made by Tanmia's Centre for Labour Market Research and Information (CLMRI).

²/ LFP has been rising and was only 55.4 percent at the time of the last census in 1995.

³/ This is in relation to the (age 15+) population of UAE Nationals only.

Table 1a: UAE Population and Labour Force, 1995 & 2003¹

	Total	Male	%	Female	%	Nationals	Male	%	Female	%
1995										
Population	2,411,041	1,607,361	66.7	803,680	33.3	587,330	297,060	50.6	290,270	49.4
Labour Force	1,335,894	1,180,104	88.3	155,790	11.7	121,291	105,562	87.0	15,729	13.0
2003										
Population	4,041,000	2,745,000	67.9	1,296,000	32.1	788,210	397,950	50.5	390,260	49.5
Labour Force	2,485,000	2,120,000	85.3	365,000	14.7	205,410	153,830	74.9	51,580	25.1

SOURCE: UAE Ministry of Planning, Central Statistical Department, 1995 Population Census.

¹Based on estimates from CLMRI projections.

Table 1b: Labour Force Participation Rates, 1995 & 2003

	1995			2003		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Total Population	73.4	19.4	55.4	77.2	28.2	61.5
UAE Nationals	65.9	9.9	37.9	68.1	22.9	45.6

SOURCE: UAE Ministry of Planning and CLMRI estimates

Table 1c: Population and Labour Force for Dubai, 2000 & 2002

	Total	Male	Female
2000			
Population	862,387	611,799	250,588
Labour Force	569,718	504,707	65,011
2002¹			
Population	961,000	695,764	265,236

SOURCE: Dubai Municipality, Statistics Center, Statistical Yearbook – Emirate of Dubai, 2002.

¹2002 data are Dubai Municipality estimates.

There was no available data on labour force composition for 2002 or on UAE Nationals as a separate cohort.

Table 1d: Population and Labour Force for Abu Dhabi, 2001

	Total	Male	Female	Nationals	Male	Female
Population	1,170,254	789,826	380,428	296,152	148,982	147,170
Labour Force	676,547	592,587	83,960	71,651	58,395	13,256

SOURCE: Emirate of Abu Dhabi, Planning Department, Statistics Section, Survey of Households, Population and Enterprises, 2001

This paper examines the experiences of Emirati women employed in the private sector, with special focus on the conditions under which they work and the constraints that render their employment difficult. In so doing, the research will seek to:

- (a) inform policies for improving the employment experiences of National women in the private sector where necessary; and
- (b) engender greater private sector employment opportunities for them.

The paper is arranged in five sections: an Introduction, followed by Section 2, which presents a background to the paper by looking at the socio-cultural issues in relation to the employment of Emirati women. Section 3 provides the main discussion, examining Emirati women in paid employment and entrepreneurs. Some recommendations are presented in Section 4 and the concluding Section 5 summarises the paper.

1.1 Methodology

This paper has been prepared using predominantly secondary data. As such, it relies heavily on the research output of Tannia/CLMRI. Other documents that were consulted during the course of the research were used mainly to address the topic adequately and to concretize some of the issues.

2.0 EMIRATI WOMEN IN THE LABOUR FORCE

Emirati women are entering the labour force in increasing numbers. The reasons for the increase relate to higher educational achievements and changing attitudes towards working women in the UAE and the region as a whole.

In this section, the role of culture in UAE women's labour market experiences, their advances in education and their choices in the labour market are discussed. Some reference is also made to changing attitudes with regard to women working and the impact this has had on their gross representation in the labour force in recent times.

2.1 Emirati Culture and the Position of Women

Traditionally, religious, social and cultural norms in the UAE have dictated the position of women. Under this tradition, girls were socialised into the nurturing roles of mother and wife, rather than encouraged to develop careers. While this has changed remarkably, with women now being encouraged to obtain higher education before marriage, there remain other issues that restrict women's labour market choices. For example, restriction on women's geographic mobility limits the options that are open to them, both in terms of access to education and acceptable employment (Baud and Mahgoub, 2001). Secondly, as in other parts of the world, UAE women are limited in their career and occupational choices (Roudi-Fahimi and Moghadam, 2004) and opt for traditional male professions less frequently than other professions/occupations. Thirdly, a peculiarity of the UAE society is that certain occupations, outside of the usual gender biases, are considered inappropriate or undesirable for Emiratis and, in some cases, more so for women. For example, Emiratis shun personal service occupations, such as many of those in the hotel industry, waiting tables and hair-dressing. Also, nursing, a traditionally 'female occupation', is not favoured among Emirati women. Religious considerations also limit the types of financial institutions in which many Emiratis will accept employment, e.g. some will not work in non-Islamic banks. Some change is being made, however.

Table 2: Enrolled National Students in UAE University, 1977/78, 1997/98 & 2002/03

	1977/78	1997/98	2002/03 ^a
Total	502	14,911	16,128
Female	189	11,812	12,391
Percent female	37.6	79.2	76.8
Male	313	3,099	3,737
Percent male	62.4	20.8	23.2

SOURCE: Ministry of Planning and UAE University, Institutional Research Unit, <http://iru.uaeu.ac.ae/factbook/index.html>, September 25, 2004.

^a Most recent data.

Table 2 shows that over the 20-year period 1977 to 1997, the share of female students enrolled at UAE University (UAEU) rose from just over one-third to almost 80 percent. The point is made by Roudi-Fahimi and Moghadam (2004, p. 8) that a part of the reason for the larger share of women in tertiary educational institutions in the "oil-rich Gulf states" is that males may, and do, go abroad to study – the implication being that women may not. However, the data does not support this point. The most recent data from the Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research (2001–2003)⁴, shows that the share of female Emirati scholarship holders (admitted, studying or graduated) in overseas institutions, although in each case lower than males, still averaged 44 percent overall⁵. This certainly does not give credence to the notion that women may not study abroad. However, since female Emiratis comprise upwards of 70 percent of registrants and graduates of domestic higher education institutions (see Table 3), the imbalance between males and females in local and overseas higher education is clear.

⁴/ Data supplied courtesy of the Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research, Department of Education Programs & Certification, October 18, 2004.

⁵/ This was at all levels of study: Bachelor's, Master's and Doctorate.

Table 3a: National Graduates of Selected Higher Educational Institutions, by Gender, 1999/2000 – 2000/01

Academic Year	1999/2000			2000/2001		
Institution	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
UAE University	430	2,170	2,600	395	2,236	2,631
Higher Colleges of Technology	585	959	1,544	111	1,422	1,533
Nursing Institutes	0	10	10	0	21	21
Dubai College for Medicine	0	16	16	0	12	12
Ajman University	28	94	122	24	155	179
Dubai University College	13	11	24	14	21	35
American University, Dubai	5	6	11	4	16	20
Institute for Banking Studies	8	21	29	25	32	57

SOURCE: Ministry of Planning.

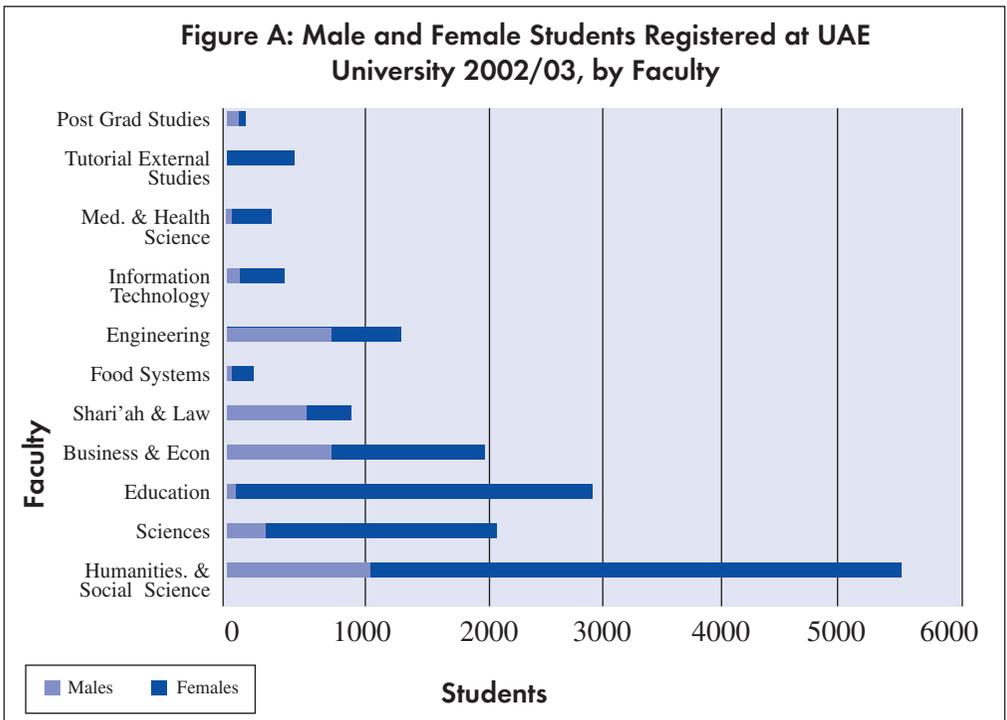
Table 3b: National Graduates of Selected Higher Educational Institutions, by Gender, 2001/02

Institution	Male	Female	Total
Ajman University for Science & Technology	65	188	253
American University in Dubai	7	9	16
American University in Sharjah	11	34	45
Sharjah University	24	175	199
Etisalat Engineering College	42	0	42
College for Arabic & Islamic Studies	28	173	201
Dubai Medical College for Women	0	6	6
Dubai Pharmacology College	0	3	3
Dubai Police Academy	67	2	69
Emirates Institute for Banking & Financial Studies	18	34	52
Total	262	624	886

SOURCE: Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research.

For the UAE in particular, other reasons for the imbalance in the proportion of males and females in higher education include the fact that many boys drop out of school to join the military and police force (Cameron, unpublished), which offer attractive salaries (Bartsch and Dahlborg, unpublished). Only recently has there been an admission requirement of completed high school education (Cameron, unpublished).

Table 2 shows also that even though total enrolment at UAEU in academic year 1997/98 was almost 30 times the 1977 level, enrolment of females increased more dramatically: 62 times. By comparison, males' enrolment increased 10 times. Figure A illustrates male and female students enrolled at UAEU in academic year 2002/03. It is interesting to note that only in three faculties, Shari'ah and Law, Engineering and (marginally in) Post Graduate Studies, is male enrolment higher than females'. In the first two instances, probable reasons are that Law and Engineering are traditionally male-oriented professions. In the third instance, while the difference is sufficiently small to be ignored, it must be viewed against the overwhelming numerical dominance of females in the other areas of study. Thus, a likely reason for the smaller relative share of women pursuing post-graduate studies may be that the demands of marriage and child-bearing in UAE culture limit their choices for higher education. Roudi-Fahimi and Moghadam (2004) note that "women in the region tend to give birth" (p. 5) within two years of marriage and Morada (2002) provides data that supports the notion that "there seems to be a lower propensity for females [native to the UAE] to seek further studies after landing their first job" (p. 5). The data from educational institutions indicates that women are pursuing higher education in greater numbers than ever before. While obtaining higher education does not guarantee entry (nor even indicate desire for entry) to the labour market, anecdotal evidence as well as existing data show overwhelmingly that Emirati women are opting to work.

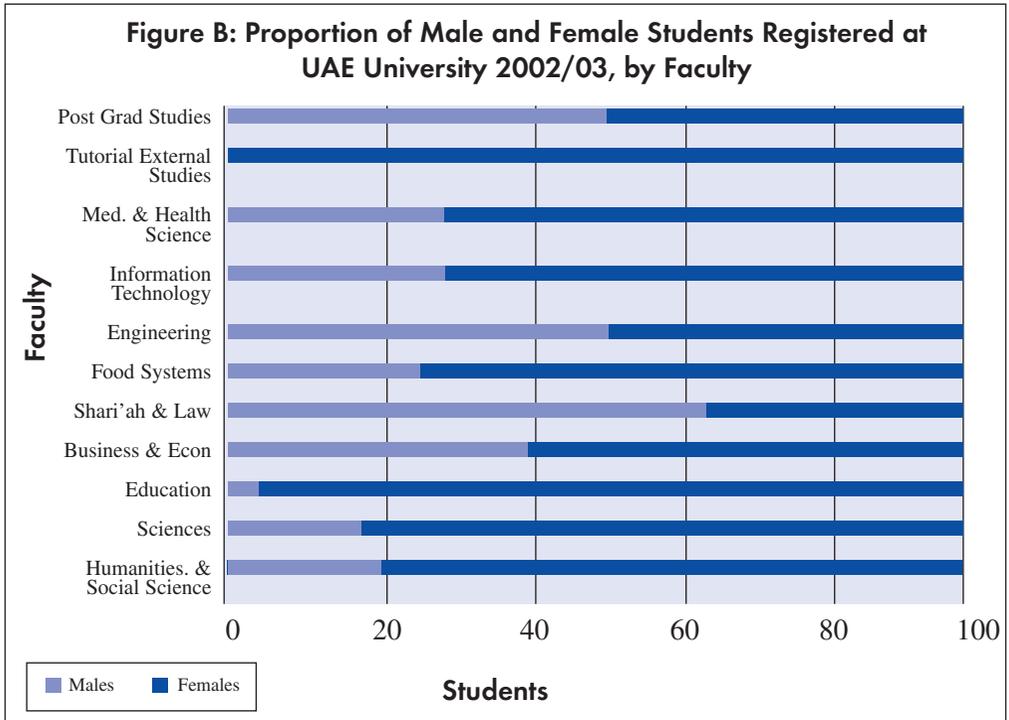


SOURCE: UAE University, Institutional Research Unit, <http://iru.uaeu.ac.ae/factbook/index.html>, September 25, 2004.

Abdelkarim (2001) refutes the "common belief that National households are generally against their daughters" working and cites a UAEU 1997 survey (also cited in Bartsch and Dahlberg (unpublished) pp. 10-11) which indicated that more than 90 percent of female post-secondary students expressed an intention to work after graduation (UAE University in Abdelkarim, 2001, pp. 13-15). By contrast, less than eight percent in the same cohort indicated no desire to either work or further their education. The same survey asserts that "77 percent of male household heads" were in favour of their daughters working "outside of the home" (ibid.). Comparison with a similar survey carried out in a previous decade (for example) would be a good way of demonstrating the changing landscape. However, even without such hard evidence, it is not difficult to imagine that this was not always the case⁶. The tendency to bear children within the first few years of marriage, as noted by Roudi-Fahimi and Moghadam is a critical factor in women's decision to work or not, even though Baud and Mahgoub (2001, pp. 33 and 35) assert that the ready availability of household help (in the form of female immigrants) facilitates Emirati women's labour force participation. This is an important feature of the UAE labour market that serves to facilitate women's employment. Furthermore, the culture of close family ties that exists in the UAE also means that the extended family plays a role in supporting working mothers (ibid.).

⁶ *It should be borne in mind that even though the vast majority of post-secondary female students seem to demonstrate a desire to work, these desires may not be materialised in practice, as the responsibilities of home and family care, as well as family disapproval, may well serve to repress such inclinations. (It will be appreciated that not all male household heads approved of their daughters working, nor did the survey check the responses of husbands to the prospect of working wives.)*

Figure B: Proportion of Male and Female Students Registered at UAE University 2002/03, by Faculty



SOURCE: UAE University, Institutional Research Unit, <http://iru.uaeu.ac.ae/factbook/index.html>, September 25, 2004

While reference to the output of educational institutions (and especially higher educational institutions) shows that Emirati women have been improving their human capital, it is the labour force data that demonstrates that they are choosing to work rather than merely seeking higher education "as an end in itself" (UAEU, 1997, p. 100). The 1985 census indicates 3,997 National women in the labour force. By 1995, this figure had risen to 15,729, a near quadrupling over this 10-year period, while CLMRI's estimates for 2003 indicate some 51,580 National women participating in the labour force. Women's overall share in the UAE labour force rose from 9.6 percent to 11.7 percent between the 1985 and 1995 Population Censuses and, based on CLMRI estimates, they commanded a share of 14.7 percent in 2003. However, of more importance to the present study is the fact that National women accounted for a greater share of all female labour force participants, moving from 6.1 percent in 1985 to 10.1 percent in 1995. The 2003 estimates indicate continued increase, with a 2003 share of 14.1 percent. According to figures presented in Bartsch and Dahlberg (unpublished), some 9,455 female Nationals with higher education were in the UAE labour force⁷ in 1995. They also note some 2,681 Emirati women employed in various clerical positions (all levels of education) in the same year.

⁷ This includes National women with post-secondary education working in all occupations (including clerical) and those unemployed with no previous work experience.

On the issue of women's earnings versus men's, Al-Awad and Elhilraika (2002, pp. 38-39) raise some interesting points about the role of religion, in particular the Muslim faith, in income equality between men and women. These Islamic teachings, they say, form important parts of Muslim countries' laws. By their account, the UAE seems to stand out among Arab countries with respect to women's educational and property ownership entitlements, with women having equal entitlements as men. The fact that UAE women, on the whole, have higher levels of education than their male counterparts suggests that they would also have higher earnings. Al-Awad and Elhilraika make two additional points that help to dispel this presumption and also to explain any differential in male and female earnings⁸. The first is that in the UAE education "is often viewed not in terms of its economic value, but instead for its social or status value" (ibid.); and secondly, that women tend to engage in what they term "light jobs", which afford them lower earnings than men with similar qualifications.

2.1.1 Public Sector vs. Private Sector

Public sector employment is considered a very favourable option for most Emiratis, male or female. This is because, compared to the private sector alternatives, salaries are higher, non-monetary benefits are better and, generally, hours of work are shorter. Many private sector establishments operate on 10-hour days, six days per week, with a split shift day⁹. Generally, the public sector operates on a single-shift, eight-hour-day, five-day-week system.

^{8/} This assumes equal earnings between men and women with the same level of qualifications (education and experience).

^{9/} While this is the general perception, interestingly, Al Hashimi (2002, p. 5) notes that 84 percent of a sample of 342 respondents in private sector employment worked a continuous shift.

Table 4: National Graduates of Higher Educational Institutions, by Institution and Gender, 2000/01 – 2002/03

Academic Year	2000/2001			2002/2003		
	National	Non-National	Total	National	Non-National	Total
Ajman University	187	454	641	308	1,253	1,561
Al Ghurair University	0	0	0	45	0	45
American University in Dubai	10	70	80	14	88	102
American University in Sharjah	0	0	0	10	205	215
Arab University College	0	0	0	0	0	0
Dubai College for Higher Education	26	38	64	2	2	4
Dubai College for Islamic Studies	280	70	350	217	716	933
Dubai College of Pharmacology	7	9	16	7	15	22
Dubai Medical College for Women	12	25	37	12	25	37
Emirates Aviation College	44	66	110	12	13	25
Ittihad University, RAK*	0	0	0	11	11	22
Etisalat Communication & Engineering College	41	0	41	52	0	52
Gulf Medical College	0	0	0	0	0	0
Higher Colleges of Technology	2,519	0	2,519	4,168	0	4,168
Horizon University, Sharjah	5	136	141	5	136	141
Institute for Banking Studies	57	57	114	81	77	158
Nursing Institutes	20	142	162	17	151	168
Scholarships	130	0	130	130	0	130
Shari'ah & Arabic Language College, RAK*	394	125	519	118	80	198
Sharjah College	1	148	149	0	83	83
Sharjah University	31	0	31	247	284	531
UAE University	2,631	331	2,962	2,336	305	2,641
Zayed University	0	0	0	261	0	261
TOTAL	6,395	1,671	8,066	8,053	3,444	11,497

SOURCE: Ministry of Planning,

http://www.uae.gov.ae/mop/sec_Report/edu_rep/edu_sec_rep1.htm, September 25, 2004

Note: * RAK=Ras al Khaimah

In the past, the Government has addressed the issue of job-creation for Nationals by increasing public sector jobs for Nationals (Cameron 2002, p. 1). With the Government sector now at near-saturation level with regard to the employment of Nationals, issues of efficiency come into focus. As such, there is now greater urgency to find alternative ways of addressing Nationals' employment. Among these is gradual replacement of expatriates with Nationals to the extent possible. However, this nationalisation (Emiratisation) policy is a medium to long term strategy. In the shorter term, one solution is to encourage greater private sector employment of Nationals, which presents a problem on two dimensions.

On one hand, private sector employers have long-held negative perceptions of Nationals as less productive than non-Nationals, as a result of which they are unwilling to employ them (Cameron, unpublished). Plus, Nationals are generally remunerated at higher rates than non-Nationals, which translates into higher costs for firms. On the other hand, Nationals themselves are reluctant to take private sector employment for several reasons. Among these are the perception of lower private sector salaries and benefits compared to the public sector¹⁰. Secondly, the split shifts that are characteristic of most of the private sector are unattractive to Nationals (see footnote 9). Thirdly, largely due to religious demands, Nationals require flexibility in hours. When the burden of home/family care and the restrictions that women face are added, this situation becomes even more difficult. Despite all these factors, there are National women in private sector employment. Their experiences are discussed in the following section.

¹⁰ / *This perception is in part supported by fact: while private sector firms are now obligated by law to provide the same pension benefits as the public sector, generally they do afford staff fewer days off than the public sector.*

Table 5: Employed Nationals by Educational Attainment, Gender and Nationality, 1995

Education	UAE Nationals			Total Employed		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Illiterate	14,066	586	14,652	275,790	20,313	296,103
Literate	10,600	203	10,803	168,181	17,530	185,711
Primary	18,193	467	18,660	178,388	15,122	193,510
Preparatory	22,069	1,087	23,156	179,672	18,868	198,540
Secondary & equivalent	20,138	3,168	23,306	180,003	32,849	212,852
Below university	2,065	2,015	4,080	39,342	14,201	53,543
Bachelor's degree & equivalent	10,982	6,710	17,692	123,917	31,250	155,167
Post graduate degree	1,073	189	1,262	10,898	1,869	12,767
Not stated	14	2	16	3,499	124	3,623
TOTAL	99,200	14,427	113,627	1,159,690	152,126	1,311,816

SOURCE: Ministry of Planning; Population Census, 1995, Table 50

3.0 EMIRATI WOMEN IN THE PRIVATE SECTOR – CONDITIONS AND CONSTRAINTS

Private sector employment can be divided into paid employment and self-employment. Emirati women are involved in both. As can be imagined, the factors affecting both types of employment are not exactly the same and, as such, experiences differ. For this reason, they are examined separately below.

3.1 Paid Employment

The International Labour Office (ILO) defines paid employment as work done "during a specified reference period... for wage or salary in cash or in kind" (ILO, 2002). The ensuing discussion is limited to employment for pay, according to the preceding definition, and does not include women engaged in unpaid work in family businesses.

The 1995 UAE Population Census records some 760 National women working in the private sector, comprising 1.3 percent of the 57,310 women in the sector in that year (UAE Population Census, 1995 in Baud and Mahgoub, 2001 p. 3). By contrast, the combined number of National women in public sector, federal and local government employment was 3,511. Therefore, National women employed in the private sector made up just 17.8 percent of the total number of employed female Nationals; yet Morada's (2002) survey seems to indicate that, compared to the other three major economic sectors, there are proportionately more National women to men in the private sector. Possible reasons for this are discussed in Section 3.1.1. What then are the pertinent characteristics of this small group? To answer this question, a 'profile' of the female UAE National in private sector employment follows.

Generally, female UAE Nationals working in the private sector operate in a heavily multi-cultural environment, in which they form a very small minority¹¹. They have little prior work experience and, compared to their counterparts in the public and mixed sectors, they are:

- younger;
- more likely to be unmarried;
- less educated;
- paid less and receive less favourable (non-monetary) benefits;
- display less job stability; and
- work longer hours.

In addition, female Emiratis employed in the private sector seem less satisfied with their employment than their public and mixed sector counterparts¹².

The following section looks, more closely, at the conditions and constraints that have an impact on the employment of UAE National women in the private sector.

3.1.1 General Conditions of Employment for Emirati Women Employed in the Private Sector

A 2002 study conducted by CLMRI¹³, surveyed 342 Emiratis employed in the private sector, 222 (64.9 percent) of whom were women. This study provides useful baseline data on the conditions of employment experienced by UAE Nationals in the private sector, helping to quantify certain observable and intuitive notions but serving also, in some instances, to dispel some widely held perceptions.

^{11/} See the Appendix for supporting data from the "UAE National Labour Force Survey Series".

^{12/} Findings of a CLMRI study (Al Hashimi, 2002) show that of 342 private sector Emirati employees surveyed (65 percent female), 21.6 per cent gave as the reason for choosing their current job, that it was the only job they could get.

^{13/} The six-part "UAE National Labour Force Survey Series" studied 1,756 employed Emiratis in the four major economic groups: Federal and Local Government, Mixed (public and private) and Private sectors.

The study confirmed that Emiratis form a very small percentage of private sector employment, accounting for less than five percent of firms' total staff in the sample. By contrast, they formed some 48 percent of employees of the Federal Government and roughly 15 percent of Local Government employment in 1995. Closely related to this is the multi-cultural nature of the work environment for Emiratis so employed, as private firms seemed to have a mix of nationalities rather than a strong concentration of a single one. Linked to this peculiar feature of private sector employment were the problems that Nationals indicated that they encountered in relating to non-Nationals. In fact, in the UAE National Labour Force Survey Series, 14 percent of female Nationals who had previously worked in other organisations, indicated too "few Nationals in [the] organisation" (Yang, 2002, p. 3) as a reason for leaving. Of the four sectors surveyed, private sector employees represented the largest share of workers who thought that Nationals were disadvantaged in the workplace; 63.8 percent of them believed so, compared with 41.4 percent in Federal Government employment and 59.9 percent in the public (mixed) sector.

The profile of private sector employed Emirati women suggests that private sector employment is, at best, a second choice for Emiratis and, at worst, the only option for those who fail to get Government jobs. Indeed, the data implies that National women who take up private sector employment are those with comparatively lower levels of education, who cannot get a job elsewhere and are, perhaps, waiting for better opportunities. Most have little or no previous work experience and have worked in their present job for a mean of five years less than their counterparts in the Federal Government.

Generally, private sector workers are believed to be paid, on average, less than workers in the Government and mixed sectors. While the data from the UAE National Labour Force Survey Series seems to support this notion, three points warrant emphasis.

- (i) Even though the largest proportion of private sector National workers, 35.9 percent, earned Dhs5,000-7,999 per month, as compared to 39 percent of Federal Government workers, who earned Dhs8,000-10,999 per month, the data presented does not allow for comparison across occupations so it is not possible to determine if the differential was attributable to level in the organisation, occupation or sector.
- (ii) The private sector data showed the widest spread, with the highest earnings in the category Dhs35,000 and above (the highest in the Federal Government was much lower at Dhs20,000-24,999).
- (iii) Related to the fact that the private sector employees, overall, had less education than those in the other three sectors, it seems logical that they had a relatively larger concentration in lower-paying jobs¹⁴.

¹⁴ *The private sector recorded the largest share of respondents in Clerical, Administrative, Sales and Services positions: 61.4 percent, compared with 46-55 percent for the other three sectors. Secondly, only 30.3 percent of private sector respondents were at the level "Professional/Technical" or in executive, managerial or supervisory positions, as compared with upwards of 40 percent in the other sectors.*

In the absence of more concrete evidence, these points serve to question the credibility of the idea that, job for job, private sector workers are paid less than workers in other sectors. At the same time, it should be noted that salary appears to be an important motivator for UAE Nationals in the labour force. Yang (2002) shows some 53 percent of surveyed private sector National employees indicating that the reason they would not stay in their jobs for more than five years was "low salary and wages". This was the reason indicated with the greatest frequency. The same study also shows a very strong inverse relationship between earnings (and the rate of salary increase) and employees' intention to remain in the job (for five years).

An interesting feature of private sector employment that was revealed by this study is that wage increases in this sector are generally more generous than in the Government and mixed sectors. Data in Morada (2002) shows that 14 percent of workers in the private sector received increases of more than 10 percent, compared with only 2.1 percent in the Federal Government, 5.2 percent in Local Government and 9.4 percent in public enterprises. Similarly, 87 percent and 70.2 percent, in the Federal and Local Governments respectively, indicated that their salary increases were less than three percent, while the comparable share in the private sector was 50.6 percent. Thus, it would appear that, even though the recruitment salary of a private sector worker may be less than that obtainable elsewhere, once this worker 'proves' herself, the rewards are better. This suggests that if private sector workers remain in their jobs longer, they have the chance of 'catching up' or even surpassing their Government employed counterparts (with respect to pay). Morada (op. cit.) ascribes this characteristic of the private sector to a greater reliance on productivity measures and, by extension, performance as the rationale for rewards. This point is supported in Yang (2002) who notes that "41 percent of all enterprises and organisations had a profit-related pay incentive scheme" (p. 18). Such incentive schemes can serve as good motivation for the worker who is willing to perform at a high standard in order to advance.

Another popular perception with regard to private sector employment is that the hours of work are considerably longer than in the Government sectors. There are two aspects to this: (a) total hours worked over a period, such as a day or week; and (b) the practice, in some private enterprises to operate a split shift. These two factors combine to render private sector employment unattractive to Nationals and, indeed, Yang (op. cit.) identifies a strong negative correlation between hours of work and intention to remain in the job (for at least five years). Yet, results of the National Labour Force Survey Series seem to refute the notion of longer hours in the private sector or, at the very least, suggest that they are not as pronounced or as prevalent as believed. A large majority (84 percent) of the respondents in Al Hashimi's 2002 study (also part of the UAE National Labour Force Survey Series) did not work on a split shift¹⁵; however, 38 percent worked more than 42 hours per week.

Another factor in the National Labour Force Survey Series that featured as a strong motivator was opportunities for promotion and career development. Ranking second, after "low wages and benefits", some 37 percent of female Nationals indicated "limited career development prospects" as a reason they would leave their jobs within five years. While Morada (2002) notes that "private enterprises are not as keen" as their public sector counterparts to invest "in human resources" (p. 11), it should be noted that 48.9 percent of respondent private sector Emiratis had been trained in the previous 12 months. This was fairly comparable with the general incidence of training in the other sectors, in which 58.5 percent, 53.6 percent, and 46.7 percent in Public Enterprises, Federal Government and Local Government respectively indicated that they had been trained over the same period. In terms of the number of times respondents had been trained by their organisations over the same period, six percent of private sector respondents indicated being trained more than five times. This was exceeded only by public enterprises, in which 8.4 percent of respondents indicated this frequency. While perhaps not sufficient justification, it is quite understandable that firms would be reluctant to invest (in the form of training) in employees who they think are likely to leave at any time.

Although private enterprises were less likely to provide employees with paid time off work to pursue private studies, 52 percent (the largest share) accommodated employees' independent studies with the provision of unpaid leave. Another 24 percent afforded flexible hours. Again, this can be seen as a response of firms, operating in a competitive environment, to the instability of employees' tenure.

^{15/} While this suggests good possibilities for private sector job opportunities for Nationals, the limitations of the study might mitigate any broad applicability of this finding. It is also probable that selection bias favoured a sample comprised mainly of UAE Nationals who were willing to work in these private sector firms because of the absence of a split shift.

The picture that emerges is that National women in private sector employment belong to a group that might be described as 'second-tier'. They have little work experience and comparatively low education, they have failed to obtain a more desirable job, and they see their employment as a temporary 'stop-gap' measure until something better comes along. There are more women than men in such situations, mainly because of the wider choices available to men:

- (i) Men opt for military and constabulary service at comparatively high salaries, even with low levels of education;
- (ii) With fewer men graduating with high levels of education, those who do choose higher education face lower levels of competition as many employers, for reasons to do with issues of child-rearing and traditional gender roles, may prefer to hire a man over a woman (see Anker, 1997).

Yet, the preceding analysis also indicates that the general perception of private sector employment is not necessarily supported by fact. Indeed, indications are that even Nationals themselves may think that private sector firms offer good career advancement opportunities (see Yang, 2002). There also seems to be some evidence that, over the long run, private sector earnings can be on par with, or better, than in the government and mixed sectors. One very important point that has come to light, is the reciprocal nature of the employment relationship in the private sector. It cannot be ignored that private firms are in business to make money. For this reason, they are generally more careful in making investments than government entities, for which the profit-motive is usually absent. As long as National workers are seen as poor or risky investments, private firms will be reluctant to invest in them.

3.1.2 Policy Implications

The policy recommendations that emerge from the preceding analysis are in relation to four main issues:

- (i) incentive for female Nationals to remain in their private sector jobs longer;
- (ii) incentive to improve the attractiveness of private sector work for 'high quality' female Nationals;
- (iii) incentive for private sector firms to offer more training, with special measures to ensure that UAE National women are beneficiaries; and
- (iv) incentive for private sector firms to absorb more Nationals, especially women.

Recommendations in relation to these issues are addressed in Section 4.

3.2 Business Operators

Business operators or entrepreneurs¹⁶ include those who employ others – "employers", and those who work alone – "own account workers". In the UAE, business operators are further divided into those who actually run or own their businesses and those who are merely sponsors¹⁷. This discussion will exclude sponsors, who generally do not have an active involvement in the operation of the business.

For those who have an 'entrepreneurial flair', operating a business can be a very rewarding venture. Business operation can present an attractive option for UAE National women, given their current educational achievements and the relatively limited options available to them in the labour market at present. While there are opportunities, female entrepreneurs face a different (though related) set of problems, but in some cases, in addition to, those faced by women in paid employment.

3.2.1 General Labour Market Conditions for Emirati Women Entrepreneurs

Research done in the area of female entrepreneurship in the UAE (Baud and Mahgoub, 2001 and Haan, 2004 -a and -b), indicates that the number of Emirati women engaged in entrepreneurship is unknown¹⁸. A part of the reason for the uncertainty relates to the sponsorship system (see footnote 17). Thus, according to Baud and Mahgoub, some businesses are registered under the names of women, who are really only sponsors and may not be involved in the business at all (pp. 8 and 46). Nevertheless, Haan (2004 -a) cites data from UNDP/UNIFEM that estimates that, of female registered¹⁹ owners, only 10 percent are actively involved in the business (p. 29). Another reason suggested by the researchers is that some businesses that are registered as male-owned may really be owned by women. For example, Baud and Mahgoub (ibid.) refer to limitations on the areas in which women may operate businesses, enabled by the licensing system (p. 46), that lead them to strike deals with men, in whose names they register the business in an effort to circumvent the law²⁰. Thirdly, Haan (op. cit. p. 7) states that many of these women are operating out of their homes which, in the absence of detailed, systematic and periodic household surveys, makes it difficult for them to be identified.

^{16/} In this paper the terms "business operator" and "entrepreneur" will be used interchangeably.

^{17/} The system of sponsorship in the UAE dictates that every foreign-owned business, except those operating in free zone areas, must have a local sponsor.

^{18/} The UAE 1995 Census, for example, lists only two self-employed female Nationals and 56 National women who are employers.

^{19/} Registered with Chambers of Commerce and Industry.

^{20/} Sources at the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs (MOLSA) indicate that there are no documented restrictions on the type of economic activities in which women may engage. It can only be assumed, therefore, that these assertions are based on anecdotal evidence.

The authors conclude that these conditions and practices make it difficult even to estimate, with any degree of accuracy, the number of female-owned businesses. However, both Baud and Mahgoub and Haan suggest that the number is quite large. Generally, they can be divided into two groups: small entrepreneurs and larger (more established) ones.

Although Haan (op. cit. pp.12-13) makes a distinction between two groups of female entrepreneurs, findings of these studies indicate that, generally, Emirati female business operators are well-educated (many are degree holders), fall into either of two age categories (20-29 or 40-49), have prior work experience as employees and, largely, appear to operate independently of their families (op. cit.). The generalisation, however, results from the fact that the larger, dominant group is more visible. The other, smaller group that is identified by Haan (ibid.) comprises older women with low levels of education and little or no experience in paid employment, engaged in traditional activities from home.

Based on the general profile, it seems conclusive that women in this segment of private sector employment differ in two important respects from their counterparts in paid employment: (i) they are more educated; and (ii) they are independent. The latter in particular suggests that they would register comparatively higher levels of job satisfaction, not being forced (as appears to be the case for many in paid private sector employment) into 'last resort' jobs.

Regardless of the group to which female entrepreneurs belong they must operate within the narrow legal and cultural restrictions that exist, as is the case for their counterparts in paid employment. The ensuing discussion examines the impact of these factors on Emirati women's activities as business owners.

The chief restrictions on women's business activities are in the areas of:

- size;
- regulations; and
- socio-cultural objections to women entrepreneurs.

Each of these is examined in detail below.

3.2.2 Business Size

One restriction that entrepreneurs face relates to business size. Ministerial Decree No. 960 of 1998 in relation to Federal Law No. 18 of 1995 sets out more than 80 artisanal occupations that are encompassed by its provisions. Article 2 of this Decree restricts the number of employees in any of these activities to no more than five. Among the listed trades is "Hairdressing and other Beauty Treatments"; "Curtain-making and Fixing"; "Gift and Jewellery-box Making"; "Pet Nursery"; and "Typing and Photocopying Services". These are activities that are likely to be favoured by women, although women might well be engaged, as entrepreneurs, in any of the others covered by the Decree.

Restriction on business size has the effect of restricting potential income by limiting expansion. It perhaps accounts for the fact that many female-run businesses are small (fewer than 10 employees)²¹.

3.2.3 Regulation

A number of regulations that are aimed at creating order in the market inadvertently serve to limit women's business opportunities. For example, one requirement for a trade licence is a contract for rental of business premises. This means that female entrepreneurs who are operating from home, because of cultural reasons that might limit their mobility and exposure to strangers (as well as other reasons), are not able to operate on an equal footing with someone who may freely work from an established place of business. Other implications of this include the fact that advertisement of the business must be limited to word of mouth as, without a licence, the operator is barred from printing and distributing business cards.

^{21/} There is evidence of this in both Baud and Mahgoub (p. 36) and Haan (2004 p. 18). In the former, 13 out of 15 female-headed businesses studied had fewer than 10 employees; while in the latter, 22 small firms had an average of six workers. Apart from the small sample size in both cases, it should be borne in mind, particularly in respect to the latter, that small enterprises were the focus of Haan's study so it is unknown to what extent this finding applies to the general population of female-headed businesses.

3.2.4 Women as Business Operators

While the climate is changing and there are Emirati women in business, studies indicate that this is not an area of employment that receives wide family approval. The UAEU household survey (op. cit.) reports that even though household heads were generally in favour of their daughters working, "the greatest difference in preferences of heads of households for sons versus daughters was in the case of employment in [the] family business" (p. 104). Only 2.5 percent of survey respondents indicated work in the family business as desirable employment for their daughters. Also, in Baud and Mahgoub, more than a quarter of respondent Emirati female entrepreneurs thought their families needed to give them more support in their business ventures, while another group thought that husbands needed to be sensitised in order to be more willing to give their permission. The researchers make the important point that "this attitude makes an unknown number of women hesitate to take up such ventures" (p. 41).

3.2.5 Licensing

UAE law requires the licensing of private establishments. Baud and Mahgoub report that in all emirates, there are restrictions on the kinds of licences issued for women and, in most, women may only operate businesses engaged in beauty products and services, clothing, textiles and tailoring. Comparatively more liberal Dubai, they continue, allows female entrepreneurs to operate in all areas of business except construction. The purpose of these restrictions, it is argued, is to protect women as, in some of these activities, they might need to attend court where they would be at a disadvantage (p. 46). It should be noted that no documentary evidence of such restriction could be found during this study. MOLSA officials were definitive in their position that there were no such documented restrictions and Haan (2004 -a) cites one instance of a woman entrepreneur engaged in construction, among the women interviewed for his study²². Since the research done by Baud and Mahgoub involved interviews with female business operators, it can only be concluded that this was based on anecdotal evidence, rather than contained in law.

^{22/} In the same document, Haan later notes that the "formal obstacles for women entrepreneurs getting trade licenses for... activities that were not considered 'feminine'... have... been removed" (p. 22). However, he further notes that "there are occasional problems" (ibid.).

To the extent that women are barred from certain economic activities, if at all, this serves, in effect, to limit women's income potential. Some gender theories propose that the economic returns to female-dominated activities are lower than comparable 'male activities' (see, for example, Terrell, 1992 and Anker, 1997). Adherents purport that societal (and other) barriers that limit women's entry into higher-earning, 'male' activities help to contribute to the subjugation of women. The fact that women are forced to employ men in order to enter into areas of business that are barred to them (also referred to in Baud and Mahgoub, *ibid.*), is seen as another example of impediment to women's progress; the argument being that it forces women into dependent relationships.

3.2.6 Other Problems – Traditional Entrepreneurs

Using the distinction of two groups of female entrepreneurs, Haan (2004 -a) separates the problems they face according to each group. The problems faced by the women in traditional activities are somewhat different from those of their counterparts in modern activities. The former are involved mainly in perfume mixing, embroidery and other activities that can be done in the home. This is largely because of their strict adherence to the traditional customs of limited mobility and other similar social restrictions on women. The two main problems they face are not unrelated to these facts.

First, they experience difficulties in marketing their products and inadequate demand. Both these issues are related to the nature of their products and their limited mobility – greater mobility would assist in widening the target market for product promotion. Secondly, their incomes, as well as possible capital investment funds at their disposal, are so small that they are unable to acquire shop space from which to operate. This also serves to reduce their potential market.

3.3 Business Support Services

Generally, there is a lack of adequate business support services in the UAE for both male and female entrepreneurs. There is a perception that financial needs are not an important issue for UAE Nationals going into business, as they are able to draw on personal or family funds for start-up. However, in Haan (2004 -a) there are several indications that some Emiratis do face financial problems in trying to start a business (pp. 21, 24, 27 and 30). For those with ready access to funds, a greater concern exists with regard to the technical know-how required to start and successfully operate a business. Others face this problem combined with that of obtaining funding.

Haan (2004 -a) notes that "it is only in the past few years that a start... [has been] made with SME promotion in the UAE... [however], there is still no policy framework or dedicated SME institution" (p. 23). He further notes that, where these do exist, they are in Dubai and similar services in the smaller emirates are "largely lacking" (ibid.). The main organisation that exists to assist women is the Emirates Business Women's Council (EBWC), which has offices in Abu Dhabi, Dubai and Sharjah. The EBWC is concerned with assisting female entrepreneurs in developing their businesses, gaining technical know-how and marketing their products. However, the participation of Emirati women has been less than desired and, the fact that it uses the Chambers of Commerce to identify potential members means that women in home-based operations are not captured. The EBWC does not have small entrepreneurs as a specific focus group, its membership is dominated by expatriate businesswomen (potentially intimidating to National women) and there seems to be a perception that the group does not do much to meet the needs of Emirati women operating on a small scale. Thus, there is some disinterest (op. cit.).

The *Intalag* in Dubai, and *Intalaga* in Abu Dhabi are organisations that provide business support services for UAE Nationals. The *Intalag*, which operates (since 1999) through Dubai's Department of Economic Development, provides special licences for home-based operations at a reduced rate (Haan 2004 -b, p. 22). Businesses must be based in Dubai, employ no more than 10 members of the household and have maximum investment capital under Dhs1 million (ibid.). Some training is also provided.

The *Intalaga* began in 2002 and has Shell Oil Co. sponsorship as well as other international and local stakeholders in the form of partners. These include the Higher Colleges of Technology and the Abu Dhabi Chamber of Commerce and Industry. Its target group includes Nationals aged between 18 and 32 and services offered include training, mentoring, technical assistance, business monitoring and marketing (op. cit., p. 20). Haan (2004 -b) reports 30 participants (at that time), one-half of whom were female.

While these programmes do not target women specifically, they provide a much needed service. In the case of *Intalag*, obtaining a licence allows many female entrepreneurs who, for various reasons operate from home, to print business cards which can help in advertising. It also means that they can apply for a business loan. The *Intalaga*, on the other hand provides a useful option for the numerous female graduates of training institutions who are unemployed or unwilling to go into paid employment. Obviously, there is a need for these services to be extended beyond Dubai and Abu Dhabi.

In Dubai, there is also the *Al Tomooh* programme, which provides business loans to UAE Nationals for small businesses. The various criteria that are applied for selection limit the entrepreneurs who may benefit; e.g., there are a number of "preferred areas" of economic activity that are given priority under the programme (Baud and Mahgoub, p. 20). Also, the business must be in Dubai (ibid.).

The Mohamed Bin Rashid Establishment for Young Business Leaders is a fairly recent initiative of the Dubai Development and Investment Authority. It is not gender-specific in its reach, therefore women may benefit. Its facilities include loan funds and technical support as well as limited office space. Again, it is limited to Dubai.

3.3.1 Policy Implications

On the basis of cultural norms, as well as differences in the kinds of businesses usually favoured by men compared to women, it is useful to segregate such service institutions. Thus, there is a need for more institutions that women may access to learn the technical skills involved in running a business. These include business plan development, feasibility study, basic accounting and management.

3.4 Women Employing Women

Entrepreneurship has been identified as an attractive and potentially lucrative possibility for job-creation, particularly in developing economies (see, for example, Halvorson-Quevedo, 1991 and Smallbone and Welter, 2001). It is recognised that small businesses create jobs, not only for the persons going into business but also, for firms other than sole proprietors, for those employed in the business. Baud and Mahgoub (op. cit.) indicate that women prefer to employ other women rather than men (particularly for lower-level positions). At the same time, however, Haan (2004 -a) demonstrates that "UAE owned and operated small enterprises employ very few Nationals" (p.18). Thus, while there is potential for increased job creation through the multiplier effect, particularly for other women, there needs to be a widespread programme of cultural and attitudinal change, both on the part of current and potential employers and employees.

3.5 Policy Implications

The policy implications indicated from the analysis relate to the following issues:

- (i) Restrictions in relation to size and licensing (business activity);
- (ii) Cultural restrictions; and
- (iii) Business services.

4.0 RECOMMENDATIONS

These findings point to a number of issues that can guide policy formulation and programmes in relation to this labour market segment. Baud and Mahgoub set out a comprehensive list of policy recommendations for the short, medium and long terms. These will not be repeated here.

4.1 Paid Employment

The recommendations below are in relation to the first three policy issues identified on page 22, namely:

- (i) *Incentive for female Nationals to remain in their private sector jobs longer;*
- (ii) *incentive to improve the attractiveness of private sector work for 'high quality' female Nationals;*
- (iii) *incentive for private sector firms to offer more training, with special measures to ensure that UAE National women are beneficiaries.*

To address these deficits, the following are recommended:

- (i) Efforts should be made to improve the human resource practices of private sector firms, with a view to retaining National staff and attracting Nationals of a high quality. The preceding discussion indicates that UAE Nationals are looking for more career development in their jobs and are motivated by monetary remuneration. Employers, on the other hand, are reluctant to train because of real fears of losing on their investment when staff resign.
 - Private sector employers must be encouraged to train staff in order to increase their earning potential.
 - Training of a certain specified minimum cost and duration should be attached to service bonds in order to assure employers a return on their investment. Firms' size and affordability are obvious factors here that will need to be considered.

The second major recommendation is in relation to the fourth and final policy issue identified on page 22 (incentive for private sector firms to absorb more Nationals, especially women):

- (ii) The system introduced by the Government of applying minimum quotas for employment of UAE Nationals²³ needs to be applied to more economic sectors to ensure jobs for Nationals. While efforts to enforce this are already underway, any expansion of this strategy to encompass more sectors needs to be done in conjunction with careful consideration of the outputs of educational institutions and their ability to supply the required manpower.

^{23/} This is currently being applied in the Banking and Insurance sector and Trade sector.

4.2 Business Operators

- (i) The issue of licensing for female entrepreneurs appears to be a difficult one. Since there appears to be no legal restriction, it would seem that it is in the enforcement that difficulties arise. This points to the need for a system that will remove subjectivity and the possibility of gender bias. To the extent that it may be difficult or impossible to remove the human element, there may need to be a programme of sensitisation for officials and intervention by lobby groups on women's behalf, where they are discriminated against.
- (ii) There is a need for business services organisations that:
 - meet the needs of target groups;
 - focus solely on women and their special needs; and
 - service all the emirates and not just the larger, more developed ones.
- (iii) A promotional programme, aimed at changing the image of, and attitude towards, female entrepreneurship and certain occupations, needs to be carried out nationwide.
- (iv) Dedicated women's desks should be established in organisations that provide assistance for small business development. This would be more than merely a "Ladies Queue" or separate waiting area for women, but would mean a desk staffed by someone sensitive to women's special needs and equipped to address them.

5.0 CONCLUSION

The foregoing discussion has examined the position of Emirati women in paid private sector employment and those operating businesses. In so doing, it has identified the following characteristics of:

(a) Emirati women in paid private sector employment as:

- young;
- comparatively low educated;
- having comparatively unstable job tenure; and
- low-paid.

(b) Emirati female entrepreneurs in modern activities as:

- highly educated; and
- independent.

The paper has also highlighted some of the main problems faced by these two sets of Emirati women workers. For those in paid employment, these are:

- (i) holding 'last resort' jobs; and
 - (ii) general dissatisfaction with terms and conditions of employment;
- and for the entrepreneurs:
- (i) legal and cultural restrictions; and
 - (ii) lack of appropriate assistance in the market.

The recommendations to address these issues include improved Human Resource policies in private establishments; the provision of training for staff, with attached service bonds; and wider application of employment quotas. For entrepreneurs, the recommendations include a relaxing of restrictions and encouragement of cultural change.

Emirati women have made exceptional strides in terms of overcoming cultural and social barriers and are entering the labour market in increasing numbers. Indeed, they can be seen as potential cornerstones of the UAE economy in the future. However, for this to become reality, they need to be encouraged in their efforts and the remaining barriers to their progress removed.

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APPENDIX

Presented below are some data findings from the UAE National Labour Force Survey Series. The six-part study, which was conducted in 2001 (published in 2002) by Tanmia/CLMRI, surveyed 1,756 UAE Nationals employed in the UAE's Federal and Local Government, Public and Mixed sector and the Private sector.

The sectoral distribution of respondents was as follows:

Sector	Number of respondents	Percent
Federal Government	512	29.2
Local Government	533	30.4
Public/mixed sector	369	21.0
Private sector	342	19.5
Total	1,756	100

UNLESS OTHERWISE INDICATED, ALL OF THE FOLLOWING TABLES SHOW PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTIONS:

Table A1: Share of UAE National Women in the Sample Organisations

Sector	National women	Percent of total sample
Private	268	64.9
Local	195	36.6
Public	182	49.3
Federal	222	52.3

Table A2: Gender, Marital Status and Educational Attainment

	Male	Female	Married	Single	Below secondary	Secondary /technical	Post secondary diploma	Higher diploma	BSc/BA or equivalent	Post grad degree or equivalent
Private	35.1	64.9	40.6	51.2	8.7	31.5	20.5	12.3	22.5	4.2
Public	50.7	49.3	51.5	43.2	7.2	21.1	22.5	17.5	26.0	5.8
Local	63.4	36.6	48.5	44.1	13.3	31.8	15.4	14.1	22.7	2.7
Federal	47.7	52.3	61.6	34.5	8.3	25.0	11.3	4.4	46.4	4.6

Table A3: Years Worked

Total years worked	Male	Female	Since last education	
			Male	Female
Private	9.7	2.7	8.3	2.7
Public	8.1	3.8	7.0	3.8
Local	7.7	3.9	6.5	3.9
Federal	11.8	7.8	10.3	7.7

Table A4: Occupational Groups

Occupational Group	Private	Public	Local	Federal
Senior level/Executive management	8.3	8.6	12.5	7.3
Administrative/Office/Department Manager/Supervisor	15.4	21.4	17.2	20.4
Professional/Scientific/Technical	6.6	11.7	10.7	17.7
Clerical/Administrative/Sales & Service	61.4	51.7	54.6	45.6
Skilled Craftsmen/Production/Manual	0	0.7	0	0
Unskilled	0.9	0.3	0.5	0.9
Other	7.5	5.5	4.5	8.0

Table A5: Time in Current Organisation

Time with organisation (years)	Private	Public	Local	Federal
Less than 1	26.3	16.9	17.6	10.0
1 - <2	25.7	27.3	21.3	10.4
2 - <5	32.6	32.6	31.1	25.3
5 - <10	10.8	13.8	17.2	19.8
10+	4.5	9.4	12.9	34.5

Table A6: Range of Monthly Salaries

Minimum & Maximum Monthly Salary	Private	Public	Local	Federal
Less than 2000	1.5	0	0.6	0.4
2,000 – 2,999	2.7	1.4	2.9	2.2
3,000 – 4,999	26.1	9.0	15.4	11.0
5,000 – 7,999	35.9	32.3	37.5	32.5
8,000 – 10,999	18.4	26.6	27.5	39.0
11,000 – 14,999	8.3	15.6	10.4	9.6
15,000 – 19,999	3.0	9.6	4.6	3.6
20,000 – 24,999	1.8	3.8	0.6	1.8
25,000 – 34,999	1.5	0.5	0.6	0
35,000+	0.9	1.1	0	0

Table A7: Annual Salary Increase

Year's increase ^a	Private	Public	Local	Federal
Less than 1%	25.0	18.8	30.5	47.5
1 - 2.99	25.6	33.8	39.7	39.5
3 - 5.99	26.2	23.1	10.5	4.4
6 – 10	9.1	15.0	14.1	6.5
10+	14.0	9.4	5.2	2.1

^a Based on increase received in 2000, which was the year preceding the survey.

Table A8: Number of UAE Nationals in Organisation

Number of UAE National employees	Private	Public	Local	Federal
1	3.0	0.6	1.2	0.2
2 – 4	25.7	21.4	15.8	8.4
5 – 9	18.9	7.5	7.1	8.8
10 – 19	8.7	6.1	9.1	11.6
20 – 50	5.4	3.3	6.3	7.5
50+	2.7	13.6	13.4	15.1

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